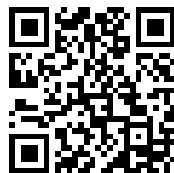

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

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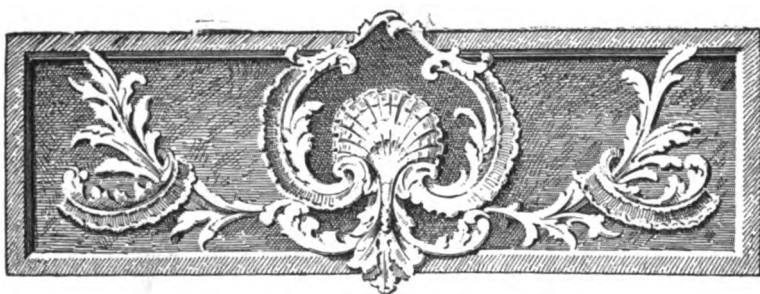
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ANGLICANISM UP TO DATE

'It is truly said that the National Church of England in its foundation was a compromise between conflicting opinions. But in order that this compromise should be established on a firm and lasting basis it was necessary that it should rest in some national sanction. It is, of course, a question whether there should be a National Church at all; but if there is to be such a Church, it must be based on a national authority, and the only national authority which we recognise is that of the Crown and of Parliament. This principle was the bed-rock of the Reformation in the sixteenth century; and the three great pillars on which the reformed Church of England was reared were the Act of the Submission of the Clergy (26th Henry VIII.), the Act of Supremacy of the Crown, and the successive Acts of Uniformity of Public Worship and Doctrine.'—Sir William Harcourt, in *The Times* newspaper, Thursday, Sept. 22nd, 1898.

NEVER in the whole history of that work of human hands, the Church of England as by Law Established, has it been in greater or deadlier peril than to day, three hundred and fifty years from the date of its uprearing. Even the most casual observer of current events cannot fail to be impressed by the conflicting elements which at the present moment are rending the Anglican Church in twain, and which assuredly must end in the ejection of one or the other from within her pale, or else in the utter demolition of the fabric itself. As Plutarch has it, *Varietas religionis, dissolutio religionis*.

The disappearance of the Low Church, or Evangelical school of thought, which, not so many years ago, could claim some of the brightest and keenest minds in the Establishment, and the rapid development in its stead of the Ritualistic school and party, is one of the leading features

in the history of England during the last thirty years. This movement, originating with Newman and Keble, and carried on by Pusey and a host of other less able and capable men, has gradually extended itself over the face of the country, till to-day it threatens to capture every post of vantage in the Establishment.

As Catholics we cannot but be deeply interested in the progress of this movement, and equally so in the conflict à *outrance* in which it is now engaged. Priests are frequently asked for their opinion as to whether the Ritualistic movement has bettered our position in England, or the reverse. Before this query can be adequately answered there are many things to be taken into account. It may, once and for all, be admitted that the Ritualists have done much to familiarize the people of this country with numerous rites and symbols which a generation since were held in the deepest abhorrence by the vast majority of our people. Again, no sensible person who has studied the average Ritualist at work can fail to have been impressed with the energy and zeal with which they are filled; their spirit of detachment from the things of this world; their eagerness to labour amongst the poorest of the poor in the most unhealthy surroundings, sacrificing all they own in behalf of those to whom they minister, until spontaneously the dear name of Father comes to be applied to them. Of such sweetness and holiness of life, and of such a whole-hearted desire to advance the interests of the Master, evidences are apparent on all sides. So much so, that many of ourselves are made to blush for our remissness, and roused to a sense of our want of earnestness and of the spirit of self-sacrifice. Accepting in their full literalness the various specious and misleading theories of continuity which have been put forward, and trusting implicitly, in hundreds of instances, in the *ipse dixit* of one or other of the protagonists in their camp, the *bona fides* of most Ritualists may be taken for granted. In their inner consciousness they may not feel quite secure, but at all events they are determined to stay where they are until they see good reason for a change of position. It is nothing unusual to meet amongst them men

and women who are filled with admiration for the Catholic religion as manifested in ourselves; but cases of this description must not blind us to the fact that most of the Ritualistic clergy are more antagonistic in our regard than even their Low Church brethren. This feeling of bitterness, conjoined with an appalling amount of ignorance as to some of the simplest points of Catholic belief, will occasionally prompt them to misrepresent—not wilfully, let us trust—many articles of Catholic faith to such as are wavering, and who feel inclined to throw in their lot with what has been styled the 'Italian Mission.' In proof of the prevalence of this practice I may mention the following instance which lately was brought under my notice. A High Anglican lady, sister to a convert of mine, felt inclined to go to the nearest Catholic priest for instruction. The senior Ritualist curate of the parish in which she lived suspected this, and came to warn her against the errors of the Romanist system. Amongst other matters he insisted that not only does the Catholic Church teach the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God as a dogma of revealed religion, but also that Mary's body was conceived of the Holy Ghost in the womb of St. Anne, just as Christ's adorable Body was in the womb of Mary herself. Now, there must be a vast amount of ignorance and prejudice in the man who could allow himself to give expression to such a blasphemous falsehood as this. I know of another case in which a Ritualist Vicar made himself responsible for the eternal salvation of a friend of mine, if only he consented to remain a member of the Church of England. Luckily for himself, the good man became convinced that the Vicar was over prodigal of his promises, and soon after transferred his allegiance to the nearest Catholic priest.

Most level-headed people are utterly unable to square the teaching and the practice of the Ritualistic clergy with the vow, or oath, and pledges they make at the time of their ordination. Few of my readers but remember Ward's famous phrase as to the *non-natural* sense in which the Thirty-nine Articles might be signed, and his attempt, in this way, to strain them so far as to meet all the decisions

of the Council of Trent. But it is greatly to be feared that the Ritualist clergy care very little for a natural or a non-natural interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. They simply brush them aside, speak of them with contempt, and constitute themselves—such is their disregard for all authority—their own court of appeal—common prudence, and the wholesome dread of offending the susceptibilities of their flocks, being the only effective check to their innovating ardour. This method of procedure, once it has come to be generally adopted, must perforce end in lawlessness and confusion; and it is to this spirit we must, in common fairness, assign the crisis which at the present moment is causing such dismay amongst the leaders of the Establishment.

It is apparent to most of us, that, like many other artistic movements in England, Ritualism has failed to attract the people outside the *dilettante* classes. Viewed as a whole, it may, I think, be safely asserted that the England of to-day is *au fond* as Protestant as she was at the time of the Gordon Riots in 1780. No doubt, people are better informed now than they were then; there is much greater tolerance for all sects; we are much more cultured as a nation, and, consequently, far less addicted to exhibitions of brute force and violence. But, to my thinking, the Protestantism of the nation has not yet been disturbed to any appreciable extent. Even the time-worn and hateful shibboleth of 'No Popery' comes easily to-day to the tongues of tens of thousands of our people.

Not very long ago a case was brought under my notice which goes far to prove how difficult a thing it is to induce the average Englishman to elevate himself to a higher spiritual plane than that which his fathers occupied before him. Over eighty years since a Catholic church and schools were erected by a wealthy benefactor in a certain locality. From the beginning the schools, for one reason or another, had a large percentage of non-Catholic children on its books; and these Protestant children, as is usual in such case, were taught the Catholic prayers and the Catholic catechism, with, of course, the full consent of their parents; and were

brought into daily contact with the evidences of Catholic faith and piety. The first generation of Protestants so educated sent their children to the same school, and to-day the third generation is being trained within its walls. Yet, strange though it may appear, scarcely one individual Protestant of either sex educated in that school has entered the Church. The same thing holds good not only in the case of the labouring and artisan classes, but equally so in the case of that great middle class, massive, prejudiced, suspicious, which forms the backbone of our people. How many Protestant girls educated in our Catholic convent schools, and so brought into daily touch with our best, our purest, and noblest, have come to embrace the faith in after life? I have never yet heard even of one case. Consequently, I am led to conclude, I hope not too hastily, that deep down in the hearts of these people there is no craving, no passionate longing for something they know not what, which the Catholic Church and her consolations can alone satisfy.

In this connection I am reminded of a passage in Mrs. Craigie's latest work, *The School for Saints*, in which she makes one of the characters say:—

As a matter of fact, I don't think that religion ever has reached, or ever will get hold, of the English mind and imagination. No Englishman at any period has been able to paint either a Christ or a Holy Family. He can work up a sacred picture for the Galleries, and he can copy the early Italians, but there is nothing spontaneous about his conceptions of Divinity. We are not a religious nation. It is not in us. It never was in us—we were never good Catholics at our best.¹

It does not require much effort of the imagination to realize the fears which the vagaries and the pranks of the Ritualists awakened in the minds of Protestants of the coarser type. At first there seemed to be a certain unwillingness to admit that innovators had had their way to so considerable an extent. Even Mr. Balfour, the dreamiest of all latter-day philosophers, refused to be convinced on this heading not so many weeks ago. On certain occasions one has read of a bishop denouncing the practice of auricular

¹ *The School for Saints*, p. 478.

confession, or the use of incense, or the placing of the stations of the cross on the walls of Protestant churches; but, on the whole, no effective check was put upon the policy of the Ritualistic party. Gradually it became more and more apparent that a storm was brewing; and, sure enough, early in 1898 the opposing parties came into collision.

The protests of that despicable creature, Kensit—who has more than once drenched the streets of London with the filthiest and foulest garbage that ever found its way into a pamphlet—raised at the church of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate-street, where only a year ago the casual visitor could see a tabernacle, a statue of the Sacred Heart, stations of the cross, holy water stoups, &c.—are still fresh in the memories of most of us. Other disturbances of a more or less cognate character took place in different other parts of the metropolis, always in churches of advanced Ritualistic tendencies. Next the same cry was heard resounding throughout the Provinces; and when the passions of the contending parties had been thoroughly aroused, the *Times* opened its columns for the airing of all and sundry grievances. For weeks we heard of nothing but such exciting matter, as ‘Anarchy in the Church of England,’ ‘Auricular Confession,’ and ‘Secret Societies in the Church of England.’ Sir William Harcourt, who has never, during the course of a long and brilliant career, given a chance to his enemies to accuse him of the weakness of regular church going, helped to bring the matter into prominence in the House of Commons, much to the disgust of the High Church Party. The great Liberal statesman—actuated by what motives it is not easy to discern—has also published in the *Times*, evidently after deep and exhaustive study, some able and powerful letters, which most unbiased people regard as perfectly unanswerable, if the origin and history of the English Establishment for over three hundred years can be said to count for anything.

Then came the Church Congress at Bradford, which was looked forward to by many with an evident feeling of anxiety. I have often been puzzled to account for the

eagerness of certain sections of the Church of England to make themselves heard at the Annual Congress. Is it that they are bent on showing the world the extent of their divisions, and their differences on questions which sometimes touch the foundations of the Christian fabric? The *Saturday Review*, of September 24th, told us that albeit the Congress is 'no more than an academic debate, without any real official or executive power,' yet that still 'it forms a useful safety-valve, and affords an opportunity for a little harmless ecclesiastical dissipation, with the chance of meeting old friends, and of hearing one or two big Church guns hold forth.' Pursuing the same line of thought, the writer of the article gave expression to the following observations, which cannot fail to interest clerics of all denominations. He says :—

The real permanent value of the Congress, we imagine, lies in the stimulus it undoubtedly gives to local Church life and philanthropic agencies; and in the bringing together of men of widely differing opinions on one platform. The life of a country parson is usually one of much intellectual isolation; he seldom has the opportunity of meeting educated men who read and think. The result is that the fixed clerical tendency to get into a groove becomes accentuated, and his habit of dogmatism develops into a disease. The Church Congress, when it comes into his diocese, gives him the chance of getting a much-needed mental douche. He hears his own opinions challenged, his ways of work criticized, his historical positions questioned, by men at least as competent to form sound views on these matters at himself. He gets all kinds of fresh hints and suggestions, which may bear good fruit in his parish. He learns that there are good men in all schools of thought, and that his own particular party has no monopoly of brains, or common sense, or knowledge of the world. And he goes back to his village with new ideas, freshened by contact with men from all parts and all parties, and by the consciousness of having been in touch with a wider and larger life.¹

To us Catholics, the speeches delivered during the Congress, and the various subjects debated, are profoundly interesting, in so far as they afford us an opportunity of studying the views, the claims, and the method of reasoning among both the High and the Low Church Parties. Thus

¹ *Saturday Review*, Sept. 24, 1898.

we can bring ourselves to realize the vastness of the gulf which separates them, and the probable outcome of a contest which, sooner or later, must infallibly lead up to very decisive and far-reaching results. From these results we Catholics may gain so much that we may quickly develop into a great and potent factor in the England of the twentieth century.

The Congress assembled on Tuesday, September 27th. On the evening previous the members of the English Church Union held their meeting in the Mechanics' Institute, Bradford. The building, we are told, was packed in every quarter, and previous to the commencement, the assembled Ritualists of both sexes started singing, rather inappropriately one would think, 'Faith of our Fathers.' The opening address was delivered by the President of the E. C. U., Lord Halifax, one of the most interesting, and, if I may say it, pathetic figures in the modern High Anglican Party. His Lordship lamented the fact that a determined effort was being made to degrade the worship of the Church of England, and that High Churchmen and their children run the risk of being deprived 'of what we know from long experience to be for our souls' health.' According to his Lordship, there are four points in the High Anglican position upon which they cannot insist too strongly. These are:—1. Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. 2. Prayers for the Faithful Departed. 3. The Indissolubility of Matrimony. 4. The Independence of the Church of England over Parliament and the Privy Council. Nothing could well be plainer or more emphatic than the President's words on these points. He said:—

First, as to the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. Such Reservation, owing to the absolute necessities of the case in large parishes, is at present widely practised in many parishes. It is said that members of the episcopate have 'recently declared that Reservation for the sick is primitive, but illegal. I venture to think, if the fact be correctly reported, that such bishops must have been misunderstood.

Secondly, we insist upon the need which exists for a more explicit recognition, in harmony with primitive teaching and the practice of the whole Church, of prayers for the faithful departed,

and for the revival, in accordance with apostolic injunction, of Unction for the sick. We submit that an ordinance enjoined by an Apostle cannot be safely disregarded by the Church of England. The Church of England appeals to primitive teaching and practice. Let her be consistent in that appeal in regard to both these matters.

Thirdly, we are compelled to call attention to the corruption of morals which is being caused by the Divorce Courts in pronouncing those to be separate whom God has made one; and to the even graver scandal, if such be possible, of clergy who pretend, as is now too often the case, to bestow the blessing of the Church upon unions not allowed by God. We would entreat the episcopate to take immediate and effective steps to prevent in future any clergy of the Church of England from so desecrating the altars of God, and to make impossible what is now too often witnessed amongst us—the condonation of adultery, by the ministers of Christ.

Lastly, we desire to repeat once more that, while as loyal subjects of the Queen, we cheerfully submit to the authority of Parliament and the Civil Tribunals in all temporal affairs, we emphatically repudiate the claim of the Privy Council, and of all courts subject to its jurisdiction, to adjudicate in spiritual matters; that we deny the right of Parliament to determine the doctrine and discipline of the Church; that we deem it intolerable that those who reject the Church's authority, and refuse to communicate at her altars, should be allowed to interfere in her spiritual concerns; and that we claim the support and the protection of the episcopate as the guardians of the liberties of the Church in thus asserting her rights.¹

Several other speakers followed in the same strain, their remarks being invariably received with loud applause. The Rev. H. Wilson, Vicar of St. Augustine's, Stepney, frankly declared that, if we are members of the Holy Catholic Church, and we accept the Holy Catholic faith, then we accept the Catholic faith of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. But why not the Primacy of Peter as well? Probably, Mr. Wilson, as a Protestant, uses his private judgment against the rest of Christendom, and rejects that doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church, of which he is as much a member as Mr. Kensit.

Going through the different addresses delivered at the Congress itself, one seeks in vain for any allusion to the

¹ *Church Times*, Sept. 30, 1898.

points of belief and practice upon which Lord Halifax and his followers had laid such stress. For literary charm and grace of diction it would be difficult to find anything fit to be compared with the address of the President, the eloquent and polished Bishop of Ripon. His Lordship's scathing denunciation of what he termed the 'heresy of temper' is well worth quoting. He said:—

I do not fear differences of opinion; they belong to the shadows which surround us; they are indispensable to those who will fight their way to truth; they are not unworthy in themselves. I do not fear these, but I do fear the unguarded temper, the intolerant spirit which seeks to damage a brother's character because it cannot understand his thought. I fear that wrath of man which worketh not the righteousness of God. I fear these, because men then fight with naked foils; they are more eager to fight than to win; more eager to win the fight than to find the truth. This is that heresy of temper more deadly than the heresy of opinion, for where it exists reverence for truth and regard for what is venerable disappear. To it nothing is sacred. It summons to its aid bigotry armed with ignorance; reckless, it heeds not what it destroys. Its harm-working and wanton feet strike down the stateliest landmarks.

This is very fine, as is also that passage where his Lordship, dwelling on the needs of the age, says that—

The knowledge of the age is great, but its needs are greater. The accumulation of knowledge has created fresh needs; the treasures bestowed upon us are too many to use; precious things lie, like Cleopatra's needle, upon the shore waiting for some power to lift them into use. Truths are ours, but the power of co-ordinating them is still wanting, and, wanting this, life seems dislocated. Never did an age feel it more difficult to assign to religion its fit place in life; yet never did an age feel more the need of religion. New facts and old theories jostle one another in inevitable confusion, and the age discovers that the tree of knowledge is not the tree of life. No generation has been more fully—I do not say better—educated. Information is within everybody's reach; literature is cheap; education is enforced; but these things do not ensure noble thinking, self-sacrificing living, or honourable dealing. The attempt to reconstruct society without religion is, even in France, now recognised as a failure. Culture may see the diminution of vice in its more coarse and brutal forms, but vice does not lose its viciousness by losing its coarseness; refined vice is dangerous because seductive. The snares of self-deception are multiplied when viciousness of

temperament is hidden under the show of cultivated decorum or under a skilful evasion of law. The vices of intelligence are more perilous than the vices of violence.

In a glowing peroration his Lordship told his hearers what the religion of the future is likely to be, at least in England. He evidently abominates a dogmatic system, and, presumably, all that Lord Halifax and his followers insist upon as necessary for 'the health of their souls.' In fact, in the light of the Bishop's own words, it may be said that he regards all developments of Christian teaching as worthless accretions, blurring the purity of the primitive faith. As he put it :—

The future of the world does not belong to sectarianism, and so the dream of Catholicity will be fulfilled. Of another thing I am certain, as increasing light falls upon great problems, and men begin to realise how much of Judaistic, pagan, and scholastic thought is mingled with popular Christianity, how many accretions due to human weakness and race prejudice have been incorporated in our conceptions, they will distrust any Church which with every new epoch adds new dogma to faith, and with every new dogma goes further from the simplicity of Christ. The future of the world does not belong to Latinism, and so the vision of Protestantism will be fulfilled. But of a third thing I am convinced even more surely. The religion of the future will neither be Protestant nor Catholic, but simply Christian. The separating dogmas of the Churches will fall off as autumn leaves before the fresh winds of God. Many views which in the very providence of God have played their part in clearing the thoughts of men will pass into forgetfulness. Many will not grieve to see the old things go, for a larger faith will be theirs ; they

Will not think God's world will fall apart.
Because we tear up parchment more or less.

The Church of God will renew its strength. It will be content with a simpler symbol, because it will have learned Christ. It will not need any longer Trent, or Westminster, or Lambeth, or the Vatican to lead it. It will be satisfied with simpler thoughts and a purer faith.

The Bishop-designate of Calcutta (Dr. Welldon), who is proud to call himself a Protestant, and will not hear the word Catholic, logically enough, in connection with any member of the Church of England, gave expression to the statement that 'the living and progressive nations were

Protestant and not Catholic.' This did not please the High Churchmen, who, in lieu of Catholic, insisted on the use of the compound adjective 'non-Roman-Catholic.' This bold statement on the part of Dr. Welldon occasioned no small amount of surprise. Someone using the *nom de plume* of 'Inquirer,' wrote to the *Spectator*, asking some very pertinent questions, to which no adequate answer has so far been vouchsafed. 'Inquirer' said:—

Dr. Welldon can hardly mean that national success is of more importance than true religion. What he seems to imply is that national success is a test of true religion. One often hears this argument, and it is of additional importance when the speaker is one selected to be an eminent representative of the Christian religion in the East, where he will find many among Hindoos and Buddhists who take a very different view of the nature of religion. I fear that he will not have time to attend to them; but I should like to ask him some questions with a view to testing his position. Does he think that the qualities by which the English race, when one with the Church centred at Rome, secured Magna Charta, and won Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, are essentially different from those by which, when Protestant, they won Blenheim, Trafalgar, and Waterloo, and carried the Reform Bill? Had not the penal law against Roman Catholics much to do with the stagnation of Ireland? May there not be economic and other causes besides Catholicism for the decay of Spain? To what does he attribute the industrial success, as great as that of Lancashire, of so Catholic a country as Belgium? But I should still more like to have answers to the following questions, which have often puzzled me, and still do so:—Did Jesus Christ promise to those who most truly followed Him temporal glory, power, wealth, and dominion, and were any of these things likely to accrue to those who most truly obeyed the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount? Did not these temporal rewards rather belong to the older Jewish dispensation? Does the idea of a chosen *race or nation* belong to the Christian order of ideas? May not the Bishop-designate be falling into some confusion between success in the spiritual and success in the temporal spheres? Is not attainment in the temporal often in inverse ratio to attainment in the spiritual life, whether in the cases of individuals, or in that of the aggregates of individuals called nations? If a man is energetic, resolute, active, busy, honest, moral, and consequently rich, thriving, and respected, and the founder of a great family, does it necessarily follow that he is nearer to the mind of Christ than a man who is not busy or active in worldly affairs, contemplative, unambitious, careless of obtaining advantages over his neighbours, and who, therefore, does not

become wealthy, powerful, or renowned? I think that, in any case, the arguments used by Dr. Welldon should be used with more care, delicacy, and caution than boldness.

At the conclusion of the Bradford Congress it was found that no allusion had been made to the doctrinal points put forward by the representatives of the English Church Union. It was, however, generally felt that someone must grapple with the questions at issue, and endeavour to define what precisely is the teaching of the Church of England on such vitally important matters as the Eucharist, prayers for the dead, the practice of confession, and the relations of the Church to the State. This the Archbishop of Canterbury endeavoured to do in his now famous 'Charge,' delivered piecemeal at Canterbury, Ashford, Maidstone, and Croyden. Only a man of great strength and determination of character could possibly have undertaken such a task, and Dr. Temple is, fortunately, possessed of these qualities in a very high degree. He is one of the really robust and manly forces within the Establishment at the present moment. A man much more feared than loved, utterly regardless of his personal appearance and attire, with a rough side to his tongue, Dr. Temple is the living antithesis, in almost every particular, to his cultured and super-refined immediate predecessor, Dr. Benson. I remember once meeting the late Protestant Primate, when a very young priest, in the Reading Room of the British Museum, and I still possess a very vivid recollection of his rare courtesy and charm of manner. But, were Dr. Benson alive to-day, no power on earth could possibly have induced him to deliver a 'charge' on such matters as the 'Eucharist' and 'Prayers for the Dead.' This, however, Dr. Temple has done, and no one will refuse him the meed of praise owing to every act of conspicuous bravery.

On Monday, October 10th, 1898, the Primate commenced his visitation at Canterbury, and delivered the first part of his Charge. He passed in review four distinct sets of doctrines as to the Holy Eucharist:—

1. The opinion of 'those who hold that no special gift is bestowed in the sacrament, but that the value of it mainly, if not

entirely, resides in the effect produced on the soul of the receiver by the commemoration of that wonderful act of love—our Lord's sacrifice of Himself on the cross.'

2. 'There are, and always have been, those who believe that this sacrament conveys to the receiver a special mysterious gift, uniting us to Christ in a special manner and degree, giving new power, new cleansing, new life, and even new insight into spiritual things.'

3. 'The further doctrine that there is a Real Presence in some way attached to the elements at the time of consecration, and before the reception . . . It is not possible really to distinguish between this doctrine and the Lutheran doctrine, commonly called Consubstantiation. It is not unlawful to hold it, and to teach it within the Church of England.'

4. 'The doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Church of England has condemned this teaching as unscriptural, as inconsistent with the very nature of a sacrament.'

Such are Dr. Temple's views as to the Holy Eucharist. Like all things Anglican, they end in a compromise, and so please nobody. The Low Churchmen will be, and are, mortally offended at being told that there is a 'Real Presence,' whilst High Anglicans are sure to resent any application to themselves of the hateful and abhorrent doctrine of consubstantiation.

On the following day, October 11, still at Canterbury, the Primate dealt with the communion of saints. He would not hear for a moment of such a thing as prayers addressed to a saint for his or her intercession. He said:—

There is nothing like such prayers in the Bible, and the Church of England will not permit them to her members. And for these reasons, and for other reasons like these, the Church of England has swept away all worships except the worship of God Himself. No worship is allowed even to the mother of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin. No worship is allowed to any Apostle, no invocation to any saint. And in order to guard against all approaches and temptations to breaches of this rule, even the appearance of such worship is forbidden.

As to praying for the souls of the faithful departed, the Archbishop declared that—

To pray for the dead is not forbidden by the New Testament, and it is not forbidden by the Church of England, and our Ecclesiastical Courts accordingly have so decided it. But while

the Church of England nowhere forbids prayers for the departed, it nevertheless does not authorise the introduction of such prayers into our public worship except in the most cautious and guarded manner.

Here we have another compromise, and consequently another fruitful cause of discontent. Most Ritualists believe in, and practice, the full doctrine of the communion of saints. All Low Churchmen reject and abominate all prayers addressed to the saints or offered for the dead.

It was on Wednesday, October 12, that the Archbishop dealt with the practice of auricular confession at Ashford. After explaining that at the time of the so-called Reformation the ancient Catholic discipline concerning the Confession of sin entirely disappeared, and that the Church of England in this connection, as in all others, makes for freedom, and insists that confession shall be always voluntary, and not pre-required as a condition of being presented for Confirmation, or of being admitted to Holy Communion, the Primate committed himself to the following contradictory statements:—

1. Confession implies a 'want of freedom.'
2. 'The penitent will get forgiveness from the priest on far easier terms than from his own conscience.'
3. 'A lie once told in the confessional weakens for ever after the power of making good use of such a system.'
4. Confession entails 'the risk of interference with the sacred privacy of domestic life,' and tends 'to rob it of its freedom and its sweetness.'
5. The priest has 'no power to demand that the penitent should confess anything more than the matter which perplexed or troubled him.'
6. Properly handled confession 'has often been of invaluable help to Christians in their private life.'

The principles above enunciated are not calculated to satisfy anybody. They are certain to cause universal discontent amongst Anglicans of all classes.

The culminating point in this famous 'charge' was reached on October 13, at Maidstone, when Dr. Temple had under consideration the question of ceremonial. He admitted fully the *erastian* character of the English Estab-

lishment, pointing out that the Prayer Book itself is enforced by Act of Parliament, and that the power of ordering new services 'was given to the Crown by Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity.' He went so far even as to say that—

It is the rule of strict ceremonial that makes it unlawful to elevate the consecrated elements in the Communion office, to reserve them after the office is over, to carry them out of the church for any purpose whatever, to use incense ceremonially by carrying it in procession, or by censuring persons or things, to mix water with wine ceremonially, by doing it visibly during the office, to introduce additional prayers, to introduce psalms, or hymns, or anthems at any point of the service except where there is a special order permitting it, or where the service is for any reason legitimately interrupted.

All this was nothing more than a candid admission that the principles enunciated by Sir William Harcourt, and set forth in the quotation at the commencement of this paper, are perfectly correct, and that the Anglican Establishment is nothing more than a purely human and national institution, deriving all its authority from parliament and the Crown, and as much liable to Parliamentary interference and legislation as the War Office, the Education Department, or the General Post Office.

What the effect of this pronouncement is likely to be in the case of the Ritualists, it is not easy to predict. One thing is certain, that High Anglicans have as little regard for authority, and are as much prone to the assertion of the Protestant principle of private judgment, as the Low Churchmen themselves. For instance, on October 12, the well-known 'Father' Dolling wrote to the *Chronicle* to say that in so far as Archbishop Temple's 'charge' was concerned—

It is of vital importance that we should realise that these are merely the words of a single Anglican, however learned, however exalted, however revered, and cannot in any sense bind the conscience of any other Anglican. There is a danger that cannot be exaggerated for the future, as well as for the present, in the creation of what may come to be regarded as the mind of the Church of England, while it is only the mind of individual

prelates. One can hardly dare to imagine what the Church of England would have been to-day if at any other period of her existence the *ipse dixit* of the Primate, or, indeed, of the whole episcopate, had been so regarded.

This needs no comment. To sum up, I should say that Protestant views in this country will gradually harden on the erastian lines described and advocated by Sir William Harcourt and so many others. As regards the Ritualists they have now no logical standing in the Establishment. Will they have the courage to come out? Will they submit to that one Church which recognises and enforces the principle of authority? They may, but not before they have learned the lesson of humility. As for the Low Churchmen, I see nothing before them but rationalism, and finally infidelity.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

THE GENERAL EXILE OF 1698

IN an age of centenaries, it is a little surprising that no notice has been taken during the year, which has just closed, of an event by which the Irish Church was profoundly affected just two hundred years ago—nothing less than the exile and dispersion over Europe of the archbishops, bishops, deans, and vicars-capitular, as well as the members of the regular orders then in existence in the country, with a few exceptions here and there—a few braving proscription, and defying the law—who carried on their ministry in lonely and inaccessible places, often at the risk of their lives. The event is now ignored, forgotten, buried in oblivion, even by those who might reflect on it with profit, who while pondering sadly on the sufferings of that year, the melancholy partings between priests and people, the despair of parents and brothers and sisters, the lonely lives spent in foreign lands—while dwelling sadly on these circumstances always inseparable from exile, might at the same time draw hope and comfort from the reflection on the change for the better which the intervening two hundred years have brought as they have rolled by. For many years 1698 was well remembered as a conspicuous year to date by, like the year of the big wind, or as we speak now of '48 and '67; well remembered both by the exiles themselves in their lonely peregrinations over the Continent in search of new fields of labour, and often of a bare living; remembered also at home by those who coming back with renewed courage after a couple of years took their place side by side with the brethren who had remained at their posts. They did not go so far, indeed, as to date their years from the event, as did the followers of the Prophet from the Hegira—still that year of 1698, well marked on their memories as a year of profound suffering and sorrow, was generally referred to as the year of the General Exile, as may be seen in books and manuscripts of the period. As regards the religious no such systematic and successful clearing of them off had ever occurred before. After the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. and

Elizabeth, the inmates remained in the country; the edict of Elizabeth, in 1602, banishing all Popish priests and regulars could not be enforced at the time, and practically remained a dead letter; even Cromwell's persecution, the fiercest and bitterest of all, though accompanied by banishment of priests, was not so successful in this respect as the deportation in 1698. On the latter occasion they were banished in a body by a strong Government which had the whole country in its grasp, and they went in a body on a fixed day from the larger ports in the country, in merchant vessels chartered by the Irish Government and in men-of-war lent by the king.

The Treaty of Limerick, drawn up in 1691, had, on the whole, guaranteed civil and religious liberty to all classes, and King William had promised to use his best endeavours to obtain from the Parliament even better terms for the Catholics. The services of religion were being carried out during the few years following the war; not, indeed, with much outward show, but still they were being carried out without molestation both by regulars and by secular priests; when suddenly, in 1697, without a note of warning, like a bolt from the blue, came the edict banishing the hierarchy and the regular orders out of the country. Bent on extinguishing the Catholic religion in the land, caring nought for the flagrant injustice of the act, in direct contravention to the articles of the Treaty, the Government determined as a first measure to extirpate the Catholic priesthood of Ireland. So the Irish Parliament of 1697, from which Catholics were rigidly excluded, passed the infamous Act that 'all Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, Jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular Popish clergy, and all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction should depart from the kingdom, before the 1st of May, 1698,' on pain of imprisonment or transportation; and that, returning from transportation they would be guilty of high treason. A second Act prohibited all Catholic priests from entering the kingdom under penalty of twelve months' imprisonment, to be followed by transportation, and should they return after having been transported, of high-treason.

In order that none might escape, returns of the number of secular and regular priests then living in Ireland were

sent in from the various military districts of the country, and though the list is imperfect,¹ made up, of course, under difficulties, we give it in full as it is interesting from many points of view.

R. C. CLERGY OF IRELAND, A.D. 1697.

Districts	Secular	Regular	OBSERVATIONS
Armagh	30	5	Whereof 1 Dean Bar. Cremone. 14 or 15 Friars.
Athlone	49	5	
Baltimore	9	3	
Cavan	30	8	Whereof 1 Dean and Vicar-General.
Coleraine	14	2	
Cork Port	8	4	
Cork Excise	18	5	Whereof 1 Bishop.
Dingle	42	12	Whereof 1 Vicar-General.
Donoghedee	—	—	No Roll.
Drogheda	4	6	One Lord Abbot.
Dublin Port	5	27	
Dublin County	17	17	
Dundalk	11	6	
Ennis	42	14	
Foxford	49	42	
Gallway Port	19	13	
Gallway Excise	68	60	1 Bishop, 2 Vicars-General, 2 Provincials, 9 Priors and Guardians.
Kilkenny	26	13	
Killibegs	14	12	1 Abbot, a great and dangerous Emmissary.
Kinsale	7	2	
Limerick	9	9	
Lisburn	15	—	No distinction whether Secular or Regular.
Londonderry	1	—	
Maryburrow	32	5	
Mallow	52	6	
Naas	24	16	1 Vicar-General.
Sligo	33	29	
Strabane	17	1	
Strangford	27	6	
Trim	66	32	1 Archdeacon, 1 Vicar-General, 1 Bishop.
Waterford	21	8	
Wexford	24	8	
Wicklow	12	5	
Youghal	6	3	
	833	389	

¹ Dr. Renehan says that there were 892 secular priests and 495 regulars then in the country. The returns from Dublin City and County are to be found in Marsh's Library, Dublin. '1697, March 2. A Particular Account of the Romish Clergy, secular and regular, in every parish of the diocese of Dublin.'

From the above list and other sources of information we learn how large was the number of those affected by the act of banishment. By driving the bishops away, the Government hoped at one blow to destroy the succession of priests, and to render the work of the secular clergy, left in the meantime without a directing hand, comparatively useless; every parish priest being free to follow his own devices. When the present generation of priests would die out, there would be none to follow, and the laity left without a clergy would naturally fall into the Protestant net. Local authorities, however, afterwards showed themselves impatient of this slow but sure process. As an instance, in Dublin, a city then of forty thousand inhabitants, the major portion of whom were Catholics, eight or ten priests were tolerated for five or six years after the exile, and thenceforward only one was recognised. By driving away the regulars the Government hoped to rid the country of what they considered a pestilential plague, of a set of restless, itinerant preachers, ultramontane in practice and opinion, blindly obedient to foreign generals living in Rome, fanatical adherents of the Pope, and suspected of spreading sedition. No progress could be made with their designs, as long as these men remained in the country, who not having a fixed charge like the parochial clergy, and often not even a fixed abode, could elude their vigilance more artfully than they.

The prospective exiles had a year in which to settle up their affairs before their departure. Debts were paid, bonds realised, houses leased or sold. Movable ecclesiastical property—though a good deal was probably brought away by the exiles—in many cases was left in the custody of lay persons, with the proviso that on return from exile, if such an event were to take place, it was to be given up. Even objects of special veneration were thus disposed of, the exiles not wishing to trust them to the vicissitudes of travel in foreign countries; as, for instance, the statue of our Lady of Youghal was deposited with Sir John Hore, Shandon Castle, Waterford. Written agreements as to safe custody and delivery on demand were drawn up and signed, but have in nearly every instance been lost in course of time. Amid the

dearth of documents bearing on the subject two or three have, fortunately, been preserved, and as they throw light on the cases of a bishop and a religious community respectively, will be given in full. The first is a testamentary disposal of all his goods by Dr. Daton, Bishop of Ossory, and is as follows :

Whereas, I am banished by order of the Government. In case I should dye in my banishment, I order all my bookes to be put into my predecessor's library at Garririckin, if there be any prospect that the Church should flourish. I mean those above specified bookes, and also the trunkfull I leave at Mr. Lee's. If there be no prospect [of religion being restored], I leave them to my nephew, to be distributed amongst the clergy for my sowle. And as to the above ornaments and churche stuffe, I order they should be divided betwixt our Lady's parish and the cathedraill. Item, I order that of my church plate, the challice that beares the name of James Phelan, Bishop of Ossorie, may be given to St. Kenny's Church, if in Catholicke hands; if not, to the Catholicke pastor of St. Kenny's. It weighs 16 ounces. And my challice, weighing 24 ounces and a-half, I order, it for our Lady's. Item, I leave to St. Kenny's the silver crucifix weighing 15 ounces, and the small silver bottle, weighing two ounces and a-halfe, to St. Kenny's. The rest of my challices and plate I order may be given to my nephew, Richard Daton, along with the cheste wherein they are contained, and which lays at Mr. John Cody's house, as may appear by the annexed note of his. But in case I should returne back to this kingdom again, I intend that the aforesaid things should remaine to my owne use and disposition. All which I declare to be my will, as witness my hand this 11th of Aprill, 1698. WILLIAM DATON, Bishop of Ossorie.

Dr. Daton, when brought before the court, had avowed his determination to return to the country, if banished. This being construed as high treason, sentence of death was pronounced against him, and would probably have been carried into effect, as a warning to others, but for the interposition of powerful and influential friends. Before his departure for the Continent he deposited his books, of which the list, written in his own handwriting, has been preserved, 'at Mr. John Cody's house.' He consigned into safe hands the sacred vestments and religious utensils, of which the list also remains in his handwriting.¹

¹ Everything regarding Dr. Daton is taken from the 'History of the Bishops of Ossory,' by Cardinal Moran, printed in the *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society*, vol. ii:

Let us now turn to the case of a religious community—that of the Dominican fathers in Galway—from which we may gain a fair idea of the preparations made for departure by similar communities all over the country, and of the effective and cruel manner in which the law of exile was executed by the Government. O'Heyne,¹ in his account of what befel the Dominican nuns in the same town, throws such a light on the subject, and draws such a vivid picture of the confusion into which all things were thrown in the carrying out of the law, that without scruple I here give a free translation of the whole of it:—

Dominican nuns of Galway. In the reign of James II., Julian Nolan was elected prioress, and Maria Lynch subprioress. These were the two who had returned from Spain. Having got a house in the centre of the town to live in, *sub arcta clausura*, they received fourteen good subjects from 1685 to 1698. Only one of these was a novice when the friars were expelled the kingdom. The gratings were broken on the Vigil of the Apostles SS. Philip and James. All were compelled to take off the religious habit. It was distressing to see their tears, and even many Protestants were moved to compassion. After the community of our fathers in Galway had gone to France, about the 20th March, there was no priest to look after our sisters, who remained together till the last day allowed by the Parliament for their dispersion. On one Sunday they were deprived of Mass. This fact, having spread through the town, and having also reached that part of the country where I was preaching and hearing confessions (for that year the parish priests began the stations earlier than usual on account of the deficiency of priests), I at once left and went to the sisters, who were in such a state of desolation, and ministered to them from the 10th of April till the 17th of June, the day on which I went on board the transport with one hundred and twenty-six other religious.

Mother Julia Nolan had lived thirty years in exile in the Convent at Bilbao. Quite willing to remain there all her life, if it were the will of God, she, nevertheless, had returned to Galway with two of our fathers. In the Convent in Galway the sisters were in the habit of rising at midnight to the Divine Office, both in Advent and in Lent. After the cloister had been broken in, Mother Julia found that all the sisters still remained obedient to her, and never expressed a desire to go into the town. She wished to bring the community to France, but I persuaded

¹ *Epilogus Chronologicus*. Of this invaluable work only two copies are known to exist.

her, for certain reasons of my own, to keep them at home. She was very glad I would not allow the sisters to accompany me to the vessel on the day of departure. Indeed, leaving them without a confessor and consoler was a greater affliction to me than my own exile. I hear that after the death of this Mother, in 1701, the sisters are living in an exemplary manner under the guidance of Mother Maria Lynch.

Again, under the date of 1706, he writes :—

The Galway sisters are in great need of a religious priest to look after them, and although Father Blake has returned from France, he dares not appear by day, nor dare they receive him, nor allow him to say Mass in their house. So it is only by night he goes to them when he has to hear their confessions. Many of the sisters of the former community were dispersed through Spain.

The Galway Dominicans had gone to France about March 20th. Why they went before the specified time we are unable to say. Perhaps the fact recorded by O'Heyne, that Father John Browne, with some other religious, were confined in Galway Jail for four months and a-half, may throw light on the question, and allow us to suppose that they obtained their release on condition of their immediate departure. However, Father Gregory French remained on, and the following consignment of goods, made by him a fortnight later to a merchant of the town, enlightens us as to the complete way in which religious services were carried on at the time in their chapel, and also as to the hope the exiles entertained of returning again to their country.

JESUS, MARIA

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, I, Vallentine Browne, of Gallwey, Merchant, sendeth greetinge know you that I th^s Vallentine hath received into my custody and keeping to be kept as safe as my owne orary of my owne goods or property the severall goods following. videlicet, eleven casulas, one canopy, two redd dalmaticas, two cappas whereof one white and the other redd, two smale frontales, ten ould silk scarfes, six bursas, five pallas, five velums, sevrall smale coatts for ye Image of Jesus, two silke coatts for to make antependiums of sadd coloure, thirteen towells, four albs, two pair of beads, two singing bookes, four antependiums. five corporalls, one alter stone, one girdle, ten amicts, one smale chest wherein are the

silver plate of the convent, videlicet, ten silver chalices whereof four are gilt w^h Gould, one silver ciborium, one silver remonstrance, a silver Crown for the Image of our blessed Lady, two smale silver ampullas, and one smale silver crowne, one smale box containeing bills and bonds and other paper belonging to the convent, a big brass ringeing bell belonging to the chaple and a brandiron, from and by the hands and delivery of father Gregory french fitzRedmond by the consent, assent and approbation of the Society or Community of the Dominicans fryers of our blessed Lady's Chappell in the West of Gallwey whereof the s^d Fr. Gregory french is prior att present and I the s^d Vallentine doth hereby for me (?) my heirs, exct^m and administ^m covenant, grant and agree to and w^h y^e s^d Gregory french, his execut^m administ^m and assign^m, I the s^d Vallentine Browne. my heirs, Execut^m and Administ^m shall att and upon y^e request of him y^e s^d Gregory french his execut^m or administ^m, or att y^e request of any and every other who shall be hereafter att any tyme or from tyme to tyme Prior or installed Prior or named Pryor of y^e s^d Society either in the kingd^m or any other Kingd^m whatsoever p^ovided such request of any or every such Prior be by y^e consent and assent and under the hands of the s^d society or the main part of them, deliver and restore all and singular the s^d sevrall above named goods unto the s^d Fr. Gregory french his execut^m and administ^m or unto such Prior as shall soe request the same by the assent of y^e s^d community as aoffrs^d or their o^r any of their orders to y^e use the s^d society or Community; as witness my hand this fifth day of Aprill, 1698, memorandum it is the Reall Intent and meaning of the above named Vallentine Browne and so he states (?) at the possession hereof that he will keep all the above goods for the use of the above Frs pryors and community the best of his power skill and caring and deliver them also at any time demanded.

VALLENTINE BROWNE.

Present { JAMES BROWNE.
AUGUSTIN BROWNE.

ENDORSEMENT.—M. Vallentine Browne his note for all ye goods received from the convent of Gallwey of St. Dominick's Order.¹

According to the terms of the Act of Parliament, the bishops, regulars and all others, included within the meaning of the Act, werẽ to repair on a given day before the 1st of

¹ The writer discovered the document a few years ago in a loft in the Galway Dominican Hopse. It is written on the ordinary notepaper of the period. All the plate mentioned is still in the possession of the Dominicans. The silver crown for Our Lady's statue bears the date 1645. Father French went to Nantes, but returning some time later was imprisoned for a year and a-half, and was then released on the petition of his brother.

May, 1698, to the ports of Dublin, Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, Waterford, Wexford, Galway, or Carrickfergus, where they would find transports ready to receive them, and convey them out of the country. Of the bishops and archbishops all went except twelve, or perhaps sixteen, who remained in hiding; of the regulars about fifty remained either in hiding or under the guise of secular priests, and four hundred and forty-four departed, a number made up of one hundred and ninety from Galway, one hundred and fifty-three from Dublin, twenty-six from Waterford, and seventy-five from Cork.¹ We leave our readers to picture to themselves the pathetic scenes which took place at the seaport towns, as the bonds uniting the priests and people of Ireland, were thus rudely snapped asunder by the ruthless orders of the Government.

Mathew O'Connor thus describes the exile :—

The Catholic clergy submitted to their hard destiny with Christian resignation. They repaired to the seaport towns fixed for their embarkation, and took an everlasting farewell of their country and friends, of everything dear and valuable in this world. Many of them were descending into the vale of tears, and must have been anxious to deposit their bones with the ashes of their ancestors; they were now transported to foreign lands, where they would find no fond breast to rely upon, no pious tear to attend their obsequies. Yet their enemies could not deprive them of the consolations of religion: that first-born offspring of Heaven still cheered them in adversity and exile, smoothed the rugged path of death, and closed their last faltering accents with benedictions on their country, and prayers for their persecutors.

Catholic Europe was moved to its depths as it beheld these homeless exiles of the faith, disembarking on the coasts of France and elsewhere, and wandering through towns and cities in want of the very necessities of life. The Nuncio in Paris declared in a letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State, that numbers of them came to him for help in Paris, perishing of hunger and half naked, and that out of his slender means he had to make great sacrifices in order to alleviate their more pressing needs. A wave of indignation

¹ For these figures see Renehan, and also O'Reilly

against the English Government passed over Catholic France, and reached Italy, Spain, and Portugal. Pope Innocent XII. called the attention of Catholic Courts to this act of flagitious persecution, and protests were heard on all sides. The English Government, not wishing to appear in an invidious position before the eyes of Europe, made a lame endeavour to explain its conduct, and instructed its agents in foreign Courts to the same effect.¹

Pope Innocent XII. showed himself a true father to the Irish exiles. On June 10th he addressed a brief full of encouragement and consolation to the faithful bishops and clergy of Ireland. He also sent large sums of money from time to time to King James, at St. Germain's, to be distributed in charity to them, a task faithfully performed by the king, who added to the sums of his own account. A distribution was made of the Pope's money every three months, to bishops, clergy, religious, widows, and orphans, at the rate of 72,000 francs (*livres tournoise*) per annum. The following year, 1699, the Pope redoubled his efforts. In a Consistory, on June 1st, he exhorted the cardinals to set an example to the Catholic world by giving large contributions themselves, and in the same year ordered public prayers to be recited in all the churches in Italy for the welfare of Ireland, the Blessed Sacrament to be exposed for three days, and public processions to take place

¹ The following letter from Dublin Castle to the Secretary of State is to be found among the unpublished correspondence of the period, at the Irish Record Office, Dublin:—

DUBLIN CASTLE, 6th June, 1698.

Sr,—We have been advised that in several foreign courts, it has been indusoriously circulated that his Majesty's papist subjects of Ireland are persecuted here on matters of opinion purely. We have, therefore, caused to be collected a summary account of the several penal laws in force now in this Kingdom against any persons of that persuasion, and the ground of occasion of them, which we do herewith enclosed transmitt to you (if you think it proper) by a view thereof his Majesty's Ministers in the courts where these complaints are made may be the better enabled to give an answer to them, that we hope may be satisfaction to all unprejudiced persons.

We are, Sr,

Your most humble servants,

WINCHESTER,
GALLWAY.

To the Rt. Honble. Mr. Secretary VEENON.

for the same object.¹ However, in spite of all the charitable efforts of the Pope, great misery was experienced not only by the friars, but even by some of the bishops, as the following extract from a letter of Dr. Dominic Burke, Bishop of Elphin, will show :—

Jam autem octogenarius exul hic jejunos et frigidus sedeo, ubi qui meam levaret miseriam neminem prorsus invenio ; ad quem igitur ibimus Emme Domine nisi ad te si oportet cum Apostolico loqui, usque in hanc horam, et esurimus, et sitimus et nudi sumus. Quare submisce et humiliter peto, ut Vestra Eminentia illud præstari faciat Romæ, quod olim præstitit Paulus in Macedonia et Achaia collectionem scilicet fieri in Pauperes Sanctorum ; imploretque quaeso per viscera Christi atque procuret ex Aerario apostolico opportunam, sin minus aliqualem necessitatibus meis opem, qui sum multa senectute fractus, et injuriis temporum factus mihi met ipsi gravis.²

The following list made out by Dr. Daton, Bishop of Ossory for the Nuncio in Paris, throws a vivid light on the scattering of the Irish episcopate. Some of the bishops lived for the rest of their lives, and died in the places mentioned in the list :—

The Primate, who resides with the Court at St. Germain.

The Archbishop of Dublin, in exile at Strasburg.

The Archbishop of Tuam, at the Abbey of St. Armand, in Belgium, in the diocese of Tournay.

The Archbishop of Cashel in Ireland.

The Bishop of Elphin, at Louvain, in Belgium.

The Bishop of Limerick, at Issy, near Paris.

The Bishop of Ossory, lately arrived from Ireland, at present in Paris.

The Bishop of Cork, who is said to have sailed for Spain.

The Bishop of Waterford, who is said to be in Spain.

The Bishop of Ferns, in Ireland.

The Bishop of Kildare, in Ireland.

The Bishop of Clonfert, in Ireland.

Of the friars, many returned to Ireland, at the risk of imprisonment and death ; but the greater number seem to have made a home in the place of their exile, and that comprised all the Catholic countries of Europe. Some managed

¹ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 366.

² For an exact account of the sums distributed by the Pope to the Irish exiles, see *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. ii., p. 347, and following pages.

to live in the foreign Irish convents, which, in consequence of the number of refugees they had to support, were grievously burdened with debt; others found occupation as chaplains to the Irish brigades of Continental armies, or as chaplains in hospitals; some were promoted to small canonries, or were allowed to officiate as curates, and even as parish priests. One bishop, Paul de Godet, ruling one of the largest dioceses in France, received the special thanks of the exiles, in a letter to the Supreme Pontiff, for the generous way in which he had provided occupation and means of subsistence for a large number of them. Still it was a hardship to begin life over again, and live and work among a people who, however sympathetic, were of different ways and habits of life. One permanent good was effected. The poor Irish exiles, eking out their daily subsistence, kept alive that sympathy for Ireland and her suffering people which has always distinguished the good Catholics of the Continent. It can never be known with certainty where the greater portion of them lived and died. A loving hand has, however, recorded the obits of his own community, and from the record we learn how complete was the dispersion.¹

Such is the story of the exile of 1698. It is brief and unadorned; yet in its naked simplicity it may draw a breath

¹ We transcribe the following list of obits of the Dominican Fathers of Athenry from the old Rosary Confraternity Book of the Dominican Convent of Esker (near Athenry, county Galway). On one of the first pages is written 'Pray for the soule of father John Burke fitz Redmond, who bought this Booke (the Booke of the Confraternity of the most Blessed Rosary of the thrice Sacred Virgin Mary Mother of God) in Limerick the yeare 1676 for two shillings,' and underneath is written, in a different hand: 'He dyed in Banishment at Nantes.'

'OBIERUNT AB ANNO EXILII 1698

'... In Belgio R.A.P. Humbertus Dolphin Præd. Gen. Obiit Nantis n Gallia R. A. P. Fr. Joannes Raymundi Præd. Gen. P. Joannes Edmundi in Hispania. P. Marcus Browne prope Nantis P. Thomas Bodkin prope Rochellas. Fr. Joannes de Burgo filius More Hubert, Romæ. P. Fr. Martinus Dolphin prope Romam. P. Patricius O'Brien in Perpignan. P. Richardus rufus seu Franciscus de Burgo Mantuæ obiit, Fr. Thomas Tully Baione. P. Eugenius Kavanan ibidem. P. Joannes Lynch Bardinalia. P. Joannes de Burgo exul Lovanii, 2 anni 1704 obiit illius ac Revdms Dominicus de Burgo... Obiit Romæ P. Petrus Bermingham... obiit Lovanii die 10 Dec. 1713 eximius Pater Fr. Joannes O'Heyn... P. Dominicus Dolan verus Israelita in Belgio obiit... Fr. Thadeus Daly de Clonbroek obiit in Bilbo, 21 Jan 1712... Fr. Franciscus Davock obiit exul in Gallacia Novemb. 1721.'

of sympathy on to those unknown graves of our fellow-countrymen scattered through Europe ; it may evoke a tear, or a sigh, or a prayer from loving hearts, not unmindful of our brethren who fought the good fight in the past ; and if it does so we may sincerely say that its two hundredth anniversary has not passed without record, and is not without a monument.

AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

THE TOWER AND CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK, TRIM

AMONGST the many ancient ecclesiastical buildings in the vicinity of Trim, there are few more deserving of notice than the old tower and church of St. Patrick, from which the parish of Trim derives its title. The church is situated within the walls of the old historic town, and on the north of the River Boyne, a short distance from the Yellow Steeple, and quite close to the Athboy gate, one of the chief fortified entrances by which, in olden times, the town was approached and safeguarded. St. Patrick's, as it is still called, has been in Protestant hands ever since the Reformation, and the rich endowments connected with it render it one of the most coveted appointments at the disposal of the Protestant bishops of the diocese of Meath. To satisfy the different tastes of successive generations of rectors, and to meet the varied requirements of modern worship, this old church passed through so many changes from time to time, that scarcely any part of it, at least in its original shape, can be said to be standing at the present day, except, perhaps, the ivy-clad tower at the north-western corner.

The latter venerable pile is a square solid structure seventy-five feet high, and divided into six storeys, two of which are vaulted. From its castle-like appearance, with its crenullated and battlemented belfry, it is evident that

it was not built as a mere ornamental appendage to the church, nor as a lofty height whence a goodly chime of bells might be heard to advantage, but rather as a place of refuge and defence in time of danger. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that in travelling through Ireland he observed the ancient Irish had no castles worth speaking of; and hence, in troublesome times, they took refuge in their churches from the robbers with which the country was infested.¹ Although Giraldus is not always trustworthy when dealing with subjects treating upon Ireland, yet here there is no sufficient reason to question his testimony, since we know from other sources that in those days there was a general permission, *tempore necessitatis belli tum hospitari tum incastellari in ecclesia*. Hence, in the reign of Edward III. the Prior and Convent of Holy Trinity, Dublin, applied to the Crown for a licence to battlement their belfry as a precaution against surprise, and a necessary means of protecting their property against the lawless bands of pirates roaming around and living on plunder. The tourist visiting Trim will observe at the top of the old tower in the north-eastern angle an additional structure about six feet high, and may be curious to know when it was built, and for what purpose. To satisfy his inquiry it will be enough to say that this addition to the tower was made just a hundred years ago in the memorable year 1798, for the accommodation of a sentinel who was stationed at this point of vantage 'to be on the look out for the enemy, and to give warning of his approach.'

But the precise date of the building of the principal portion of the tower cannot be very definitely ascertained. Some say it was erected in 1449, the same year as the Yellow Steeple, when the Duke of York lived in Trim Castle as Lord Deputy or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In support of their statement they point to a finely-cut stone set midway in the tower, on which appears the coat-of-arms of York and Mortimer, the Duke being entitled to quarter the arms of Mortimer as well as of York, in right

¹ *Top. Hib.*, vol. ii., p. 45.

of his mother who was sister to the Earl of March. The insertion of this stone in such a prominent position, no doubt seems to favour that opinion; and we would be inclined to adopt it, only we know that all architectural experts, judging from the style of the structure, pronounce it to be more antique than the Yellow Steeple, and far inferior to it in material and workmanship. Besides, there is a good deal of historic evidence that goes to prove that, before the Duke of York took up his residence in Trim, or even before the Norman set foot in Ireland, this old tower was in existence, and the witness of many stirring events and sanguinary struggles not all indeed of a very creditable character. Lanigan, for instance, quoting from the *Annals of Ulster*, at the year 1128, tells us how Conor O'Lochlin, an Ulster prince, marched into Meath, and, amongst other depredations, burned the tower of Trim Church, in which a considerable number of persons were shut up at the time.

We may, then, safely set down the erection of this old tower to a date prior to that of the Yellow Steeple, and as forming part of the old church of St. Patrick, the pre-reformation parish church of Trim. From the evidences yet remaining this old church of St. Patrick was, beyond doubt, a building of a far more imposing character than what we may call its modern representative. The old chancel, the side walls of which are still discernible above the surface of the graveyard, enables us to estimate the length of the former church as one hundred and forty-nine feet; and taking its breadth as that indicated by the place where the north side wall abutted on the east of the old tower, it must have measured at least fifty-four feet. A church of such dimensions in those days must be deemed one of more than ordinary importance. Its importance may be also gathered from the fact recorded by Archdall in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, that there was attached to this church a chantry of three priests, one in the chapel of St. Laurence the Martyr, another in St. Patrick's; a third in the Roode Chapel; in the visitation book in Marsh's Library, a fourth, that of St. Mary, is added. It may be interesting to remind the reader that by chantries were meant chapels connected with

cathedral or parochial churches where the divine office was recited or *chanted*, and the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass offered for the living and deceased founders. There was, for instance, in the parochial church of St. James's, Athboy, six miles from Trim, a chantry of St. Mary endowed by the Portrieve and Commons of Athboy for the purpose of maintaining a chaplain, *pro animabus praepositi et communium et fidelium defunctorum devote celebrantem*.¹

But it would be a mistake to imagine that the functions of a chantry priest were confined to the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the recital of the divine office. Broadly speaking, he might be said to be an assistant priest, whose business it was to look after the poor of the parish, to visit the sick, and to assist the rector or parish priest in the discharge of all the duties of his sacred ministry. The chantry priests were, for the most part, maintained by religious guilds or associations of laymen who were incorporated by royal licence, and formed a sort of collegiate or corporate society having a common seal. By the sums of money contributed by members when joining the society, and sums contributed annually, as well as by bequests and donations, these chantries were not unfrequently pretty richly endowed, and had consequently a considerable amount always on hands to expend on the sick and indigent, as well as for *honoraria* to have Masses offered for the living and deceased members of the association. In the early days of the Reformation, chiefly in the reign of Edward VI., the chantries attached to St. Patrick's Cathedral in Trim, like those elsewhere in Ireland and England, were all abolished, the altars levelled, the property of the guilds disposed of, and the proceeds passed over to the credit of the Royal Exchequer. Thus, the few messuages in Trim, and the lands in Dunderry, with all the other possessions belonging to St. Patrick's, in course of time passed into Protestant hands. No wonder the Catholics around Trim were not in love with this novel mode of procedure. Not unfrequently do we find the

¹ Rot. Cl., Henry V.

Reformation described as a revolution ; and so, in truth, it was. But it was not a revolution in the ordinary sense. For as Father Gasquet, in his learned paper, read last month before the members of the Catholic Truth Society in Nottingham, pointed out, it was a rising, not of the people against their rulers, nor of those in hunger and distress against the well-to-do ; but it was, in reality, the rising of the rich against the poor, the violent and unjustifiable seizure by men in power of the funds and property which generations of benefactors had intended for the relief of the needy, as well as the support of those who ministered to the spiritual wants of the people. What wonder is it, therefore, if the destruction of the chantries, the confiscation of their property, the substitution of the rich for the needy as the recipients of the benefits accruing from these foundation funds, even the introduction of married clergy whose wives and children had to be supported out of the property of the poor, were grievances that long rankled in the breasts of the Catholics of Trim.

It would be very interesting if we could, out of the scanty materials at our disposal, give a short sketch of some of the more remarkable rectors who in by-gone days ministered in the old church of St. Patrick. But we must pass over that part of our subject just now, and content ourselves for the present with merely giving a few of their names. Dean Butler, who was himself a long time Vicar of Trim, gives us a pretty full list of those who had formerly any connection with St. Patrick's as rectors. The list begins at the year 1324, more than five and a-half centuries ago :—

In 1324	William de Celbury.
„ 1381	Walter de Brugge.
„ 1403	Richard Petyr.
„ 1412	John Prene.
„ 1412	John Tanner.
„ 15—	John Rycardes or Rickhard, who was also Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1522.
„ 1527	James Shefflyd or Shyfeldi.
„ 1541	Francis Agard or Agere.

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- In ——— John Petit.
 - „ ——— Henry Fitzimon.
 - „ 1581 John Draper.
 - „ 1601 Robert Draper.
 - „ 1612 Thomas Jones, who was also Archbishop of Dublin.
 - „ 1614 George Montgomery.
 - „ 1621 James Usher, who was also Archbishop of Armagh.

In making certain excavations quite recently in the old chancel, the workmen came upon the tomb of another rector who was also a distinguished man, John Warde, *Decretorum Doctor*, or Doctor of Canon Law. The date on his monument is 1509, the year Henry VIII. ascended the throne.

In giving the list as it stands, without note or comment, or any indication whatever of change at the Reformation, the good Dean, otherwise so fair-minded, seems to leave himself open to the charge of perpetrating the simple little species of deception known by logicians as *suggestio falsi*. For anyone looking at the list would naturally come to the conclusion that Francis Agard succeeded James Shefflyd, the rector who immediately preceded him by the same right and title as Shefflyd succeeded his immediate predecessor, viz., by legitimate appointment. But this is, indeed, very far from the truth. The circumstances under which Francis Agard, the *first* Protestant rector, succeeded Shefflyd, the *last* Catholic rector, are so strange and serve to throw such light on the unscrupulous methods adopted by the propounders of the new religion, that it would be a pity to withhold the knowledge of them from the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

Thomas Agard, father to Francis, cast a covetous eye on the Trim benefice, the largest and most lucrative in the entire kingdom, and thought it would make a very desirable living for his son. The father knew well, and openly avowed, that his son had no qualification for the position, no learning, no experience, and *was not even of age*. But, despite all these disabilities, he would not be deterred or turned away from the ambitious scheme

which he had formed of securing the rich benefice for his son; and, accordingly, without leave or licence, he took possession of St. Patrick's. Such a daring proceeding was nothing short of a public scandal, and created such a sensation, that Agard began to fear lest he should be ignominiously ousted from a position to which he could lay no claim.

In fear and trembling he wrote to Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, asking him to intercede with his royal master in his behalf. The correspondence is so instructive that we think it well to give it *verbatim* :—

In that my goode Lorde I have at your Lordships commandement as my bounden dewtye is done such poore servyce as your goode Lordschipe dyd commande me I trust faythfullye and trowleye. Of late I have procured a benefice (the rectory of Trym?) for a sonne of myne here who is but 15 yeres of age. and for lacke of knowledge I entered therein and have it in possession, and now as I am enformed Mr. Pawlett and Bernes have gotten a tytling thereof and do intende to put me to trouble therefor because I have noo lycense.

Most humblye beseeching your honourable lorde to be my goode lorde, that I may have a lycense therefor or elles I ham in doute they will put me to trouble. I think it is by reason of the lorde deputie which is my heavye lorde. God judge me I never gave him cause, but because I tooke a ferme of the kinges which which is one of the deryste fermes in Irland. I doo susteyne loss enoughe by the lord deputie, though he invent not this. Mr. Bernes is the putter forward of hitt as Mr. St. Leger can shewe your Lordschipe. God knoweth it is in a manner all my lyving.

The reader may be curious to know what answer was vouchsafed to this extraordinary petition. Cromwell, you may be sure, when submitting it did not forget to remind the King that Agard was a faithful follower of his; that he discarded the Pope of Rome, and accepted his Majesty as the Vicar of Christ, the lawfully constituted head of the Church. One need not, therefore, be very much surprised to hear that Agard's action was not censured, nor did he receive any rebuke, but rather a most courteous reply from the King, who wrote to the deputy, St. Leger, without delay. Having alluded to other matters, his royal Majesty,

who was now playing the rôle of head of the Church, thus concludes :—

Fynally where uppon sute and suggestion here made unto us for the benefice of Trymme, we have addressed thither our letters in favour of oon of our chapell, perceyving sitheus that we have given unto you our deputie the gift of all benefices there of our patronage, bishopricks and deaneries except, and that the sayd benefice hath been of a goode numbere of yeres possessed by oon Agard sonne to your comptroller; like as if it were voyde we mynde not in this case to derogate our graunte made unto you in the gift of the same, so you shall understande that we be well pleased at your special sute and contemplation that the sayd Agard shall enjoy the said benefice, either by your gift or by his former possession as justice will permit and bere accordingly. August, 1543.¹

In the following month St. Leger writes a letter of acknowledgment :—

And for your Majesties grete goodnesse extended to my poore servant Thomas Agard in the parsonage of Trymme, both in ratefying of such authoritie as your Highness had to me before gyven by my patent as also in that I perceivd your Highness wolde not allow me to have a faule in so weightie a matter, although some wente about the same contrarie to all right and goode conscience I also render immortall thankses.²

It was thus that Francis Agere or Agard had been installed *first* Protestant rector of St. Patrick's, Trim, as successor to James Shefflyd by the new head of the Church, and a note of the strange appointment is recorded in the Chief Remembrancer's Office, thus: 'Hen. VIII. An. 26, Jacobus Sheffelde Rector de Trim; Ann. 33 Francis Agere, Rector de Trim.'

The next and last appointment made by Henry, was that of William Nugent, and a record of the fact is kept in a Roll in Chancery under the year 1546, which simply states: 'William Nugent confirmed by the King rector of the parochial church of St. Patrick of Trymme.' 'Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles,' and so one need not be surprised to witness a little later on the lamentable results that followed from the new regime. It would be

¹ *State Papers*, vol. iii., pt. iii., p. 484.

² *State Papers*, p. 486.

difficult as well as painful to describe in detail the desolation that fell on the grand old church of St. Patrick, Trim, during the brief reign of Henry's son, Edward VI., and the protracted rule of Henry's natural daughter, Elizabeth. Suffice it to say, the work of destruction was complete in every particular. The rood screens that shut off the sanctuary from the body of the church were broken down, the altars demolished, the lamps before the Blessed Sacrament extinguished, the tabernacle itself, with all the sacred vessels used in the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, taken away and converted to profane purposes, and nothing was left but the bare walls, until, subsequently, a wooden table was set up in the midst of the aisle, and a lectern, or standing desk, in the north-eastern corner of the desecrated edifice.

One leaving Trim at this trying period, for a few short months, could hardly realize on his return the dismal changes that had taken place in his absence. The halo of sanctity about the holy place which hitherto inspired him with feelings of reverential awe for a spot endeared to him by a thousand sacred associations was gone. No longer, on entering, could he sprinkle himself with holy water, signing himself with the sign of redemption, or kneel down in humble adoration feeling that he had come into the presence chamber of the King of kings. For, *now* entering the church of his fathers, and raising his eyes, he saw before him no cross, no altar, no tabernacle, no light before the Blessed Sacrament, no statue nor religious emblem whatever around the walls to lift up his thoughts and inspire him with devotion. In a word, there was nothing remaining now to remind him of what the church of his childhood once was. Truly, in his eyes, the 'abomination of desolation' had come into the holy place.

In the year 1560, the second year of Elizabeth's reign, the Queen commanded a meeting of the clergy to be held in St. Patrick's, Trim, to take counsel and devise the best means of spreading the Protestant religion amongst her subjects in that part of her kingdom of Ireland. Amongst those who came upon the scene before the meeting dispersed was William Walsh, Bishop of Meath. This illustrious

man was a native of Dunboyne, and a prelate of whom any people might be proud. By his manliness and zeal in the sacred cause of truth he did much to wipe out the stigma cast upon the diocese by the apostacy of Staples, one of Henry's creatures, and the last Englishman who ever wore the mitre of Meath. When the business of the Assembly was over, and he heard the proposals of Her Majesty, he forthwith entered a solemn protest against them. With remarkable eloquence and burning words he pointed out how the Queen sought to usurp a power conferred only on Peter and his successors.

She claims [he said] to make laws for the Church, to confer Orders on the clergy, to take cognizance of ecclesiastical causes, to look after the concerns of the hierarchy ; in a word, to exercise the spiritual authority and jurisdiction pertaining to the head of the Church, as completely as if she were constituted by our Lord His Vicar on earth. The Church of God [he significantly added] is free within her own domain, and cannot consent to become the slave of the State ; and, therefore, I cannot accept Her Majesty's proposals, for they are against the dictates of my conscience, the Word of God, and the very constitution of the Church itself."

Ware, in his *Annals*, thus describes what took place on that memorable occasion :—

William Walsh, then Bishop of Meath, who was very zealous for the Romish Church, not content with what offers her Majesty had proposed, but very much enraged, he fell to preach [in his diocese of Trim] against the Book of Common Prayer, which was newly come over, and ordered to be observed, for which the Lord Lieutenant confined him till he acquainted Her Majesty with it."¹

Her Majesty's answer to the Lord Deputy, I may observe, was more laconic than dignified ; it was simply, 'Clap him up in prison.' And so another Protestant authority adds, 'Walsh, the popish bishop, was put into prison for no small offence, one should think : for preaching against the Book of Common Prayer, as well as against the Queen's supremacy.' For thirteen years he was immured in a solitary cell in the Castle of Dublin, and subjected to every

¹ Ware's *Annals*, p. 154.

species of punishment cruelty could devise. The rusty chains with which he was bound eat their way into his flesh, until at last the gaolers, growing tired of their charge, connived at his escape. Having recovered his freedom, the heroic confessor made his way to Spain to the Cistercian monastery of Complute, a house of the Order to which he belonged ; and there, surrounded by his brothers in religion, and strengthened by all the rites of the Catholic Church, of which he was a faithful member, he passed to his reward. Over his remains a monument was erected by the Bishop of Granada, bearing a Latin inscription, of which the following is a translation :—

Here lieth William Walsh, a Cistercian Monk and Bishop of Meath, who having suffered imprisonment and many other hardships for thirteen years, at last died in banishment at Alcala, on the day before the Nones of January, in the year 1577.¹

A few months after his denunciation of the Queen's proposals, William Walsh was deposed, and the Bishopric of Meath was two years vacant, until by Her Majesty's provision, Hugh Brady was appointed first Protestant Bishop, and the ceremony of his enthronement took place in the Church of St. Patrick's, Trim. We have a curious account of the state of religion under him from the pen of the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney. Writing to Elizabeth, in 1576, he states :—

I was advertised of the particular estate of each church in the bishoprick of Meath (being the best inhabited country in all this realm) by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradey, a godly minister of the Gospel and a good servant of your Highness, who went from church to church himself, and found that there are within his diocese 224 parish churches, of which 105 are appropriated to sundry possessions, now of your Highness, and all leased out for years, or in fee farm, to several farmers, and great gain reaped out of them above the rent which your Majesty receives ; no parson or vicar resident on any of them ; the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning or civility. All these live on the bare altarges, as they call them, which, God knoweth, are very small, and were wont to live on the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings,

¹ Harris Ware's *Bishops*, p. 155.

and such like trumpery, goodly abolished by your Majesty. No one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the walls of the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows or doors ruined or spoiled; the other churches in the same bishoprick pertain to divers particular lords, and these, though in better estate than the rest commonly, are yet far from well.

Religion fared no better under his successor (in Trim Rectory), Robert Draper. Hence, we find Sir John Davies writing from Cavan, in 1607, to the Earl of Salisbury:—

This country [Cavan] doth lie within the diocese of Kilmore, whose Bishop, Robert Draper, was and is parson of Trim, which is the best parsonage in all the kingdom, and is a man of this country-birth, worth well-nigh £400 a year. He hath two bishoprics, Kilmore and Ardagh; but there is no divine service or sermon to be heard within either of his dioceses. His Lordship might have saved us the labour of inquiry touching matters ecclesiastical if he had been as careful to see the churches repaired and supplied with proper incumbents as he is diligent in visiting his barbarous clergy to make benefit out of their unsufficiency (*sic*) according to the proverb which is common in the mouth of one of our great bishops here, that ‘an Irish priest is better than a milch cow.’

These striking extracts from official sources of information speak for themselves, and are important from more than one point of view. Amongst other things, they serve to show the melancholy state to which religion was reduced in a few short years after the so-called Reformation. They reveal also how precisely the same sordid motives that prompted Agard to grab St. Patrick’s benefice for his son were still the ruling and guiding principles with, at least, the great majority of Agard’s successors. Surely, there is no difficulty in divining the reasons that induced men like Robert Draper, who, whilst in the enjoyment of the revenues of two bishoprics, still retained his hold on the Parsonage of Trim, wholly outside the limits of his dioceses, because, as history tells us, it was ‘the richest parsonage in the entire kingdom.’ According to the taxation in the King’s books, made in the reign of Henry VIII., the rectory of Trim was estimated at £65 6s. 8s., a larger sum than any other rectory in the realm. This sum would represent at least ten times the

amount if estimated at the present day. In 1826 the great tithes were compounded for £450 per annum, and the vicarial tithes for £150 per annum.

There are other facts full of interest connected with this church which we must pass over at present, with this one remark, that St. Patrick's, Trim, is considered by the Protestants of Meath as their cathedral, and in it the ceremony of the enthronement of their bishops takes place down to the present day. The last ceremony of this kind took place only a short time ago, when Dr. Keene, of Navan, was installed Protestant Bishop of Meath, after the elevation of his predecessor to the Protestant Archbishopric of Dublin, on the death of the late Lord Plunket.

It is needless to remind the reader that ever since St. Patrick's was wrested from Catholic hands and perverted to Protestant purposes, Catholics naturally ceased to have any respect for it as a place of public worship. Hence we find a few centuries ago that this church was not unfrequently invaded by some of the rougher element, who deemed it no sacrilege to break in the door and abstract whatever they could lay their hands upon. Mr. Prowd, the Minister of Trim, in 1689, on the 1st of March in that year, made a complaint on this subject in a rather amusing letter, which may be worth producing as a significant comment on those primitive times:—

SIR,—This will give you an account of an eminent instance of God's vengeance shown on one John Keating, a church rapparee, who, in the very act of plundering and breaking of our church, was struck with a sudden madness, in which he continued for the space of three weeks; and that day three weeks he was struck mad he died in a sad and miserable condition. The manner of it was this: This Keating was a soldier in Lord Kenmare's regiment; he with other of his associates having often before plundered, broken, and destroyed the seats of our church without interruption or disturbance, resolved on Christmas Day, at night, to break and plunder our altar, on which we had on that day celebrated the Holy Communion; and, to that end, he, with two more, about midnight, entered the church. This Keating immediately attempted to break one of the folding-doors leading to the Communion table, and, endeavouring with all his force to wrest the door from its hinges, immediately, as he

thought, saw several glorious and amazing sights ; but one ugly black thing, as he called it, gave him a great *souse* on the poll, which drove him immediately into so great disorder that he tore all the clothes off his back, and ran naked about the streets, and used all mad bedlam pranks whatever. He was put into a dungeon, where he remained fourteen days without either meat, drink, clothes, or anything necessary for the support of nature ; would not take as much as a drop of cold water. Sir, I do assure you this is a great truth.—GEORGE PROWD.

Trim, 1st March, 1689-90.¹

Some hard-headed people, strange to say, did not take the same view of Keating's case as the good Mr. Prowd. Notwithstanding his solemn assurance, these sceptical people were bold enough to insinuate that the several glorious and amazing sights, the souse on the poll from "the ugly black thing," the tearing off his clothes, and all the other mad bedlam pranks, were due to other than supernatural causes, causes unfortunately in vogue then as now, especially at the festive season of Christmas. However this may be, one thing is certain, that the frequent invasion and plundering of the church were pretty sure indications of the little respect entertained for it by the lower classes. But while even the respectable portion of the Catholic population could hardly be expected to have much reverence for the building itself, despoiled, as it was, of every vestige of Catholicity, Catholics of all classes have ever retained a profound veneration for the site on which it stands. It stands certainly on holy ground.

On the ground granted centuries ago by Feidilmid [Felim], son of Laighaire [Leary], to Patrick and Loman, and dedicated to God and to them, together with his son, Fortchern, till the Day of Judgment.²

Ground hallowed by glorious memories, and rendered all the more sacred in the eyes of Catholics, as it contains in its bosom the bones of their ancestors, who, after their labours, were laid to rest in that consecrated spot side by side with the holy men who broke the bread of life to themselves and their children.

¹ Appendix to *King's State of Ireland*.

² *Ussher. Prim.*, p. 53.

There is no place under the sun for which the Irish people have such a profound reverence as for the place in which the bones of their dead rest. Any interference with it is regarded as an outrage little short of sacrilege. Around St. Patrick's Church there is an ancient cemetery filled with modern tombs, erected chiefly over the Protestant portion of the population, and occupying the space where once stood in the light of day many Catholic monuments, now hidden and buried deep beneath the surface. In 1868, when certain repairs were being effected, and an addition of eighteen feet added to the present church, the workmen, in sinking the foundations, came upon the old chancel of St. Patrick's; and there, at a depth of five or six feet from the surface, found several monumental slabs, turned upside down, with their lettered side deeply embedded in the earth. When raised up to the light one of them was found to be the monument of a Catholic rector, with the illustrious title of Doctor of Canon Law (*Decretorum Doctor*). The slab was of dark limestone, and measured six feet in length, by two feet seven inches in breadth. The fact of the lettered side being turned down, and not exposed to the air, tended, contrary to the intention of those who so placed it, to keep the lettering as fresh, sharp, and clearly defined, as on the day on which it left the hands of the sculptor. The inscription is of a period a few years later than the introduction of printing, and is in bold Gothic or German characters, four or five inches in height. The Latin inscription, running in a groove around the margin of the stone, reads thus:—

Hic jacet Johannes Warde, *Decretorum Doctor*, quondam hujus Ecclesiae Rector, qui obiit xx^o vi^o die Februarii, An^o Dⁱ M^o. D^o. viiii (1509).

In sinking a grave, some years previously, within two or three yards of the place where the Warde slab was found, there was a curious tomb slab taken up from the chancel, measuring six feet long and two feet four inches wide, and inserted by Dean Butler in the wall of the old porch leading into the church. When taking down this porch, in 1868, the Dean's successor, who had little care for such interesting

old relics, allowed it to be thrown aside. It was subsequently found stowed away in a corner of his coach-house, considerably defaced, and broken in three pieces. Mr. Conwell, District Inspector of National Schools, in 1871, took the trouble of putting together the broken pieces, deciphering the names upon the monument, and giving them to the public. The inscription, in raised Gothic letters, with a comma after each word, reads:—

Hic jacet Walterus Martinus, quondam de Trim Burgensis, cum parentibus, avis et proavis suis et etiam Jenneta Delaparick, uxor ejus qui obiit mense Junii anno Salutis, 1541. Hic quoque jacet Nicholaus Martinus, filius dicti Walteri et Jennetae cum uxore sua Katherina Aspoll, qui obiit, XXV^o die Junii, anno Domini 1590, cujus filius Walterus Martinus et Jenneta Gerry, ejus uxor hoc monumentum fieri fecerunt.

On the lower extremity of the cross on the tomb, in raised letters, is the following remarkable legend:—

Hoc est signum humanæ Redemptionis et insigne Christianum, baptisinate datum, quo mors Christi recolitur et diabolus fugatur.

These Martins were of the same family as the Martins of Galway, who came to Ireland with De Burgh at the time of the invasion by Henry II., as is manifest from the crest on the tomb. The crest is a star wavy of six points, or a blending of the St. Andrew and the Roman crosses, with the motto: 'Sic itur ad astra.' This crest was granted in the Holy Land during the Crusades to Oliver Martin by Richard I.¹ The only other words that can be deciphered on the slab are: 'Astra colunt animae, corpora terra tenet,' evidently referring to the starry crest. Not only were those Martins persons of rank, but they were also persons who deserved well of the Church, otherwise they would scarcely be accorded the special privilege of having their remains interred within the precincts of the sanctuary, close to the tomb of the Rev. John Warde, Decretorum Doctor, already alluded to, and another not less eminent ecclesiastic named Walter Thombe, to whom a tomb slab somewhat similar to

¹ *Burke's Book of the Peerage.*

that of Warde's, was erected in the same chancel, with the following inscription, in raised characters, around the margin :—

Hic jacet Walterus Thoumbe de Trum q' obiit xviii. die Junii, mccccxviii. [18th June, 1458].

This Walter Thoumbe was a cleric, who enjoyed in a marked manner the confidence of Henry VI. Hence we find, in 1424, thirty-four years previous to his death, he had the custody of all the messuages, lands, &c., in Woodtown, near Rathcarran, in this neighbourhood, on payment to the king of an annual rent of ten shillings. In the same year, with Richard Sidegreve and Christopher Barnwall, he had a commission to inquire concerning wards, marriages, reliefs, and escheats, and other royal profits in the counties of Dublin, Louth, and Drogheda.¹

There are other interesting monuments which, doubtless, would have been brought to light during the sinking of the foundations for the new chancel in 1868, were it not that the work was brought to a sudden stand-still by an extraordinary circumstance, which is still fresh and vivid in the minds of the people of Trim, and constantly spoken of, especially by the older inhabitants, even to the present day. In the course of excavating, the workmen came upon a tomb, evidently that of a bishop, as it had engraven upon it the mitre, crozier, and the other insignia of the episcopal office, and immediately they suspended their work, not daring to desecrate so sacred a tomb. The Vicar, who was present superintending, grew angry, and muttering some very uncomplimentary allusions to popish superstitions, indignantly retired to the rectory, and subsequently, as is persistently alleged, he himself *tampered* with the tomb. However this may be, the fact remains that he immediately fell sick, and died within a few days. Owing to the circumstance of his sudden demise, all sorts of rumours were set afloat regarding the manner of his death. The public are sometimes very illogical, and are ready to jump at conclusions on very slender

¹ Rot Can., part iii., Hen. VI.

evidence, especially when their feelings are aroused as in this case; and, therefore, I refrain from giving the particulars alleged, and currently believed, regarding the nature of his illness, the manner of his death, and the subsequent ghastly appearance presented by the corpse. No doubt, the Vicar in question was a man of pronounced anti-Catholic tendencies, and, consequently, contrasted most unfavourably with the good Dean Butler, who preceded him in the vicarage of Trim.

Thank God, the narrow-minded feeling of bigotry that was rife not so very long ago is fast dying out, and the relations between Catholics and Protestants, are no longer strained. With the increased power and liberty accorded to Catholics there is, happily, an increase also of toleration, and a desire to be on terms of friendship with all who follow, or profess to follow, the teachings of the Gospel. In anything, therefore, that I have written in this paper, nothing was more alien to my mind than the thought of giving offence to any non-Catholic; my sole object being to set forth in plain language a few important facts taken from authentic documents regarding the history of the old tower and Church of St. Patrick's, Trim.

PHILIP CALLERY, P.P., V.F.

IRISH WORKHOUSE REFORM

IT is generally admitted that Irish workhouses need reform. It is hardly necessary to tell this to Irish priests, for they must know it well, either from their own experience as workhouse chaplains, or if they have not filled that enviable position, on the word of those who have. The subject has become so hackneyed that it requires some courage to write on the matter : yet so little has been done, notwithstanding all that has been spoken and written, that a re-statement of the case for reform by one who can speak from the standpoint of an experience of some years, may help to do some good. The appeal is made in the interests of the sick and infirm poor, and of destitute children, all of them deserving a priest's special protection. When others fail to whom can the poor look save to him who was sent by Christ to preach the Gospel to them, and in preaching it to have a care for their corporal as well as their spiritual wants ?

It is not my purpose to enter into the question as to whether the workhouse system is the best means, or even a good means, of fulfilling the object the State had in view by its institution. John Stuart Mill defends the poor law system, ardent supporter of the principle of *laissez faire* as he is, while at the same time he deplores the causes which make such a system necessary, attributing it to want of prudence and temperance on the part of the people generally, and to an unsatisfactory diffusion of property. Devas and other economists of the same school rather deprecate State poor relief, and largely attribute the necessity of it to the legal irresponsibility of employers of labour and owners of property, and to the want of homestead exemption laws. If such laws existed it is held the number of destitute would be few, and could be dealt with by private charity. The workhouse is, however, a living thing amongst us ; with all its faults and defects it cannot be got rid of

summarily. It only remains for us to see what can be done to remedy an evil which could be effectually cured only by upturning the whole workhouse system from the roots. At present this does not seem to be practicable; still we have every reason to hope that in the near future, owing to the rapid progress that is now being made in the development of industries, together with the gradual enlightening of the masses of the people, and the growing legal recognition of the humanitarian principles of man's responsibility to his fellow-man, a thorough reform may become at once possible and practicable.

Unfortunately, the workhouse is, as a rule, the most prominent building in small Irish towns. It is generally gloomy-looking and forbidding, fittingly showing on the outside what it is within. Most Irish workhouses are linked with our very worst social and economic traditions. They were called into being by famine and misrule, and have been since maintained at considerable expense to the ratepayers without any adequate return for the money spent. In Ireland workhouses are governed by Boards of Guardians hitherto partly elected, and partly *ex-officio*, now under the Local Government Act, 1898, all elected. These Guardians are subject, in turn, to a Government Board, the Local Government Board, which is vested with very considerable power. In many unions the principal business done by the Guardians consists in defending their supposed rights against encroachments of the Local Government Board, or in disputing with its own officers. In other unions the Board-room is turned into a political bear-garden. The poor are neglected or forgotten. All questions relating to Poor Law Government are decided, not on the merits of the case, but according to the politics of its supporters. When 'Gilbert's' Act, in 1783, created 'Guardians' it meant them to be representatives of the poor, not as they have often since been, oppressors of the poor. Much of the evil connected with workhouses arises from the defective state of the laws by which they are governed. The Poor Laws are a medley that are a disgrace to the Statute-book for contradictory principles and insufficiency. The divided authority of the

Guardians and the Local Government Board leads to continuous friction. There is some necessary work to be done. The Guardians pass it; the Local Government Board won't approve. Or the Local Government Board originate some useful or necessary project. It is argued at length at Guardian meetings by men who have no expert knowledge of the subject; it is postponed, and finally shelved. The Guardians and the Local Government Board play battledore and shuttlecock, and the poor suffer.

The state of the case at present is that a very large amount of money is spent yearly in maintaining workhouses, and no one is satisfied. The Local Government Board is dissatisfied with the manner in which the Guardians of many Unions perform their duties. The Guardians, who have become guardians of the ratepayers, not of the poor, are complaining of the heavy expenditure. The ratepayers themselves find fault with the ever-increasing poor-rate; while the poor—and certainly the burden of the mismanagement falls on them—are loud in denunciation of their treatment. I recently asked an old woman who was very ill and wretchedly poor, and who lived in a broken-down cabin, why she did not go to the Union hospital? 'Go to the 'ospital, yer revirince! I'd rather die on the flure; isn't that place condimmed.' Read the daily papers, and you will see reports of inquiries into the state of workhouses. Now this hospital is condemned, now that; doctors certify, Board meeting after meeting, that necessary defects must be remedied; nurses complain; chaplains complain. It is all of no use. It is merely a question affecting the poor, not having a political aim, or not serving to do a good turn for a friend: 'Too good the workhouses are for the beggars' has been often remarked to me. Is this *fin de siècle* humanity?

According to the existing poor law, a workhouse is supposed to be a hospital for the sick poor; a home for the infirm poor; an asylum for harmless lunatics and idiots; a home and training school for destitute children; and a working house for the able-bodied poor. I have to give it as my opinion, dispassionately, that workhouses in Ireland, as a rule, do not fulfil even one of these objects efficiently.

To uphold my position I shall have to go somewhat into detail. Any remarks I have to make are true to this extent, that they represent a state of things existing in *some* workhouses in Ireland. There may be workhouses to which my remarks could not apply; if so, there are others that did not come directly under my observation in condemning which one could hardly preserve ordinary decent restraint of language.

First, as to union hospitals. I have visited several, and can recall no one which I should consider a fair type of what a workhouse hospital ought to be in accordance with modern principles of sanitation. I shall take one hospital, which I know intimately, as a good working type; there are better hospitals, and there are worse, but it serves my purpose to take one which strikes a mean. To this hospital are attached a medical officer, nuns as day nurses, one trained day nurse, one trained night nurse. The medical officer is chiefly responsible for the working of the hospital. His suggestions naturally ought to have weight with the Guardians. Instead of this, his opinion, even in matters in which because of professional knowledge he ought to be judge, is entirely overridden. His reports in connection with the sanitary arrangements of the hospital, and defects generally, instead of meeting with careful consideration are completely disregarded. And this notwithstanding the fact that there are really grave defects evident even to the ordinary visitor.

The hospital in question is two-storied; the principal wards being on the second floor. Though the town in which the hospital is situated has a good water supply for years, no connection has yet been made with the workhouse. The water required for all purposes in the hospital is taken to the wards by hand in buckets. The help, mainly pauper, being insufficient for this purpose, constant irregularity is the result. There are no water-closets. In fact, there are no decent closets of any kind, the two in the hospital yard having been condemned by the medical officer as unsanitary. All slops of the wards are removed in open buckets by a door at the end of the male ward, through

which all the slops of the whole second floor of the hospital have to be carried. The beds until recently were 'straw bags'—the words are from the medical officer's report—on wooden frames. Fibre beds and iron bedsteads have been ordered lately, though some of the straw and wooden structures remain. The windows of all the wards are of the worst possible kind for hospital purposes. They consist of iron sliding sashes in wooden frames. The frames are now all rotten, with the result that the sashes have fallen apart, allowing the wind to blow in freely on the unfortunate patients whose beds are under the windows. The only ventilation to the wards is by the windows. For this purpose the tops of the windows open in by means of levers and cranks, which should, of course, be in working order. As a rule, they don't work, so that frequently the windows fall in at night, thereby endangering the lives of the patients. On stormy nights the levers have to be tied down with ropes to prevent the windows being blown in. The medical officer told me that patients generally get a cold when they come into hospital, unless they stuff up the spaces between the window-sashes with rags and newspapers, a precaution seemingly taken by most of the patients, if the appearance of the windows is any indication. As there are no window blinds or shutters, the glaring summer sun beats for hours at a time on the faces of poor dying men and women unable to move.

The fever hospital of the same union is a galvanized iron structure consisting of two wards: one for males, and one for females. In summer for want of proper ventilation the air in those wards is oppressive. No provision is made for separating typhus, typhoid, small-pox, and scarlatina patients; and if to-morrow all four diseases broke out in the union they should be treated in the same small ward. The beds and bedsteads are worse than in the general hospital. There is no water, no closet. The slops are merely thrown out to the back of the house, which stands on an incline, with the result that they percolate under the floor. The conditions of nursing in the fever hospital are barbarous. No proper attendance is provided for the trained nurse. She lives in a

small room between the two wards; all the slops of the hospital have to be carried out through her room. The roof of the room consists largely of a skylight which cannot be opened, without a blind; the only ventilation is by a small round hole over the door.

The one good thing in connection with this hospital is an efficient medical staff, consisting of the doctor, nuns, and three trained nurses. It is a pity that their work should be rendered so ineffective by the glaring defects in the hospital arrangements. Too much praise cannot be given the nuns for their invaluable work in this and other hospitals. They do what they can to brighten the lot of the poor patients, but are heavily handicapped, and cannot do all they desire. I have watched the work of these good women for some years, and a more whole-hearted, unselfish devotion to duty under the most depressing circumstances I have never witnessed. Their reward is of the next world, not of this, where their work meets with very little recognition. Much has been written lately on the introduction of trained nurses into hospitals, and on the training of nuns as nurses. It would seem from letters in the press on the subject that some who have otherwise sound views on workhouse reform, are under the impression that nuns in hospitals are not skilled nurses. This is a serious misapprehension. I know nuns who have been nurses in hospitals for eight or ten years or longer; and, surely, these women, intelligent and highly educated, are not fools. Is it possible that they have been in daily attendance on the sick for years, engaging in all the ordinary duties of nurses, dressing, bandaging, &c., and have absolutely no skill? All that can be said with truth is that they have no certificates, but many of them have as much practical knowledge of nursing as certificated trained nurses. Of course there are certain surgical cases which they will not attend. The remedy is easy. Have one trained day nurse for these cases and for midwifery, and the nuns will do all the other nursing; and not only do it, but do it well. Nor is the objection valid, that this multiplication of nurses will increase the expense of the union considerably. I know workhouse hospitals where there are four

nuns, and the total amount of pay—they get no rations—received by them is £60, which is only the pay of one ordinary nurse, £30 salary and £30 allowance for rations. Nuns are too silent under criticism. Their sense of humility will not allow them to defend themselves, but they cannot prevent others who know their work speaking for them. A workhouse doctor, who has the greatest faith in nuns as nurses, once said to me, that leaving entirely aside the question of nursing, nuns are a blessing to union hospitals, if for nothing else but to see that the rations and little extras, ordered to the sick, are given them, which, as many doctors know from sad experience, did not always happen before the introduction of nuns into workhouse hospitals. Then, looking at the question from the religious standpoint, no greater blessing ever befel the sick and dying poor than to have these good women at their bedsides in their last moments, soothing their physical pain, and trying to lead them to God by every means in their power.

A serious drawback in the working of union hospitals arises from want of sufficient helpers, and even where there are sufficient, there is a very great objection to the class from which they are drawn. They are generally of the fallen class. I should be very slow to withhold mercy and sympathy from those who repent of sin, but I think that in the interests of morality and also of good service of the sick, the recent order of the Local Government Board doing away with pauper attendance on the sick, and substituting paid helpers, should at once be put in force in every union in Ireland. As long as the Guardians continue pauper helpers, they will be largely of the class to which I referred. This class is placed in a position of authority over the decent poor, lording it over them, and, as I know in my own experience, often exacting bribes for the smallest and most necessary attendance, and terrorizing the poor patients by threats not to tell the nuns or the doctor. These women, too, have their young children with them in the wards, and are continually flaunting them in the eyes of young girl patients.

If there be any truth in what I have said about work-

house hospitals, and I may add that the truth of most of it has been vouched for on oath, there can be no doubt that something ought to be done to remedy such glaring defects. The evil is there, and there must or ought to be a remedy for it. The Local Government Board and the Guardians may throw the responsibility, one on the other; but one thing is certain, that if there is good government in this country, there ought to be a power to remedy defects that are endangering the lives of thousands of people. Someone is responsible for the existing state of things; whoever is responsible should be compelled to take immediate action. As far as I know there is nothing to prevent any Board of Guardians in Ireland from expending money for the improvements necessary. Any Board which neglects its duty—for it is a duty binding in conscience—has very little knowledge of its functions as guardians of the poor.

Under the new Local Government Act an important and desirable improvement may be effected in Union hospitals. They may now be converted into district hospitals with the consent of the Local Government Board. In the district hospitals provision may be made for keeping paying patients. These hospitals may be under the control of a Board of Governors appointed by the Guardians two-thirds of the Governors being members of the latter body. The remaining third may consist of clergymen or other suitable persons chosen by the Guardians. The Governors when once appointed will have full charge of the hospital and all its arrangements, having power to appoint and remove officers, and regulate expenditure. They are subject only to the general control of the Guardians as regards the money paid out of the rates. The Guardians have power to dissolve the committee of Governors only on six months notice, otherwise they continue to hold office for three years. The advantage of such a scheme is manifest. At present there are no hospitals in country towns, where people capable of paying may be treated. It would also remove the brand of 'pauper'—a title many abhor—from the respectable poor who may have to enter the Union hospital.

Workhouses are supposed to be homes for the infirm poor. The merely infirm, according to the Local Government Board rules, are treated as a class entirely distinct from the sick. They are not to be kept in the hospital; wards in the body of the house are set apart for their use. There they live under the charge of the matron and master, who are assisted in looking to their wants by pauper helpers. Under the existing rules this class of infirm is badly treated. I have met very few in the infirm wards of workhouses who should not, were it not for the regulation, be in the hospital. To my mind, either by reason of age or infirmity, ninety per cent. of them should be provided with hospital treatment. At present the infirm are supposed to have a home in the workhouse; but very often it is, as one old woman told me, 'a hell.' Ask any of them, and you will generally hear a sad story. They are weak and powerless, and are almost entirely in the hands of able-bodied pauper attendants. The master and matron have so much to do in connection with the management of the house, that they can give little attention to any particular ward, with the result that the poor people are frequently ill-treated. The conduct of some helpers towards the infirm is scandalous; I have heard them wish, over and over again, that God would take them and release them from the vile treatment to which they were subjected. And as to the language used by some of these helpers, one old woman said it could hardly be worse in hell.

The only effectual reform in this department is to do away with the existing classification, and send the infirm to the hospital, a portion of which could be set apart for them.

The third class in workhouses are harmless lunatics and idiots. Now this class should never have been in workhouses. They at present mix freely with children and others, on whom they are capable of exerting a very evil influence. For themselves, they lead a wretched existence, having no special treatment. The new Local Government Act makes a long-wished-for provision for this class. A County Council has power to provide an auxiliary asylum, or set apart portion of an existing one, for the reception of

harmless lunatics, who not being dangerous to themselves or others, are certified by the resident medical superintendent not to require special care and treatment in a fully-equipped lunatic asylum. All Boards of Guardians should press this matter, and have these asylums established. When this is done the regulations of the Act of 1875, sending harmless lunatics to workhouses, will cease, and the Guardians will be freed from a responsibility which they have always found most difficult to deal with.

The next function of a workhouse is to provide a home for destitute children. The lot of the workhouse child is the saddest of all. In workhouses it is impossible to keep children, no matter what system of classification is adopted, at all times apart from grown people. In one workhouse I know—it is probably the case in many—children occupy the nursery in common with their mothers, epileptics, and idiots. Idiots as is well known have very ill-defined moral notions. It is sad that they should be made the daily companions of children acquiring their first ideas of morality. The idiots act as nurses, and it is more than probable teach the children habits of vice that will cling to them through life. Think, too, of the awful talk in these wards. Many of the women are of the unfortunate class, and their language is often of the vilest. What words to fall on the ears of an innocent child, whose first thoughts ought to be of God and goodness! Of course, the result is evident; before the child knows what sin is, it has been inured to the language of sin, and often—it is awful even to think of it, but truth must be faced—to acts of sin. Then grown children have no proper classification, and there is nothing to prevent them being more or less the daily companions of men and women of the lowest character. The name ‘workhouse child’ has grown into the embodiment of worthlessness and vice. It is a pity that innocent children should be legally forced to live in a house where the freshness and bloom of innocence will soon fade and wither under the contaminating influence of foul language and bad example. Workhouse children are, indeed, supposed to be sent to school every day for some hours, but no real training of any manual or technical kind

is given them. They grow up in idleness, and develop into corner-boys, and street loafers, and in the course of time return as able-bodied idlers to the house where they were taught their evil habits. These words seem harsh, but they are true, if not of *every* workhouse child, at least of the great majority.

It is a matter of deep regret that in this condition of things for children in workhouses, the present Inspector of Industrial and Reformatory Schools should have recommended a course of action in reference to destitute children under the Industrial Schools Act, that will have the effect of largely increasing the number of workhouse children. Heretofore destitute children were considered fit subjects for committal to industrial schools. It is Mr. Fagan's opinion, however, and he has now got an Order in Council to back it, that merely destitute children should be sent to the workhouse: industrial schools are, he says, for *potential* criminals. I have no doubt Mr. Fagan is conscientiously doing his best to improve the condition of things in his department, but he is certainly going about it in a way that cannot commend itself to anyone having a knowledge of workhouses as training institutions for children. If the merely destitute children are not potentially criminal—which is open to argument—they soon will be if sent to the workhouse. It seems to me unreasonable and illogical, that while *potentially*—the word is Mr. Fagan's—criminal children, and young offenders, are sent to schools where they are well housed, well taught morally, and brought up to some respectable trade or occupation to fit them afterwards to be useful members of society, innocent poor children who have offended only by the sin of poverty, are sent to institutions, where they are badly housed, subjected to the worst moral influences, trained to nothing good, with the result that, in nine cases out of ten, they become a burden to the ratepayers in after life.

Perhaps what is most to be regretted in connection with the condition of workhouse children, is that a remedy is at hand, yet the Guardians will not make a united effort to put it in force. The remedy is to take the children out

of the workhouses, and provide for them elsewhere, far from its blighting influence. The younger children may be boarded with respectable poor families. Great care should be exercised as to the choice of families; and afterwards there should be constant supervision as to the treatment of the children. Otherwise the system might degenerate in one worse than what it was intended to remedy. For the grown children, schools, similar to the industrial schools at present existing in Ireland, should be established. As most Unions are too small to have a sufficient number of children to fill a school large enough to produce effective results, several unions may combine, and contribute to the support of one central school. This has actually been done in the case of the unions surrounding Limerick in the Glin School. To this central school all the destitute boys and girls of the several unions are sent as soon as they reach a certain age. There is entirely separate classification of the boys and girls. The boys are under the charge of Christian Brothers, and the girls of nuns. The course of instruction, besides literary training, includes practical labour and farm work, and trades for such as have an aptitude for them. Girls are trained to be thorough servants, and some are taught trades.

It is to be hoped that all Boards of Guardians will imitate the example of the Limerick and other contributory unions, and give the destitute children of their districts a chance of becoming honest, respectable citizens. Until the Guardians do this, the Inspector of Industrial Schools should have his order, blocking these schools to merely destitute children, withdrawn.

I have touched on all the purposes which a workhouse subserves except as a shelter for the able-bodied destitute. The original intention was to provide a shelter for the decent poor who happened to be out of employment, and had no means of providing food and lodging. In the course of time, the workhouse became such a centre of demoralization that the decent poor shunned it. If any respectable poor enter the workhouse, it is only when driven by the most extreme necessity. It has become a house for vagrants,

tramps, idlers, and bad women. Instead of charging Guardians with any neglect of this class, I have to accuse some of them of too much leniency. In a workhouse the able-bodied are supposed to work for food and shelter. As a general rule, they spend their days in idleness, and seldom, if ever, do productive work. Guardians should provide means of making each able-bodied pauper pay by the labour of his hands for his food and lodging and other necessary expense of keeping him. As regards tramps and vagrants who make the workhouse a night refuge, Guardians should strictly enforce the laws forbidding tramps to stay twice in the month in the same workhouse, or to stay in different workhouses on successive nights. The Guardians cannot do everything to do away with able-bodied pauperism: they cannot establish labour colonies, which, I believe, is the most effectual and productive way of employing the able-bodied destitute: but they can make those who won't work—and a large number of those who seek refuge in workhouses are of this class—earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. Guardians can also do something towards the industrial development of the country by grants in aid, and thus provide work for those who are willing to work, but at present cannot get it to do.

Every unprejudiced reader must admit that institutions in which what I have described occurs, need thorough reform. Workhouse chaplains and priests generally, for the destitute in our workhouses are the subjects of some priest, ought to join heart and hand with those who are trying to raise the condition of our very much neglected poor. The improvements in the workhouse system which I have touched upon, go far to eliminate the workhouse. I wish it could be made to disappear altogether, for as a centre of mismanagement, jobbery, and corruption, it has been the greatest blot that has ever appeared on the face of a fair land.

J. O'DONOVAN.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

DECRETA GENERALIA.—DE PROHIBITIONE ET CENSURA LIBRORUM

TITULUS I.—DE PROHIBITIONE LIBRORUM

CAP. I.—*De prohibitis apostatarum, haereticorum, schismaticorum aliorumque scriptorum libris*

REGULA I.—Libri omnes, quos ante annum M.D.C., aut summi Pontifices, aut concilia oecumenica damnarunt, et qui in novo Indice non recensentur, eodem modo damnati habeantur, sicut olim damnati fuerunt iis exceptis qui per hæc Decreta Generalia permittuntur.

AS we have already stated in the Introduction,¹ the present code of rules on the Index is divided under two titles: (1) on the prohibition of books; (2) on the censure of books. The first thing, therefore, that attracts our attention in commenting on the rules of the Index, is the wording of Title I., 'De Prohibitione Librorum.'

Prohibition literally means a negative command. The command of which there is mention here, has been made by the Church. The object of this command are bad and dangerous books; the faithful are those to whom the command is given. We may, therefore, define Prohibition in the present context as an act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by which certain books of bad or dangerous reading are removed from the hands of the faithful.

What is the extent of this prohibition? Parents sometimes forbid their children to read the 'Arabian Nights,' or other seducing works of fiction. They will forbid them not only to read such books, but also to buy them, to keep them in their possession, or to give them to others to preserve them. This act of the parent illustrates the extent of the prohibition of the Church. According to the old legislation on the Index, the faithful were forbidden to read, to print, to possess, to publish, and to entrust to others all proscribed books. This we know from the bull of Alexander VI., *Inter multiplices*, 1501; the bull of Leo X., *Exurge Domini*, 1520; but especially from the bull

¹ See I. E. RECORD, vol. iv., Nov., 1898, p. 425.

of Clement VII., *In coena Domini*, 1524. In this we read, 'Libros ipsius (Martini Lutheri), aut quorumvis aliorum ejusdem sectae, sine auctoritate nostra et Sedis Apostolicae, quomodolibet *legentes*, aut in suis domibus *tenentes*, *imprimentes*, aut quomodolibet *defendentes*,' &c.

The word 'prohibition' in the present Constitution has the very same extension as it had in the former legislation. This assertion we must allow to stand for the present without a proof, because in order to prove it we should be obliged to cite passages from the present rules, which would be somewhat inconvenient before having them explained. We will now explain the meaning of the terms included within the extension of the word Prohibition.

Legere.—To read a book, as is manifest, is to direct the eyes to the print, and to understand what is written in it. Hence one will not violate the ecclesiastical law as contained in this term, who merely listens to what is read; nor will he who examines the words, but does not understand the language. We have said that such a person does not violate the ecclesiastical law: he might, however, violate the natural or divine law, and sin grievously.¹

Tenentes.—In order to violate this term of the law it is not necessary that the book belong to oneself, or that he can read it or understand it. If he keeps the book about him he violates the law, whether the book be his own or not, whether he knows how to read it or not.²

Imprimentes.—To publish a book is to commit it to print. The term includes the editor, the paymaster, and the type-setters. It would appear, however, that all those who lend merely material aid to the publication are excused if they would otherwise suffer a severe loss.³

Defendentes.—We may defend a book both by word and by act. We defend a book by our words, when we praise the doctrine it contains, and when we adduce arguments to sustain it; we defend a book by our acts, when we prevent its being destroyed or handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities.⁴

¹ Ligor., lib. vii., n. 284.

² La Croix, Tr. vii., n. 349

³ D'Annibale Summula. pars. iii., n. 142.

⁴ Ligor, lib. vii., 285.

Having now seen the meaning and extension of the first title, 'De Prohibitione Librorum,' we will pass to an accurate individual examination of the rules.

RULE I.

(1) We have already seen that the history of the Index may be conveniently divided into three periods: (1) from the earliest times of the Council of Trent; (2) from the Council of Trent to the Pontificate of Benedict XIV.; (3) from Benedict XIV. to the present Leonine Constitution. We have also seen the long list of books which had been condemned by the Church, either in solemn councils or in private letters of the Popes, even prior to the Council of Trent. We have also seen the gradual development of the Index in all its departments after the Council of Trent, and the vast area of literature that its rules covered. As it would be unseemly for the musician to commence a piece without a prelude, or for an orator to rush into the body of his discourse without an exordium, so also it would not be convenient for a legislator to publish a new code of laws without taking cognizance of previous legislation on the same subject. The first rule of the present Constitution establishes, then, a connection with all previous legislation on the Index. It divides the history of the Index into two periods: (1) from the earliest times to the year 1600; (2) from 1600 to the present time. It divides all proscribed books into two classes. (a) those that had been proscribed by œcumenical councils or by supreme Pontiffs, and (b) those that had not been proscribed. With regard to the members of this division, it prescribes that *all books* that had been condemned before the year 1600, either by supreme Pontiffs or by œcumenical councils, and that are not found inscribed on the New Index, shall be considered henceforth condemned in the exact same way as they had formerly been; those, however, are excepted which are permitted by the present General decrees.

(2) There are some expressions in the rule which require attention. It will be remarked that mention is made of those books only which had been condemned either by

œcumenical councils, or by the supreme Pontiffs. What, then, of all the books that had been condemned by local bishops, or by provincial councils? Does their condemnation still subsist? The present Constitution does not interfere in the slightest with such condemnations. This we know (a) from the end of the legislator in framing the present rule. His intention was—not to interfere with the particular condemnations of local bishops or provincial councils, but to renew the condemnation passed by previous Pontiffs and by general councils; this, the words of the rule express. (b) We are not to suppose that faculties previously conferred on bishops have been withdrawn, or the acts of their jurisdiction annulled, by the present Constitution, unless special mention has been made of them; and no such mention is made either in the ‘*officiorum ac munerum*’ or in the present rules. (c) But what places the question beyond all doubt is the substance of Rule 26. In that rule it is stated that no one, even though he have obtained a general permission from the Congregation of the Index, can read books proscribed by his own local bishop, unless special mention has been made of such a case in the general permission obtained. Proscriptions, then, made by particular bishops, and provincial councils before the year 1600, still subsist.

It is stated, moreover, that the proscriptions of supreme Pontiffs and œcumenical councils, made prior to the year 1600 still subsist, ‘*eodem modo sicut olim.*’ What is the meaning of this expression? In explanation, we must say that the proscription or condemnation of a book, seems to imply two things—(a) its judgment, and (b) the punishment inflicted on all those who read, print, retain or defend it. In answer, therefore, we say that the old judgment pronounced on the books in question still subsists: such, for instance, as that ‘it was heretical;’—that ‘*it was offensive to pious ears,*’—that ‘it was destructive of faith and morals,’—that ‘it should be far removed from pious hearing;’ that ‘it was absurd in philosophy, and unsound in theology,’ &c. What about the punishment? The old punishment inflicted on all those who read, printed, or published such books no

longer subsists. Our reason for saying so, is founded on the *Apostolicae Sedis* of Pius IX. Pius IX. abrogated all censures 'per modum latae sententiae, aut ipso facto incurrendae,' which he did not include in that constitution.

Since, therefore, the censure incurred for reading, publishing, retaining or defending proscribed books, was wont to be incurred 'per modum latae sententiae,' and since it is not included in the *Apostolicae Sedis* of Pius IX., we are to suppose that it was annulled by the said *Apostolicae Sedis*; and since Leo XIII. in nowise interfered with the bull of Pius IX., we are not to suppose the old censure, to have been resuscitated once more from the tomb. Books, therefore, condemned by œcumenical councils, or by Supreme Pontiffs before 1600, remain under the same judgment, but no longer under the same punishment; and, accordingly, those who read them, though sinning grievously, no longer *ipso facto* incur excommunication.

'Iis exceptis quae per haec Generalia Decreta permittuntur': not only has the condemnation pronounced on books before 1600 been greatly mitigated by the present Constitution, but some classes of those books have been entirely exempted from censure. In the course of our examination

the rules we shall perceive what books those are; for the present we will content ourselves with mentioning two extensive classes: (a) all books written by non-Catholics, and treating of religion had been proscribed by the old rules; now such books may be read with impunity, provided that we know that they contain nothing against faith. (b) All books by non-Catholics had been proscribed, if they assailed even in a passing way, any dogma of the Catholic faith; now such books are permitted.

(3) There is a clause in the *Apostolicae Sedis*, which causes a serious doubt, when collated with the present rule. The clause we refer to occurs in Cap. II., and is as follows:

Omnes et singulos scienter legentes sine auctoritate sedis apostolicae libros eorundem apostatarum et haeticorum haeresim propugnantes necnon libros cujusvis auctoris per apostolicas litteras nominatim prohibitos, eisdemque libros retinentes, imprimentes et quomodolibet defendentes, &c.

In this passage Pius IX. inflicts excommunication on

all those who knowingly *read, retain, publish*, and in any way *defend* the books of apostates or heretics. Hence arises the question: Does a person reading a book condemned by an œcumenical council, or by a Supreme Pontiff, before the year 1600, incur the excommunication inflicted by this clause of the *Apostolicæ Sedis*? Let us mark, that the words of this clause of the *Apostolicæ Sedis* include almost the same persons as the rules of the Council of Trent; and that, furthermore, Pius IX. makes no distinction of time, but speaks in general terms of apostates, heretics, &c. Still it would appear that a person reading the books of the old heretics does not incur the excommunication of the *Apostolicæ Sedis*:—

1°. The present rule states: ‘*eodem modo damnati habeantur sicut olim damnati fuerunt*;

2°. The end of Pius IX. in framing the *Apostolicæ Sedis* was not to increase the number of censures, but to diminish them; and if he meant to extend this clause to the books anciently condemned by the Church he would have increased the number of censures instead of diminishing them.

3°. We believe that the apostates and heretics to whom Pius IX. refers in the aforesaid clause, cannot have been those condemned by the Church before 1600, but those that had been condemned after 1600; for in Cap. I. we find the following:—‘*Eisque credentes, eorumque receptores, fautores, ac generaliter quoslibet eorum defendentes.*’ The two clauses evidently refer to the same individuals, and this second clause cannot possibly refer to the ancient heretics. For where was the necessity at the time that Pius IX. published the *Apostolicæ Sedis* of condemning the heresies of long bygone days? What danger could possibly arise from the Valentinian, the Macedonian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian heresies, or from the schism of Tertullian or Photius? and taking up the words of the clause: who could then be got to *believe* in such errors? who could be said to *receive* the crumbling

dust of those heretics? or who could be got to *defend* their doctrines? The Pontiff evidently spoke of the heretics who had arisen since the sixteenth century. For those reasons we are inclined to believe, that one may read the works of those early heretics without incurring the excommunication threatened by the *Apostolicae Sedis*.¹

(4,) Before concluding our remarks on the first rule, we wish to say something of a question of singular interest which presents itself for solution. It sometimes happens that the condemned works of the early apostates and heretics are found in large collections together with the works of some of the holy and learned men of the early ages. Thus, for instance, in the *Patrologia Graeco-Latina* of Migne, we find together with the works of the fathers, some of the works of Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Caesariensis, Lactantius, Peter Abelard, and of many others, who have incurred the solemn censure of the Church. Again, in the acts of the early councils, we find together with the said acts, some of the writings of the heretics who were therein condemned. Thus, for instance, in the acts of the Council of Ephesus (431), we find some of the writings of Nestorius, and among the acts of the Council of Calcedon (451), we find some of the writings of Eutyches; or finally, perhaps, it is among the works of the most celebrated, and most approved fathers of the Church, that we find the writings of some of the direst enemies of Christianity. Thus, for instance, we find some of the writings of Julian the apostate among the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, who refuted that polished enemy of Catholicity; we find the works of Faustus, among the writings of St. Augustine, and the works of Adrian's *protégé*, Celsus, in the apology of Origen. All these works are quite indispensable for anyone who wishes to make research for authentic and trustworthy documents regarding the history of the early Church. Here is the question then: Would it be necessary for such an individual to seek permission from the Congregation of the Index to read such collections? We

¹ Cf. Pennacchi, p. 48.

believe that it would not, for such collections are not proscribed.

1. There is no reason why they should be proscribed. No danger arises from them. Card. De Lugo, says of such collections :—

These works are permitted, because the errors they contain are familiar to everybody, and make very little impression on anyone. It is useful, moreover, that a knowledge of them be preserved in order that we may know why the Church condemned them. They also contain a good deal of useful information which we might otherwise not know. Such reasons, however, do not hold good for the writings of modern heretics. Their writings, also, sometimes contain useful information ; still such information may be acquired more safely and better from Catholic authors. It is also to be considered, that since these heresies have not yet been thoroughly rooted out, there would be considerable danger that they would spread, were their books freely read.¹

2. A short consideration will show that the opinion of Cardinal de Lugo is in perfect accord with the letter and spirit of this rule. The end of the legislation on the Index, has always been to safeguard the faith and morals of the people from the pernicious influences of bad literature. Where there is no danger to be feared, there is no need to proscribe ; and what danger can possibly arise from the perusal of the early heretics ? Surely, no danger need be feared from the errors of Arius, Nestorius, Macedonius, Valentinian, or Sergius recorded among the acts of the Councils at which they were condemned ; and especially so since side by side with the doctrine of those heretics is given their refutation, and the suffrage of the learned and holy men who subscribed to their condemnation. No danger need be feared from the errors of Celsus preserved in the apology of Origen ; from the errors of Julian the apostate, preserved in the work of Cyril of Alexandria ; from the errors of Faustus, preserved by St. Austin ; for they are cited merely to be refuted. No danger can arise from the errors of Origen, of Tertullian, of Lactantius, or from the errors of the other heretics of the early Church bound together in

¹ *De Virtute Fidei* Dis. 21.

the same collection with the writings of the fathers, because such errors have been so sifted and broken by the theologians of succeeding ages that they can no longer possibly hold water.

REG. II.—Libri apostatarum, hæreticorum, schismaticorum, et quorumcunque scriptorum hæresin vel schisma propugnantes, aut ipsa religionis fundamenta utcumque evertentes omnino prohibentur.

1. The present rule is so like the clause from Cap. ii. of the *Apostolicæ Sedis* already cited, that we believe it has been taken from it. This will be more clearly seen from a collation of them :—

Reg. Indius.

Libri apostatarum, hæreticorum schismaticorum et quorumcunque scriptorum,

Hæresim vel schisma propugnantes aut ipsa religionis fundamenta utcumque enertentes, &c.

CAP. II Apostolicæ Sedis.

Omnes et singulos scienter legentes sine auctoritate sedis apostolicæ libros eorundem apostatarum, hæreticorum,

Hæresim propugnantes nec non libros cujusvis auctoris per apostolicas litteras nominatim prohibitos.

It will be remarked that there are a few words different. The words 'schismaticorum' and 'utcumque evertentes' are found in the rule of the Index, while they are absent from the *Apostolicæ Sedis*. On the other hand, the phrase 'per apostolicas litteras nominatim prohibitos' is found in the *Apostolicæ Sedis*, while it is absent from the rule of the Index. The two, however, cover exactly the same ground. This rule, then, prescribes that the books of all the Apostates, of all heretics and schismatics, and the books of all the writers that either propose or defend heresy and schism, or undermine in any way the Catholic religion are strictly forbidden.

2. There are some terms in the present rule that require explanation; we must be acquainted with their meaning and extension, in order to determine exactly the force and extent of the rule.

Apostatarum.—Apostasy implies a certain retrogression. A person may be said to apostatize when he recedes from his belief (αφίστημι). A Christian, accordingly, might be

said to apostatize were he to have himself circumcized, or were he to go to pray to the tomb of Mahomed. We may also with propriety of language call the disciples who receded from Christ after the discourse on the Eucharist apostates. But as he who has penetrated through the corridors, halls, and departments of an extensive mansion will have many stages in his retrograde movement, so will he who has been thoroughly initiated into any form of belief have several stages in his retrogression from it. If we make the Catholic faith the subject of our discourse, we will find that there are many for instance, who have fully acquiesced in all its doctrines, but who take no part in its pious practices; we will find others who believe in all its doctrines, and take part in many of its pious practices; and, finally, we will find some few who believe in all its doctrines, take part in its pious practices, and perform some works of supererogation, such as making vows or chastity, becoming members of the priesthood, or joining some religious community. If a person were to recede from any of those stages he would to a certain degree be an apostate. If a priest were to recede from his religious order, he might be called an apostate to the order, but the term would not be used in its entire force and signification; if he were to refuse obedience to the Church, he would merit the term more truly still; but were he to renounce every truth that he had held, he would then be an apostate with the full force and vigour of the term. This is the meaning that we must attribute to the term apostate in the present rule, because throughout the present Constitution we must always steer the most lenient course. An apostate, then is a person who has totally receded from the Christian faith which he had received in baptism.

Haereticorum.—Heresy implies some choice, for *αἵρεσις* in Greek will be *eligere* in latin. Let us examine its causes; it resides in the intellect as in its *subject*; for it is the part of the intellect to exercise a choice; and we see that we could not well call the drunken or the angry man a heretic, because he proclaims against or denies any dogma of the Catholic faith while in one of his passionate fits. It has the subordinate truths of Christianity for its *object*. We

perceive at once how inaptly a Chinese or an atheist would be called a heretic who may have never heard of Christ, or who may not believe in the immortality of the soul; moreover, we do not exercise a choice about what is fundamental; no one chooses to be happy, but only the way to be happy. This choice must assume a certain *form* before it can with prosperity be called heresy; heresy bespeaks a stubborn choice. St. Augustine says: 'although persons may propound perverse and false doctrines, still if they seek the truth, and are prepared to embrace it, they cannot be called heretics.' Heretics, therefore, are those who knowingly and stubbornly deny any article of Catholic faith.

Schismaticorum.—Schism (σχίσμα) implies a fissure, a rent, a cut in twain. Schism is therefore opposed to *union*, in the first place; and, secondly, to *unity*. As stones adhere to one another by mortar to raise the walls, and as the walls keep together to support the roof, so all the members of the Church are bound to one another by charity, and to the Pope by obedience. Those, therefore, who take away a member of the faithful from the body of the Church may just as well be termed schismatics as those who refuse obedience to the Pope.² Hence those who would endeavour to sever the English Church from all communion with the Irish Church, might as well be called schismatics as the Greeks who refuse obedience to the Supreme Pontiff.

Propugnare haeresim.—The Latin word 'propugnare' seems to imply both to propose and to defend. On the meaning of this word, Reat has in his commentary on the *Apostolicae Sedes*, 'Propugnare est, si quid opinor, haeresis patrocinium suscipere data opera, et quasi pro viribus; quocirca excommunicatio eum non tenet qui legit librum Apostatae si haeresim non propugnat, etsi eam contineat immo defendat, sed, obiter, paucis, et quasi aliud agens.' Hence, if a work merely contains haeretical or schismatical doctrine without the proofs and arguments thereof, it cannot be said to fall under the present rule.³

¹ Ep. 43.

² Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa*, ii.-ii., Quæ. 11, 12, and 39.

³ *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* thus explains this expression:—'Propugnare la

Fundamenta religionis utcumque evertentes.—Amongst the commentators who have heretofore written on the Rules of the Index, a difference of opinion exists about the exact meaning of this phrase. The Belgian commentator, P. Vermeeish, S.J., understands by 'fundamenta religionis' the natural truths on which our religion is founded. He says¹:—

Ipsa religionis fundamenta intelligimus, unice veritates ordinis naturalis, quae adulto infideli ipsi fidei amplectendae praeambulae sunt; non autem simul praecipua dogmata ipsius fidei.

P. Pennacchi and *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* would, however, give the expression a much wider extension. They would understand by 'fundamenta religionis' *the motives of our belief in our religion*. P. Pennacchi writes²:—

Libri qui religionis fundamenta evertunt, sunt libri ab incredulis praesertim conscripti; iis scilicet qui vel existentiam, vel Christi divinitatem, aut ipsa motiva credibilitatis fidei negant: divinas scripturas aut non divinitus inspiratas, aut supposititias, aut mendaces traducunt.

Il Monitore writes to the same effect³:—

Combattere i fondamenti della religione è combattere i motivi di credibilità, quali sono fra gli altri,—le profezie ed i miracoli; e poi la sacra scrittura, la chiesa cattolica, il Romano Pontefice, e soprattutto la divinità de Gesu Christo.

We prefer the opinion of the Italian commentators.

In explanation, therefore, we must say that the legislator here makes use of a metaphor. He compares religion to a building. St. Paul⁴ makes use of the same metaphor when he compares the Church and the sanctification of the faithful to a sacred edifice. For building this edifice God had appointed Apostles to act as His ambassadors, prophets to make known His hidden truths, evangelists to announce the good news, pastors to rule as bishops, doctors to prove the faith. St. Augustine makes use of the same metaphor

eresia o lo schisma è defenderli con prove e con ragioni; non è così, la sola professione o asserzione o narrazione di errori o di fatti che sanno di eresia o di schisma. Neppure crediamo noi, la lode che si tributa alle dette cose quando non vi si aggiungono le ragioni per la loro difesa.

¹ No. 13.

² Page 55.

³ Page 24.

Eph., cap. 4.

when he says that humility is the foundation of sanctity: the greater the height of sanctity we wish to reach, the deeper the foundation of humility must be set.

Now, what are the foundations of this sacred edifice of religion? Religion is a connection between the soul and God;¹ the starting-point is the truths concerning God which the soul recognises. Some of those truths are of the natural order, according to the words of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans; and some are difficult to understand, as St. Peter says when commending the Epistles of St. Paul. By reason alone we might arrive at a knowledge of many of the necessary truths of our religion, as we see from the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle and from Pars. I. of the *Summa* of St. Thomas; but there are some necessary truths of our religion at which we could never arrive without the aid of revelation, as St. Thomas proves² when treating of the Trinity.

Now, a knowledge of the mystery of the Trinity, which we could not possibly discover by the pure light of reason,³ is as necessary to our religion as the existence of God, proven by Aristotle. Hence, if our religion were founded merely on natural truths, it would tumble down on one side, and we would have no theology but natural theology; while if it were founded entirely on revealed truths, we would have no theology but mystic theology. Hence, anyone who limits 'fundamenta religionis' to mere natural truths seems to take but a one-sided view of the sacred edifice of religion. It has two sides—the natural side, and the supernatural side. All the motives of our belief, whether founded on natural reason, or on revelation, are the foundations of our religion. The reality of external nature, the immortality of the soul, the existence of God, the inspiration of Sacred Scripture, and, above all, the Divinity of Christ, are motives of our belief and foundations of our religion. Be they, therefore, persons who deny the spirituality of the soul, as materialists; or persons who deny the existence of God, as atheists; or the inspiration of Scripture, or the Divinity

¹ St. Thomas, 2. 2; 81, 1.

² I, 31, 1.

³ St. Thomas, *ibidem*.

of Christ, as Renan, or the critics of the Tubingen school or even persons who ridicule those truths when they have failed to disprove them, as Voltaire and the English encyclopædists; they undermine our religion; they accordingly fall under the present rule, and thereby their works are proscribed and condemned.

REGULA III.—Item prohibentur acatholicorum libri, qui ex professo de religione tractant, nisi constat nihil in eis contra fidem catholicam continere.

(1) This rule seems to have been framed after the model of the first part of Rule II. of the Council of Trent. The scope of that rule was: 'Libri omnes eorum qui capita vel duces fuerunt hæreticorum omnino vetantur; et etiam omnes alii hæreticorum libri de religione tractantes.' It will be remarked that the present rule is, however, much more lenient; for the very fact of a book, treating expressly of religion, having being written by a non-Catholic, was a sufficient motive for its proscription according to the old rule: now all such books are permitted, unless we know that they contain something against the Catholic faith.

(2) In the present rule there are two expressions which require an explanation:—

Aatholicorum.—The word 'acatholicus' bears a two-fold meaning. It may mean, according to its negative form, anyone outside the Catholic Church. This is the sense in which *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* takes the word at page 25, where it applies to the word to mean heretics, Mahometans, Jews, Gentiles, and infidels of any kind whatsoever. The word may, however, be used in a more restricted sense, to signify those who have a positive opposition to the Catholic Church in particular; and this is the meaning, we believe, of the term in the present context:—

1°. In the present rules of the Index when any particular class of persons outside the Catholic Church is meant, a particular term is employed. Thus, in Rule II. we find 'Apostatarum,' 'Hæreticorum,' 'Schismaticorum,' 'aut quorumcunque scriptorum hæreseri vel schisma propugnantes;'

and, lastly, 'ipsa fundamenta religionis utcumque enertentes.' Hence we believe that if the legislator wished the word 'acatholicus' to have such a wide extension as *Il Monitore* would claim for it, he would have repeated the self-same terms, as in the preceding rule, or else would have used some particle to determine exactly the extension of the term in its present context.

2°. It is highly probable that the word 'acatholicus' bears the same meaning throughout the present set of rules. Now, in Rule VIII., we find 'acatholici' publishing editions of the Sacred Scriptures; and is it not very improbable that a Mahometan or a Buddhist would publish such books?

3°. The same conclusion seems also to be the natural deduction from the words of the latter half of the present rule: 'Nisi constet nihil in eis contra fidem catholicam contineri.' A pagan or apostate, infidel or atheist, to write a book expressly on religion, and say nothing against the Catholic faith! We believe that such a thing is highly improbable, if not morally impossible. Still, as the opposite opinion will have its probability, whosoever pleases may use it in practice.

Ex professo de religione tractantes.—P. Pennacchi thus explains this phrase, 'Porro, ex professo de religione tractare est enucleare de illa disserere, argumentis rationibusque communire. et ab objectis etiam ut par est vindicare.' Hence in order that an author treat 'ex professo de religione,' he must state clearly his tenets; he must bring forward arguments and reasons to establish them, and must endeavour to answer and explain away opposing doctrines.

(3) It will be remarked that the present rule is in the form of a composite proposition, the parts of which are joined by an exceptive particle. The first part of this composite proposition remains an absolute prohibition as long as the second part is not verified. Hence if we hear that any book expressly about religion has been written by an 'acatholicus,' we are forbidden to read that book till we ascertain that it has nothing against the Catholic faith. This we can find out by asking men worthy of belief on account of their prudence, their good character, or

their professional position. If, however, the persons whom we have consulted have made a mistake, and have told us that the book was quite free from error, when it was not, we are bound to desist from reading it when we perceive the mistake. We are, of course, free from sin for having commenced, but if we proceed we are acting against the law of the Church.

T. HURLEY.

To be continued.

Notes and Queries.

THEOLOGY

DISCHARGE OF THE OBLIGATION TO OFFER MASSES PROMISED TO BENEFACTORS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Please answer in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following question, and much oblige:—

A parish priest has erected a church on which there remains due a considerable debt. Amongst the many expedients to which he has recourse, in order to liquidate the debt, is that of collecting cards, which bear at foot the announcement, that the holy Sacrifice of the Mass is offered weekly for all contributors to the church fund. The parish priest, owing to the number of public Masses in his parish on days of obligation, has to binate on these days. Can he offer his second Mass for the benefactors of his church?

CANONICUS.

The parish priest can satisfy any obligation arising from his promise to the contributors to the church fund by offering the second Mass on Sundays for them; and this, we think, is true even though we make the improbable supposition that he has bound himself in *justice* and not in fidelity merely to offer these masses for the benefactors of the church. It is, indeed, sometimes stated that one is forbidden to satisfy two obligations in *justice* by bination. But this is, we believe, inaccurate if it be pressed so far as to include the case in question. What is prohibited is the taking of two *stipends* formally or equivalently. The parish priest, in the hypothesis we make, satisfies two obligations in justice, but does not take two stipends. It should be noted, however, that a parish priest could not lawfully, without a special dispensation, discharge some of his ordinary *honoraria* by his second Mass on Sunday, on the plea or condition of handing over these same *honoraria* to his church fund or other pious purpose.

IS A CURATE'S FACULTY TO BINATE LOCAL OR PERSONAL?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some weeks ago I arrived in a certain town in Ireland on a Saturday evening. The curate of the place had taken suddenly ill, and I was asked to duplicate in his place on the following day. I had no licence to duplicate there or anywhere. But there was no time to apply to the bishop, and I did as I was asked. Was I justified in so doing?

NEO SACERDOS.

Our correspondent was, in the case, certainly justified in duplicating. In the abstract, the privilege of bination in that parish may, possibly, be looked on as *local* or as *personal* to the curate; if local, then anyone taking the curate's place enjoys it; if it be personal, then *per se* the curate cannot communicate it. Now, even though we were to grant that the privilege is personal, still in an urgent case, such as that mentioned, *anyone* who supplies the curate's place may lawfully presume on the bishop's permission. We are, however, inclined to think that the privilege of binating is, in such cases, rather a local privilege granted on account of the necessities of the place. Lehmkuhl seems to look upon it as a personal privilege which cannot be communicated. Of course we could understand that if a bishop granted a certain priest permission to binate anywhere and everywhere that he might be called on—say during the summer holidays of the clergy to supply for absent priests—the privilege of that priest should be considered personal. He can exercise it to binate in a parish where there is usually no privilege or necessity for bination. Because it is personal, he cannot communicate it, unless he enjoys the additional privilege of power to communicate it. But, where the privilege is granted to a particular place or church, for reasons peculiar to that place the privilege does not seem to be personal. The privilege, on the contrary, seems to us to be in the full sense local. It is given for the place, and is, therefore, attached to the place. The curate enjoys it while he is in that place; a stranger will enjoy the same privilege by the very fact of discharging the curate's duties.

PREACHING. FASTING

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. I should like to ask your opinion on a case that occurs frequently at present. Soon after last Mass, say half an hour after, there is a sodality meeting, and a sermon, it may be, by the celebrant of the Mass. The meeting is for the male or female branch only, but all are invited to remain. Is the priest bound to preach at that Mass? May it be looked upon as the same occasion, and would not the double obligation be hard for the preacher, and, perhaps, harder on his audience.

2. A priest has to duplicate on Sunday, or has to say a late Mass, say at 11 o'clock, or 12, and preach. Would you consider this as *per se causa excusans* from the fast on Saturday night? I understand that many priests so consider it.

P.P.

1. We are at one with our correspondent in thinking that, in the circumstances he describes, it is neither obligatory, nor, perhaps, as a rule, desirable, that there should be two sermons addressed to what will be, no doubt, in great part, the same congregation. Nor are we inclined to differ from our correspondent, when he says that a second sermon by the same preacher would be hard on the preacher, and, perhaps, harder on his audience. That there ought to be only one sermon, then, in the particular case stated, we are quite prepared to admit. The real question, as it presents itself to us, is, whether that sermon ought not be at the 'last Mass,' rather than at the sodality meeting.

We may fairly assume that many who assist at last Mass will not wait for the afternoon meeting. Those most likely to go away are those who need instruction most. If, therefore, the arrangement referred to be adopted every Sunday, or frequently, the result will be that many of the people, and many especially of those who badly need instruction, will go for the whole year, or for a great part of the year, without any religious instructions whatever. Those who remain for the meeting do not suffer; those who have attended an early Mass, and who have, presumably, heard an instruction already, get a second sermon at a sodality meeting, though they are likely to be the class of

persons who, comparatively, want instruction least. It seems to us, in one word, that those who need instruction most are sacrificed for the sake of those who need instruction least. Possibly our correspondent's experience would supply information which would modify our views. But we cannot help thinking that the principle is sound, that instruction for the people, and *all* the people, is an essential part of the pastor's duty; and that the necessities of the spiritual life should be provided for all before attempting to secure what may be called its luxuries for any.

Of course, if most people remained for the sodality meetings, or if the meetings themselves were rare, our objection to deferring the sermon would be less in a corresponding degree.

2. The parish priest can, of course, in such cases, dispense himself or his curates from the law of fasting, and so remove all doubt. But we do not venture to condemn the practice of those who, without a dispensation, consider themselves, according to the indulgent modern discipline of the Church, excused from the obligation to fast on Saturday when they have to say an 11 or 12 o'clock Mass, and preach on the following (Sunday) morning. Duplication, however, unless it involves a late Mass, or a long interval between the Masses, could not of itself be considered a cause excusing from the fast of the previous day.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE FORM OF THE LUNETTE

REV. DEAR SIR,—With all due respect, I beg to say that I am not satisfied with your explanation of the question and reply concerning the lunette. You say that two distinct questions are asked—1. May the Sacred Host be placed in the monstrance in the modern style of lunette or capsá consisting of two glasses, &c. 2. May it (thus enclosed) be placed in the Tabernacle without any other capsá?

It appears to me that only this second question is asked, it being taken for granted that it is lawful to use (in the monstrance) this sort of lunette. The words are these :—‘*Usus invaluit,*’ &c

. . . Hostiam . . . recondendi inter duo crystallæ, &c. Eamque in Tabernaculo reponendi sine ulla capsula,' &c., an licita, &c. In order to explain the first member of the question according to your interpretation, you are obliged to imagine a sort of compound lunette, viz., the glass case 'with an arrangement similar to the crescent lunette to prevent the Host from touching the glass.' Now, as no such thing as this exists, it is not reasonable to think that anyone would ask a question about it. What really exists in these new-fashioned lunettes is 'duo crystallæ apte coherentia,' but so close together that there is no 'arrangement' like a lunette, nor is there room for it, but the Sacred Host is simply placed on the glass. That practice is presumed in the question to be lawful. It is only asked whether the Sacred Host, thus enclosed, may be kept in the Tabernacle without any other outward case? Indirectly it would seem that the Sacred Congregation condemns the present practice of placing the Host between the glasses and touching them. Or, better, it would condemn the practice if asked the question; but I submit it has not been asked. You say I 'may term this glass case, viz., the one with the arrangement like lunette, 'a glass case' or a 'lunette,' or a 'lunette within a glass case;' but by whatever name it be called, its use has the sanction of the Congregation of Rites. But as no such thing exists (and I do not think could be made to fit a monstrance). I cannot see how it has the sanction of the Congregation.

M. F. H.

We will not quarrel with our esteemed correspondent as to whether the question addressed to the Congregation of Rites is equivalent to the two into which we have divided it, or is confined to the one point, as our correspondent contends. We made the distinction for the sake of clearness, not for the purpose of enabling us to make a false interpretation appear true. For whether the *dubium* or question includes the two points or only the latter, the interpretation remains the same. Nevertheless, it seems quite clear to us that the question does include the two points, and is, therefore, equivalent to the two questions into which we distinguished it. Our correspondent, in giving the substance of the question in order to prove that only one point is included in it, omits entirely the reference

to the other point. Undoubtedly, had the question been asked in the form of which he gives the substance it could have referred to only one point. Here is the question in full, together with the reply of the Congregation :—

In plurimis . . . usus invaluit . . . Sacram Hostiam quae in Ostensorio exponenda est recondendi intra duo crystallae apte cohaerentia, eamque in Tabernaculo reponendi absque ulla capsula, seu custodia. Hinc a S. R. C. expostulatum fuit. ‘An ejusmodi praxis licet?’

We have said that this point is not worth labouring, as it has absolutely no bearing on the interpretation of the decree, other than that it enables one to make the interpretation clearer. But if it were of any importance it would be easy enough to show that the *praxis* spoken of in the question refers not merely to the placing in the Tabernacle the Host enclosed between two glass discs, but also to the placing of the Host enclosed in the monstrance for exposition and Benediction. We have italicized the clauses which bear out this interpretation.

Our correspondent further says that in order to support our interpretation we ‘are obliged to imagine a sort of compound lunette.’ We do not know what faculty of our mind was engaged in evolving the description of the lunette, which we believed, and still believe, the Congregation of Rites has sanctioned. Our correspondent must admit that the Congregation has declared it lawful to enclose the Sacred Host between two glass discs, provided it touch neither, and to place it thus enclosed, and without any further covering or protection in the Tabernacle. The arrangement we described suggested itself to us as being the most convenient to secure the conditions insisted on by the Congregation. Any other arrangement which will as effectually secure the same conditions, whether it be a simple or compound lunette would equally recommend itself to us.

But, then, says our correspondent, no such thing as this exists; and, consequently, it would be unreasonable to suppose that anyone would ask a question about it. With all respect for our correspondent, we beg to say that he is here wandering wide of the point. The reply of the

Congregation in this case is entirely independent of the question. Had the Congregation merely said 'Affirmative' then we might argue about the meaning of the question; but the Congregation has added words which convey clearly to us what they sanctioned:—

Affirmative: *dummodo sacra Hostia in dictis crystallis bene sit clausa, atque crystalli non tangat.*

Now whatever may be the meaning of the question, the Sacred Congregation makes it quite clear in its reply that it sanctions the enclosure of the Host for exposition in the monstrance, and reposition in the tabernacle between two glass discs, provided it touches neither. And if the form of lunette which the Orator had before his mind did not correspond with the requirements of the Congregation, then his lunette was certainly not approved of. And if there be no such lunette in existence, as that implied in the response of the Congregation, it does not matter; when it comes into existence it will have the approval of the Congregation; and, surely, it is not beyond the wit of man to devise a lunette that will fulfil these simple requirements.

So far we have argued on the hypothesis that a lunette such as we described in last October's number of the I. E. RECORD does not exist. Our correspondent says that no such lunette exists, and we wished to show him that its existence, or non-existence had absolutely nothing to do with the meaning of the decree. But wide, as we are sure, our correspondent's experience is, it is, at least, not universal. In the parish church of Maynooth there is a lunette exactly coinciding with the one we have described. It was made some ten years ago by Mr. Donegan of Dame-street, Dublin, who, we understand, has made many similar ones. It consists of a cylinder about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and about 2 in. diameter; the sides of the cylinders are of metal (gold in this particular case), the ends of strong plate glass. One of these ends moves on a hinge, and when it is opened a specially constructed crescent lunette, carrying the consecrated Host is filled into a groove in the side of the cylinder; the glass disc is closed and fastened, and this

- compound lunette, which we have not imagined, but seen, is ready to be placed either in the monstrance—specially and ingeniously constructed to receive it—or in the tabernacle.

May we now, in turn, ask how our correspondent knows that the use of the lunette with glass discs so close together that the Host must touch one or both 'is presumed in the question to be lawful'? The question itself affords not a particle of evidence in favour of this statement. It would seem, then, that our correspondent must have come to this conclusion because he believed that no other form of lunette with glass discs existed; but, now that it has been shown that another form does exist, surely it is not quite fair to conclude that the person who asked the question knew only of that form which justly deserves to be condemned. However, as we have already pointed out, the reply of the Congregation is entirely independent of the meaning of the question; this reply, not the question, makes the law for us.

Our correspondent remarks that in their reply the Congregation seem to condemn indirectly the use of the old lunette with two glass discs nearly touching. 'Or better,' he goes on to say, '*it would* condemn the practice if asked the question; but I submit it has not been asked.' We quite agree with our correspondent, that the Congregation would condemn the old form of lunette if it were asked; but we maintain, moreover, that, after the publication of the decree now under discussion, no lunette enclosing the Host between two glass discs has the approval of the Congregation of Rites, unless it be so fitted that the Host can be contained in it without touching either of the discs. This amounts, we think, to a tacit condemnation of the old form of lunette.

THE 'ORDINARIUS LOCI'

REV. DEAR SIR,—You will kindly excuse me for making a few remarks on your answer to the correspondent in the October number of the I. E. RECORD regarding the 'Consensus Ordinarii.' I quite agree with your answer to the first two questions of the correspondent; but your answer to the third question, is, I think incomplete.

The Provincial or other Superior of Regulars can, it appears,

be considered the *Ordinarius* of his own subjects within the limits of his jurisdiction. If, therefore, his subjects have the necessary faculties to bless beads, rosaries, &c., the Provincial's permission will be sufficient for the exercise of these faculties in the churches, monasteries, and other places subject to his jurisdiction.

To exercise the same faculties outside of these places Regulars require the permission of the bishops of the diocese. The question has been thus decided by two decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences, July 22nd, 1886, and January 2nd, 1888. Both decrees are given in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* for January, 1895. The question was afterwards treated at length in the *N. R. Theologique*, vol. xxvii., p. 538, and the same conclusion was come to. Another doubt yet remains regarding this matter. These faculties are, as a rule, given for five years. When the five years have passed, and the same faculties are again renewed from Rome, do you think it is necessary to again get the permission of the *Ordinarius*? My own opinion is that the permission of the *Ordinarius* is again necessary, for one cannot reasonably suppose that a bishop wishes to extend his permission beyond the time determined by Rome.

REGULAR.

The reply to which our correspondent refers was incomplete in the sense indicated by him. Three questions were asked; the second referred to the case of Regulars giving missions, &c., away from their monastery; the third question to which our correspondent says the reply was incomplete, asked whether the Provincial or other Superior of a Religious Order might be regarded as the *Ordinarius loci* for his own subjects. Having still in mind that the preceding question referred to Regulars when away from their monastery, we took it for granted that this one referred to them in these same circumstances, and consequently answered that the Superior of a Religious House or Order could not be regarded as the *Ordinarius loci*, even for his own subjects. This reply is correct in the sense in which it was intended; but a distinction should have been made in order to make the reply complete. A Religious Superior cannot take the place of the *Ordinarius loci* even with regard to his own subjects, if there is question of their exercising the faculties outside the precincts of their own monasteries or churches; he

can, however, provided the faculties are to be exercised only in the monasteries or churches belonging to the Order. The following decrees illustrate and confirm both members of this distinction :—

BEATISSIME PATER,

Frater Marcolinus Cicognani Procurator Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum. ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provolutus exponit : in Literis Apostolicis in forma Brevis, quibus Regularibus concedi solet facultas benedicendi Coronas, Rosaria, &c., haberi verba *de consensu Ordinarii tui* : in Rescriptis vero S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum et Sacris Reliquiis praepositae, quibus eadem facultas iisdem Regularibus concedetur legi tantum verba *de consensu Ordinarii*.

Tum humillimo Oratori, tum nonnullis aliis Religiosis Viris, verba *Ordinarii tui* et *Ordinarii* absque addito dubium ingesserunt, cujus solutio modo petitur.

Dubium est :

‘Utrum nomine Ordinarii cujus in casu requiritur consensus, intelligendus sit localis superior Ordinis ad quem pertinet Regularis, qui facultatem obtinuit benedicendi Coronas, Rosaria, etc. ; aut potius Superior Ecclesiasticus Dioeceseos intra cujus limites idem Regularis reperitur.’

Quam gratiam.

Sacra Congregatio Ind. Sacrisque Rel. praeposita, die 22 Julii, 1886, proposito Dubio respondit.

‘Ad primam partem negative : ad secundam partem affirmative.’

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Conis., die et anno ut supra.

J. B. Card. FRANZELIN, *Praef.*

I. DELLA VOLPE, *Secret.*

ORDINIS MINORUM CAPUCINORUM

Sacrae Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum Congregationi sequens dubium dirimendum propositum fuit :

Quum in litteris apostolicis in forma Brevis, nec non in Rescriptis S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, quibus Regularibus conceditur facultas benedicendi Coronas, Rosaria, &c., haec verba legantur ‘*de consensu Ordinarii loci*’ quaeritur :

An Regularis qui a Sede Apostolica praedictam facultatem obtinuit, ad eam exeroendam intra septa tantummodo sui Monasterii seu Conventus vel etiam domorum Residentialium in quibus hisce temporum adjunctis plures Religiosi sub respectivi superioris dependentia una simul commorantur, opus habeat licentia Superioris Ecclesiastici Dioeceseos in qua suum Monasterium seu

Conventus vel supraenunciatae domus reperiuntur, an vero sufficiat licentia superioris vera jurisdictione pollentis in suo Ordine uti Abbas, Provincialis, vel Generalis totius Ordinis?

S. Congr. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita sub die 2 Januarii, 1888, respondit :

Ad I^{am}. Partem Negative.

Ad II^{am}. Partem Affirmative.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congr. die mense et anno uti supra.

CAI. Card. ALOISI-MASELLI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ ALEXANDER, *Episcopus Oensis, Secr.*

Our opinion regarding the necessity of procuring the consent of the Ordinary each time that one gets his faculties renewed coincides with that of our correspondent. We believe that the consent of the Ordinary is a condition—and though for the most part a formality—an essential condition, for the valid exercise of any faculties in the granting of which this formula is used. Now, although a person had had the consent of the Ordinary for the exercise of faculties procured five years ago, he has not his consent for the exercise of the faculties—though specifically the same—which he receives now; that is, he has not his formal consent expressed in connection with, or in regard to, the renewed faculties.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

FATHER DONOVAN'S COMPENDIUM 'THEOLOGIAE MORALIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—There is one statement in your kind notice of my *Compendium*, in the November number of the I. E. RECORD, to which I beg leave to call attention. I allowed a month to elapse without doing so, fearing lest I might seem ungrateful for a review, which was, on the whole, so very favourable. On mature consideration, however, I have decided to ignore that fear, in the interest of science, and with your permission to say, in a friendly, pacific way, what I think of that statement.

The passage in question is : 'All *clerici* are not *tonsurati*, as the author himself points out in explaining the censure attached to *percussio clericici*.'

Now the assertion, that all *clerici* are not *tonsurati*, is directly opposed to the Roman Pontifical, *De Ordinibus Conferendis*, where it is said : '*Clericatus seu prima tonsura quocumque die, hora et loco conferri potest*,' taking for one and the same thing the *collatio clericatus* and *primae tonsurae*, and the same thing is repeated substantially in the end of the article *De Clerico faciendo*.

Schouppe's definition of *tonsura* is in accordance with the Pontifical. He writes, *De Ordine*, n. 67 : '*Tonsura est caeremonia . . . qua laicus . . . sacro ritu in clerum adscribitur*.' In strict keeping with this, and with the teaching of Palmieri, is the description I have given of clerics, *Comp.*, vol. ii., p. 143, n. 1 : '*Clerici generatim dicuntur initiati Ordinibus . . . vel etiam tonsura, qua quis privilegia ecclesiastica sortitur*.' It seems to have been for want of this last clause or something equivalent, that Palmieri found fault with Busembaum's definition ; for he himself has written as in the *Comp.*, vol. iii., p. 13, n. 4 : '*Collatio Tonsurae qua quis fit clericus, inter Ordines non censetur*.' How quote him, then, in support of the doctrine, that there are clerics who are not tonsured ?

Ballerini, too, has said, as transcribed in *Comp.*, vol. i., p. 234, n. 66 : '*Clericus vero licet a prima tonsura dedicatus ad divinum cultum reputetur*,' &c.

It is true that Palmieri says (*Comp.*, vol. ii., p. 171, n. 101) : '*Advertendum est, in hac re (immunitatum) sub nomine clericorum seu personarum ecclesiasticarum venire etiam regulares*

utriusque sexus, novitios quoque et conversos': and in the place indicated by your reviewer he adds other classes of persons entitled to the privilegium *canonis*; where, however, he takes care to observe: 'latissime acceptum est.' It is in this wide and improper sense, that he uses as synonymous the terms above quoted—clericorum seu personarum ecclesiasticarum; for, though every cleric is an ecclesiastical person, every ecclesiastical person is not a cleric.

St. Alphonsus, *De Censuris*, n. 79, uses an expression similar to Palmieri, when he says: 'Notandum . . . quod nomine Episcoporum veniunt Abbates, et alii jurisdictionem episcopalem habentes.' Would it not be an abuse of language to say, that Abbots, &c., are in reality bishops, because they enjoy *some* of the privileges of bishops? And is it not a like abuse to say, that certain classes of persons are clerics, solely because a *small share* of clerical privileges (the *immunitales*, not the *praerogative*) has been extended to them?

In fine, the second Council of Lateran, and the Constitution Apostolicae Sedis draw a clear line of distinction between *clerics* and *others not clerics*, to whom the privilegium *canonis* has been extended. The former says: 'Si quis, suadente diabolo, hujus sacrilegii reatum incurrerit, quod in clericum *vel* monachum violentas manus injecerit,' &c. And the latter: 'Violentas manus . . . injicientes in Clericos *vel* utriusque sexus Monachos.'

All this leaves no room to doubt that there is a genuine Irish bull in the text pointed out in my *notula*. It is, therefore, your reviewer, and not I, who has come to grief in such an apparently smooth stream.

D. A. DONOVAN.

DOCUMENTS

IMPORTANT LETTER OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF
PROPAGANDA TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LOGUE, ON
THE DELEGATION OF FACULTIES OF THE FORMULA VI.

S. CONGREGAZIONE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE,
Protocollo No. 31239.

ROMA, 7 Decembr., 1898.

EM̃E ET RM̃E DOMINE MI OBS̃ME,

In supplicii libello huc misso, nomine Episcoporum Hiberniae, exponitur plura exoriri incommoda quoad usum facultatum formulae VI., ex restrictione art. 24ⁱ, quo iisdem Episcopis potestas fit 'communicandi praedictas facultates *duobus* sacerdotibus *tantum* in qualibet civitate et oppido insigni"; in quibusdam enim Hiberniae diocesisibus rarissimae sunt civitates et oppida insignia. Ejusmodi autem incommoda praesertim oriri, dicitur, tum quoad absolutionem censurarum et casuum Summo Pontifici reservatorum, tum etiam quoad dispensationem in quibusdam impedimentis matrimonialibus.

Jamvero pluries id idem expositum fuit huic S. Congregationi ab Episcopis Hiberniae, pluraque ad id responsa dedit S. Congregatio, uti etiam legitur in Collectanea S. Congregationis, pag. 64, 65, sub nn. 153 et 155. Jam inde ab anno 1832, Archiepiscopo Armacano S. Congregatio declarabat. 'In facultatum (Form. VI.) concessione non agi de oppidorum splendore ac dignitate, sed de populi Catholici bono atque utilitate. Ubi igitur talis ac tanta sit populi Catholici copia commorantis in ruralibus districtibus de quibus a Te loquitur, poterunt sacerdotibus ibi degentibus facultates subdelegari, licet iis districtibus non conveniat titulus insignium oppidorum.' Idem dicendum de parochiis.

Anno autem 1834 eidem Archiepiscopo Armacano petenti etiam nomine aliorum Episcoporum provinciae suae potestatem communicandi facultatem absolvendi in casibus (reservatis) presbyteris magis idoneis, prouti melius in Domino expedire judicaverint, ex audientia SS^{mi} habita die 11 Maii ejusdem anni, rescriptum fuit; *Pro gratia*,

Demum anno 1861 Archiepiscopo Dublinensi qui, exponens frustraneum accidere in aliquibus dioecesibus facultatem *communicandi* cum restrictione ‘*duobus sacerdotibus tantum in qualibet civitate et oppido insigni*,’ ob easdem modo allatas rationes, expos tulavit modificari citata verba formulae VI.; relatis precibus SS^{mo}, Sanctitas sua rescribendum mandavit concedi Archiepiscopo Oratori potestatem *communicandi* ad normam concessionis factae Archiepiscopo Armacano anno 1834; quoad modificationem formulae, *non expedire*. Eadem autem concessio etiam aliis Hiberniae Episcopis illam petentibus facta est.

Memoratis his declarationibus S. Haec Congregatio pro rerum adjunctis satis alias providit. Nunc vero nihil immutando quoad dispensationes matrimoniales, ut eadem detur tutior agendi norma omnibus Hiberniae Episcopis quod facultatem absolvendi in casibus Summo Pontifici reservatis, Sacra haec Congregatio censuit iisdem potestatem tribuere communicandi presbyteris sibi subditis, prouti iu Domino expedire judicaverint; facultates quae in duobus hic adjunctis Rescriptis continentur.

Interim omni cum obsequio tuas manus humillime deoscular.

Eminentiae Tuae,

M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

A. ARCHIEP. LARRISEN, *Secr.*

**RESCRIPT GRANTING POWER TO THE IRISH BISHOPS TO
DELEGATE CERTAIN FACULTIES IN THE FORMULA VI.**

No. 31239.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Hiberniae ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provoluti humiliter postulant, ut facultatem ipsis concessam in No 11^o formulae VI. ‘Absolvendi ab omnibus censuris etiam speciali modo in Constituone *Apostolicae sedis* Romano Pontifici reservatis, excepta absolutione complicitis in peccato turpi” communicare valeant presbyteris sibi subditis, magis idoneis, prouti in Domino expedire judicaverint.

Ex Audientia SS^{mi} habita die 6 Decembris, 1898.

SS^{mas} D. N. Leo Div. Prov. P.P. XIII. referente me infrascripto, S. Cong^{is} de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne adnuere dignatus est, pro gratia juxta preces, ad quinquennium, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. Cong^{is} de Propaganda Fide, die et anno ut supra.

A. ARCHIEP. LARRISEN, *Secr.*

**RENEWAL OF FACULTIES OF IRISH BISHOPS TO DISPENSE
IN INTERSTICES, AND ONE YEAR OF AGE FOR PRIEST-
HOOD, IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE, AND IRISH COLLEGE,
PARIS.**

Prot. 31238.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, totius Hiberniae Primas, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provolutus, humiliter petit renovationem facultatis quam alias obtinuit die 29 Aprilis 1894, ad quinquennium pro omnibus Hiberniae Episcopis dispensandi cum propriis subditis in Collegio Maynutiano et in Collegio S. Patritii apud Lutetian Parisiorum ad sacros ordines promovendis, super interstitiis et super defectu unius anni aetatis ad presbyteratum requisitae.

Ex Audientia SSⁿⁱ. habita die 22 Novembris 1898.

SS.^{ma} Dominus Noster Leo, Divina Providentia PP. XIII, referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne annuere dignatus est pro gratia renovationis, juxta preces, in forma et terminis praecedentis concessionis, ad aliud quinquennium.

Datum Romae ex Aed. S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide die et anno praedictis.

A. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

**RENEWAL OF INDULT GIVING IRISH BISHOPS POWER TO
DISPENSE IN FAST AND ABSTINENCE**

Prot. 31210.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Cardinalis Michael Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus et totius Hiberniae Primas, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provolutus, humiliter petit ut attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis in quibus versantur fideles regionis Hibernicae benigne prorogare dignetur Indultum super lege jejunii et abstinentiae, etiam tempore quadragesimali, alias ipsi et singulis Hiberniae Episcopis pro sibi commissis fidelibus concessum sub die 28 Januarii 1894 ad quinquennium.

Ex Audientia SSⁿⁱ die 22 Novembris 1898.

SS^{us} D. N. Leo Divina Providentia Papa XIII, referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, Indultum de quo in precibus benigne prorogare dignatus est ad aliud quinquennium in iisdem forma et terminis.

Quisque tamen Episcopus singulis vicibus nonnisi pro uno anno dispenset, facta quolibet anno expressa mentione facultatis obtentae a S. Sede, atque hortetur Christifideles, ut hanc apostolicam Indulgentiam compensare studeant aliis piis operibus et eleemosynis in pauperum levamen erogandis. Contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide die et anno ut supra.

R. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DIRECTORIUM SPIRITUALE. A Guide for Priests in their Public and Private Life. By F. Benedict Valuy, S.J. 5th Edition, thoroughly Revised. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1898.

WE are glad to welcome this fifth edition of the work of Father Valuy. As a 'Guide for Priests' it is well known to the Irish clergy; but the improvements in this last edition have made it more useful and valuable than ever. To every priest, no matter what his education may have been, some work of this kind is absolutely indispensable; and amongst works of the kind we know of none more practical or better suited to the needs of priests in these countries than the work of Father Valuy. It is at once a spiritual and a practical guide. It keeps permanently before the minds of priests the high ideal of their calling, and gives them solemn warning of the efforts that have to be made in order that they may prove worthy of the sanctuary. The chapters on meditation, on the examination of conscience, on faults against rubrics, faults against etiquette, &c., are all eminently practical. The list of books for a priest's library has been revised for this new edition; and although it would be difficult to get any two priests to agree as to a perfect list of books, still the suggestions in this volume cannot fail to prove useful. The hints as to the correct pronunciation of some well-known proper names at the end of the book is distinctly valuable. How few pronounce correctly such names as Harcourt, Knollys, Leveson Gower, Pepys, Belvoir, Colclough, Dalziel, Wemyss! No student or young priest should hesitate to procure a copy of this book, and no priest, young or old, should hesitate to read it when they have procured it.

J. F. H.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THE VOWS. Translated from the French of Mgr. Gay by O.S.B. London: Burns & Oates. 1898.

THIS 'Treatise on Religious Life' is a translation of three admirable chapters in Monsigneur Gay's work on 'The Christian Life and Virtues,' which has been so greatly appreciated in

France. Monseigneur Gay has done for ascetical theology what Fr. Faber did for some portions of dogmatic theology—he has made it attractive to the general reader by not treating it in a dry and merely scientific manner, but with a largeness of view and poetic enthusiasm which conveys to many souls a revelation of the wonder and beauty of God's love in dealing with His creatures.'

So speaks Father Gordon, of the London Oratory, who has written a short introduction to the book ; and though it is very high praise for any author to be put in comparison with Fr. Faber, we do not consider the praise undeserved in the case of Mgr. Gay. The translator, in his preface, complains of the special difficulties he felt in putting a proper English garb on Mgr. Gay's French ; but we think he has succeeded very much better than most translators from the French, and deserves to be complimented on the fact. To religious who have made the vows, and wish to study the spirit and obligations of their state, this treatise ought to prove most congenial reading. Even for others besides religious it will be edifying reading, and not at all dull or wearisome, but most entertaining.

P. J. T.

THE FRANCISCANS IN ENGLAND, 1600-1850. Being an Authentic Account of the Second English Province of Friars Minor. By the Rev. Father Thaddeus, O.F.M. London : Art and Book Co. 1898.

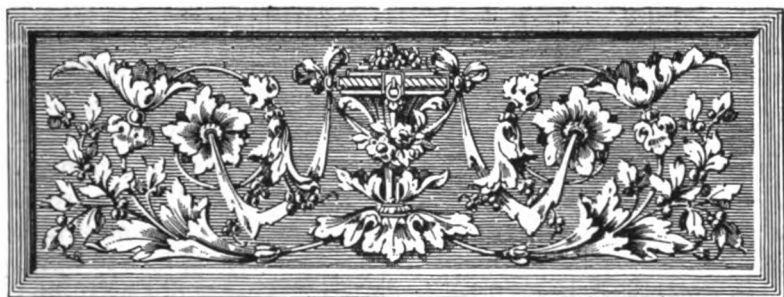
THIS is a diligent compilation of authentic historical material, and as such has a greater value, perhaps, than if it were a finished history, which it is not. For Father Thaddeus, no doubt, it was a labour of love to compile such a volume, and to the members of his own religious family all the matter he brings together will be interesting ; but the general reader cannot be expected to take much interest in old documents, and acts of chapters, and lists of names, residences, donations, and such like. Nevertheless all these things are useful in their place, and Father Thaddeus has done good work in making this compilation, which seems to be exhaustive.

P. J. T.

MUSICAL EXAMINATIONS. With some Particulars respecting the Proprietary Musical 'Colleges,' their Shareholders, Working, issue of Diplomas and Robes, &c. London : Musical News Office, 130, Fleet-street.

THERE is a great tendency at the present time to have music pupils examined by some recognised authority. A great many schools, especially girls' boarding schools, as well as private teachers, like to have their pupils to pass some of the various examinations that are being held all over the country. Great advantages, no doubt, are derived from these examinations. They give a stimulus to the pupils, and serve as an assurance for the teachers when they have been working on the right lines, or a corrective when their work is found defective in one direction or other. Moreover, the certificates issued to successful candidates may prove very useful to them in after-life. But it is evident that, in order to produce the desired effect, these examinations should be conducted by some competent authority. About the relative merits, however, of the various bodies that hold such examinations, very little is known in this country. Many teachers, in their selection of a particular examining body, are guided by nothing else than a high-sounding name or the grandeur of announcements in circulars sent to them. The information given in the pamphlet under review, which is published at the moderate price of 3*d.*, will, therefore, be of extreme advantage to music teachers who are in the habit of, or are thinking of, sending their pupils in for examination. It consists of a reprint of a large number of articles or letters from various musical as well as political papers, together with some speeches by eminent men, bearing on the subject, and gives a clear insight into the true meaning and working of several examining bodies which trade under the proud name of 'Colleges.'

H. B.



'THE TRIUMPH OF FAILURE'¹

WE are not certain how far this book will tend to lessen the deep-seated prejudice that very many people feel against the theological novel. To the ordinary novel-reader, who seeks amusement, or at best distraction from the stern and monotonous realities of life, the intrusion of solemn questions into a work of fiction may appear impertinent; whereas the more serious reader, whose mind is absorbed in the problems dealt with in the spiritual history of a concrete human being, is apt to criticize somewhat coldly the stage mechanism with which the workings of the soul is surrounded—the entrances and the exits of the players, their loves and their hates, their contrivances and their controversies, their small-talk and all their other *banalité*. As this is our own point of view (it may be a wrong one, but we cannot help it), we do not intend dealing with this really remarkable work as we should deal with an ordinary novel. The author has strongly grappled with a question which makes all criticism about petty details superfluous. There is art, and there are the rules of art. These are sometimes very good in their way, and sometimes they can be done without, as lovers of Shakespere will admit; for if you want to enjoy Shakespere, you must not attempt to criticize him.

The *Triumph of Failure* describes the birth-pangs of

¹ *The Triumph of Failure*. A Sequel to *Geoffrey Austin, Student*. By the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P.P. London: Burns & Oates. 1899.

faith in a soul that had never lost the faith. This looks like a paradox ; but is it not something of a truism also ? Is there not a chasm yawning between a barren, intellectual assent to the truth of Christianity, taking it all for granted, and never caring to take the trouble to deny it, and a living faith that dominates the whole man, all his mind and heart : a faith that burns him and purifies him, urging him to work, to suffer, and, if need be, to die, for the cause of Christ, and the children of Christ ?

In *Geoffrey Austin, Student*, a book of thrilling interest, we saw traced the early years and the mental training of a typical Irish lad, highly gifted, imaginative, ambitious, but without a spark of real religion instilled into his starving soul. No wonder that in the sequel we find him to be what he is—a complete failure and a complete spiritual wreck. The work we are reviewing takes him up at the point where he is launched into the world, without money, or position, or friends, to carve out his future as best he may ; and it traces his path through disappointment, and shame, and sorrow, till at last he finds himself at the foot of the Crucified, humbled, and happy, and at home for ever.

This is the old, old story ; but, after all, what new story could compare with it for tragic interest ? Whether a very large number of readers will be interested in it, is another question, which we dare not, much as we would wish it, answer in the affirmative. But, if it is not so read, we dare affirm, most unhesitatingly, that it is not the fault of the book, but of the readers. And we think we can promise the author something else, which is, perhaps, guerdon enough for his work, evidently a work of love, for it is a work of high inspiration ; we can promise him that those of his readers who are capable of understanding and appreciating his book (be they many, or be they few) will read it with more than interest, more than admiration, more than mere human gratitude. They will be fired by his enthusiasm and his eloquence ; they will feel their cheeks tingling with shame ; they will feel themselves beset by new ‘ obstinate questionings ’ of the mind ; they will necessarily gird themselves anew for the Master’s work ; and (this is best

of all) they will be refreshed with the exaltation of new hope as to the result.

If we are expected to give some analysis of the undoubted forcefulness of this book, we do not find the task so easy. What is it that gives its power over the human heart to the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, and to the *Imitation of Christ*? Apart from the real literary merit and the note of true eloquence found in these masterpieces (qualities which are by no means absent from the *Triumph of Failure*), we feel in both of them that we have a human soul, telling out plump and plain its own experience, its own most secret things, which are full of vital interest, because they appeal not to mere imagination, but sound the deepest chords in the heart of our common humanity.

So the question will obtrude itself on Father Sheehan's thoughtful readers, how far is this wonderful book an autobiography, and how far is it a mere work of imagination? There is never a hint dropped by the impersonal author as to his meaning in this respect, and perhaps we are not wished to pry behind the veil which has been dropped before our eyes. Of course, we are aware that there is much in the outward story which could not in any sense be applied to an ecclesiastical person, even though there is a complete absence in the history of the hero of those moral aberrations that might be expected to accompany loss of faith in one situated as he was. But the gradual awakening to the fact that the mind was set on false ideals, the impassioned, eager longing for the true light of faith, combined with a passive neglect as to making for it, the foolish fluttering of the wings as the nets of God were gradually closing around the soul, the heart-yearning almost leading to despair, the timely aid stretched out to sustain and save by the hand of man as well as of God, the awful conflict as the battle closed round in the dark night, leaving no loop-hole of escape, no hope of rescue, the final defeat that meant victory, the final failure that meant triumph, who shall describe this, if he has only looked on from a vantage-ground of calm security, gazing as from the rock of Lucretius upon the shipwreck in the waters below? Lacordaire and Newman could give but one answer, it is probable, to this question.

One feature that struck us in the work we are reviewing, which is really a contribution to our apologetic literature, is a complete absence of what may be called direct, as distinguished from indirect, controversy. Many people, we are sure, will think this a very marked and unusual merit in the novel-with-a-purpose. Without absolutely differing from this opinion, we may state that during part of the reading we felt tempted to regret that the intellectual side of conversion was not more insisted on. Geoffrey is an intellectual man, and a scholar, and we think he might have been influenced more by directly intellectual motives, and less by what we may call emotional considerations. It is true he had been brought up in the faith, and it had never quite left him in the lurch. Still he had lost all intellectual motives for practising it; and the question arises, would it not be better if more stress had been laid on his regaining them, and less on his psychological states, which depended on outward circumstances, and mere human affection for another who had never known what doubt is? Perhaps this latter view is the truest to life in countless cases. Yet may we not demand in a work that avowedly is a high presentment of the Christian idea, that the highest motives for accepting it should be clearly presented, if not in the form of controversy, at least in some sort of logical exposition?

There is, however, one point of view brought out with great learning and almost dazzling eloquence, but which is, we believe, something overstrained. We refer to the contrast between ancient Paganism and Christian morality. The case is quite strong enough, and it seems to us it is indefinitely weakened by being overstated. This is not a passing allusion—it runs through Father Sheehan's work. He seems to have almost a dread of that classical literature, with which his own mind is evidently imbued most deeply, as a means of educating our Catholic youth. Cardinal Newman, we believe, at times expressed the same views, and certainly those most devoted to the study of Greek and Roman literature must acknowledge that there is poison in it for the untrained mind, which demands a strong antidote. Where faith is weak, there paganism will

work the ruin of souls, aye, and of bodies too. It was necessary to say this much in order to make clear our own standpoint in disagreeing with Father Sheehan's presentment of paganism. It seems clear to us that he has been criticizing it by its worst, and not by its best. He fastens on certain plague-spots of pagan society, which were recognised as such by themselves, and offers them to our abhorrence as though they sum up in themselves the true significance of paganism. These things existed, no doubt, under the ægis of religion, and so far they were all the worse and more deadly; but, then, the religion of the ancients was fully understood by themselves to contain doubtful elements, or worse. They accepted it still, *faute de mieux*, as a sort of revelation, but not quite in our sense of the word. It was known to be local, varying, wholly depending on the will of the State, and subject to its controlling power.

It comes to this. We must explain to our boys and girls the errors and the limitations of paganism, but if we train them to seek and to acknowledge all that was good in it (and what human thing has not good and evil mixed?), they will find it all the easier to recognise the goodness of their own religion; and so far from weakening the contrast, we shall make it more palpable and significant. If they see human nature at its best, and study it sympathetically with its strength as well as its weakness, they will be all the readier when they are face to face with God, to recognise His presence. Let them study Socrates, and learn to love him for what he is, flat nose and all. When they come back from that lesson to the lessons of the Cross, they are less likely to confuse Christ with Socrates. Before, they saw mere man, perhaps at his best; now they are in a position to ask themselves—Is Christ only a man—or is He more? Reason will answer, as well as faith, '*Digitus Dei est hic.*'"

We offer these, perhaps desultory, criticisms on the book, because we think it a great book, and because we do not think it less great, if it be not perfect. We have not attempted to describe it minutely, inasmuch as we hope our words may tend towards getting others to read it, even

though it should be with less pleasure and profit to them than it has been to us. It is suitable for all—but most suitable, without any doubt, for the brother priests of the author, to whose thought we commend it most warmly.

H. BROWNE, S.J.

WAS ST. AUGUSTINE AN EVOLUTIONIST ?

THIS question has been suggested by the following passages in Dr. Zahm's learned work, *Evolution and Dogma*. He says :—

(a) It was the great Bishop of Hippo who first laid down the principles of theistic evolution essentially as they are held to-day. He taught that God created the various forms of animal and vegetable life, not actually but potentially ; that He created them derivatively and by the operation of natural causes.¹

Again he says :—

(b) God then, according to St. Augustine, created matter directly and immediately. On this primordial or elementary matter He impressed certain causal reasons, *rationes causales* ; that is, He gave it certain powers, and imposed on it certain laws, in virtue of which it evolved into all the myriad forms which we now behold. The saint does not tell us by what laws or processes the Creator acted. He makes no attempt to determine what are the factors of organic development. He limits himself to a general statement of the fact of evolution, of progress from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, from the simple primordial elements to the countless, varied, complicated structures of animated nature. Has any modern philosopher stated more clearly the salient facts of evolution ?²

Again :—

(c) According to the Doctor of Hippo, God did not create the world as it now appears, but only the primordial matter of which it is composed. Not only the diverse forms of inorganic matter,

¹ Page 71.

² Page 283.

rocks, minerals, crystals, were created by the operation of secondary causes, but plants and animals were also the products of such causes. For God, the saint insists, created the manifold forms of terrestrial life, not directly but in germ; potentially and causally—*potentialiter et causaliter*. In commenting on the words of Genesis: 'Let the earth bring forth the green herb,' he declares that plants were created not directly and immediately, but causally and potentially, *in fieri, in causa*; that the earth received from God the power of producing herb and tree, *producendi accepisse virtutem*.¹

The text on which this statement is based, is given in a footnote, but with a wrong reference; it is from *De Gen. ad Lit.* V. 45, and shall be given here later on. The very evolutionary looking text from *De Trinitate*, is not only irrelevant, but strongly opposed in its context to the ideas here propounded.

Again, he says:—

(d) No compromise, no *via media* is possible. We must needs be either creationists or evolutionists. We cannot be both.²

Creationist here means special creationist; that is, one who holds that all existing species were created by God immediately and not through second causes.

(e) He says, not only does the theistic evolution of St. Augustine exclude special creations, but it is at the same time thoroughly opposed to the doctrine of constant Divine interference in the operations of nature.³

In order to test these startling assertions we must make ourselves fully acquainted with St. Augustine's theory of the creation. This he has clearly set forth in the twelve books of his *De Genesi ad Litteram*. In the first five chapters of the sixth book he endeavours to prove that the second account of the creation given in Genesis is not a recapitulation, but

¹ Page 280.

² Page 75.

³ The passages relied on for all these assertions will be found in the following pages; except one from the *De Trinitate* which is not only irrelevant, but in its context totally opposed to the assertions of the author. Taken out of its context it looks very evolutionary, but in its context it simply refers to the two creations and the natural course of things in the second creation.

a distinct account of a second creation.¹ He places the transition at the words, *a spring rose out of the earth.*² All that precedes—thirty-six verses—regards only the first creation. By remembering this the reader can easily detect many fallacies of the preceding extracts.³

As the *rationes causales* are the pivot of St. Augustine's whole system, we must clearly understand what he means by them. He says :—

In which distribution of the works of God, appertaining partly to those invisible days in which He created all things together ; partly to those days just mentioned in which He daily produces whatever is evolved in time from what may be called these primordial receptacles ; unless I have too closely or absurdly adhered to the words of Scripture which lead us to this distinction ; care must be taken not to impute to me what I have neither said nor thought. Although I have already done my best to warn the reader, I fear some may imagine man as already living in that first work when all things were created together by God . . . If I say that in the first creation when all things were created together, man, so far from being of adult age was not even an infant or a fœtus, or even a visible *semen*, it will be thought he had no existence at all. But turning to the Scripture, what do we find ? Why, that on the sixth day man, both male and female, was made to the image of God. Let us now see when was the woman made, and we will find that it was outside these six days, when God formed also from the earth the beasts of the field and the birds of the air . . . Man was *then* made, both male and female ; therefore both *then* and *after* ; not *then* but not *after* ; nor *after* but not *then* ; nor others *after*, but these very same *then* and *after*, although in different ways. I may be asked how ? I answer, visibly, *after* . . . but *then* invisibly, potentially, causally, like future things which as yet are not made. My friend may still demur, for all things within his experience are absent, even to the little material seeds ; for not even so much as this was man when he was made in that first creation of the six days. Seeds, indeed, furnish some points of resemblance, on account of the things to be which are implanted in them ; but these *causes* are prior to all visible seeds.⁴

¹ That he attached great importance to the principle of *recapitulation*, is manifest from the following words in his *Questions on the Heptateuch*, i. 25 :
 'Recapitulatio itaque ista, si advertatur in Scripturis, multas questiones solvit quo indissolubiles possunt videri.'

² ii. 6.

³ v. 20, 27.

⁴ vi. 9.

It is clear from this and many other passages that, in the first creation, his *rationes causales* are not material entities, but reside in matter as mere modes; as *modorum rationes*;¹ as *formabilitas*;² as *potentia* in a passive sense; as *rationes incorporaliter corporeis rebus intextae*;³ as *causa*, but only like a material or a pattern. He gives them no activity, no power to pass from the first creation to the second except by the immediate action of the Creator. When speaking of the second or visible creation he often uses these words in an active sense, and writers cause confusion whenever they confound the two creations or the two senses. The reader can verify all this for himself in the following extracts taken from the *De Genesi ad Litteram* :—

1. What is the nature of those *rationes causales* implanted in the world by God when all things were first created together, is a very proper subject for inquiry.⁴

2. When the day was made, God made heaven and earth, and every herb of the ground before it sprung up in the earth (Gen. ii. 4).⁵ Where? Is it in the earth itself, causally and rationally, as all things are now in the seeds before they are evolved? But these visible seeds are already on the earth, already developed (*exorta*). How, then, before they sprung up? . . . Did the earth first produce the seeds? The Scripture says no: Let the earth bring forth the green herb, and such as may seed (i. 11), thus intimating that the seed is from the herb, not the herb from the seed . . . Therefore, the earth is then said to produce the herb and the tree causally; that is, it got the power (*virtus*) to produce them. For in it were now made, as in the roots of time, those things which were to be made in the course of time. God afterwards planted Paradise, and brought forth of this earth all manner of trees, fair to behold and pleasant to eat of (ii. 9); but we must not suppose that He added anything to the creation which was not previously made, and which was needed to complete that perfection of which it was said that they were very good (i. 31). No, for all the species (*natura*) of plants and trees had been produced in the first creation (*conditio*), from which God rested thenceforward, moving and administering, as time went on, those same things which He had formed. Not

¹ ix. 32.

² v. 16.

³ iv. 52.

⁴ vi. 25.

⁵ Owing to his different punctuation of the Greek text, his version differs from that of the Vulgate.

only did He then plant Paradise, but even now all things that are produced ; for who else creates (*creat*) them now but He who worketh until now (John v. 12) ? But he creates (*creat*) them now from things that already exist ; then, when they had no existence whatever, and when even that day was made (v. 7-11).

3. God is not like a builder who, having built a house, goes his way, and leaves it to itself. No, for the world could not last a single moment if God withdrew His direction (*regimen*) (iv. 22).

4. Let us, therefore, distinguish between the works of God which He now works and those from which He rested on the seventh day. Some imagine that only the world was made by God, and all the rest by the world itself, according to His ordinance ; while God Himself does nothing. But to these the Lord says : My Father worketh until now . . . But we should openly contradict the Scripture did we think He now forms any creature of a kind (*genus*) not included in His first creation, since He completed all His works on the sixth day ; for it is manifest that He produces now many new things which He did not then produce, but of the same kinds (*genera*) then instituted. But that He institutes any new *genus* cannot be rightly believed, since He then completed all things (v. 40, 41).

5. In that first creation of the world, when God created all things together, the future man was made the ratio of the man to be created, not the man actually created. These things take one form in the Word of God, where they are eternal, not made ; another in the elements of the world, where all things to be are created together ; another in the things which are created (*creantur*) in their own time, not altogether, but, according to the causes, created together (vi. 16, 17).

The theory propounded in these extracts is repeated, without the slightest variation, all through the twelve books of the *De Genesi ad Litteram*. We are not here discussing its merits or demerits, but merely endeavouring to ascertain what it really was. It was something like the process of development in photography ; it was the development of the second creation from the first ; it was the development of this visible, organized universe from its invisible *rationes causales*. In this development the action of the Creator is immediate and constant ; there is no evolution of species from species, no transformation of species, no mutability of species. The question is, not whether he was right or wrong in all this, but whether he was an evolutionist in any modern sense of the word.

There is, however, something to be said for the Catholic evolutionists who claim his patronage. For, side by side with the clear and formal enunciations of his theory, he uses familiar illustrations which easily suggest evolution, if pressed too far. To prevent this he takes care to forewarn the reader. Thus in the passage already quoted he says: 'Seeds, indeed, furnish some points of resemblance on account of the things to be, which are implanted in them; but these causes are prior to all visible seeds.' Hence, in the few cases where he has *rationes seminales* for *rationes causales*, he takes care to add *quasi* or its equivalent.¹ Not adverting to this some writers give disquisitions on the word *seminalis*, and even on the Greek word *σπερματικός*, which St. Augustine does not use at all; thus endeavouring to press the analogy to its utmost limits.

St. Augustine does not attribute any activity to his *rationes causales*; they can pass from the first creation to the second only by the immediate action of the Creator. But when introduced into this visible universe the *potential* becomes actual, and they have forces by which each species is enabled to perpetuate itself by generation, germination, incubation, &c. But even here the Creator is the principal agent, not only as the author of all these other agencies, but, because He conserves, moves, and aids them in all their acts. All this he said clearly enough in the above extracts, but elsewhere he says expressly that 'corporal causes cannot be counted among efficient causes.'² With him, only intelligent causes can be accounted efficient causes. God is the efficient cause in all these material operations.

¹ iv. 51; vi. 8, 11, 18; ix. 32.

² *De Civitate Dei*, lib. v., ch. 9.

³ Nam et illud quod idem Cicero concedit nihil fieri si causa efficiens non procedat, satis est ad eum in hac quaestione redargendum. Quid enim eum adjuvat quod dicit, nihil fieri sine causa, sed non omnem causam esse fatalem; quia est causa fortuita, est naturalis, est voluntaria sufficit quia omne quod fit non nisi causa procedente fieri confitetur. Nos enim eas causas quo dicuntur fortitae, unde etiam fortuna nomen accepit, non esse dicimus nullas, sed latentes; easque tribuimus vel Dei veri vel quorum libet spiritum voluntati; ipseque naturales nequaquam ab illius voluntate sejungimus qui est auctor omnis conditorque naturae. Jamvero causae voluntariae aut Dei sunt, aut Angelorum, aut hominum . . . corporales autem causae quae magis fiunt quam faciunt, non sunt inter causas efficientes annumerandae.

We have now to consider the passage most relied on by evolutionists :—¹

Let us endeavour to explain from the works of God, how when He rested from His work He created together those things whose visible forms (species) He produces in the course of time, even until now. Let us picture to ourselves a beautiful tree with its trunk, branches, leaves, and fruit ; all this was not produced at once but in the order we know . . . Now, just as everything that was to appear in due course in the tree was contained invisibly in the little seed (grano) ; so must we conceive the world as containing together all those things which were made in it and with it when the day was made ; not only the heavens with the sun, moon, and stars ; the earth and the abysses ; but even those things which the water produced potentially and causally before they came forth in the course of time as we now see them in these works which God works until now.'

He then recites Gen. ii. 45, and draws out fully his theory of the two creations.

At first sight this passage looks evolutionary, and would look still more so had we space to give it in full. But on closer inspection the illusion quickly vanishes. We look in vain for these essential elements of evolution, uncreated species, transformed species, mutable species. The illustration is expressly meant to bring out the single idea that things very great and numerous may exist *causally* in something very insignificant and imperceptible. But even here the contact with evolution is only apparent ; for his *rationes causales* have actually neither the internal activity nor the external interaction which evolutionists ascribe to their *primordial germs* or their few original species. It would be, therefore, a mere equivocation to call St. Augustine an evolutionist.²

Equivocation is, however, the very thing we have had

¹ v. 44, 45.

² There is a passage which anti-evolutionists quote just as irrelevantly (ix. 32). 'The elements of this corporeal world have their definite forces and quality which determine what each can do or not do, what can or cannot be produced from each. From these primordial elements all things that are produced have their origin and growth in due time, as also their limits and decay, each according to its kind. Hence, wheat cannot produce beans, or beans wheat ; cattle cannot produce men, or men cattle.' This passage looks quite anti-evolutionary, and has been so used ; but in its context it is a mere introduction to a statement about the possibility of miracles.

to encounter in this matter. The word evolution has now two senses—its ordinary or etymological sense, in which it means the derivation of one thing from another; and its technical sense, in which it means the derivation of one species from another. St. Augustine has much to say about the derivation of the visible forms around us from their invisible *rationes causales*; about the derivation of animals from others of their species; and about the derivation of plants from their seeds: all this can be aptly expressed by the word evolution—never used by St. Augustine—in its ordinary, but not in its technical sense. Again, he uses the word creation in two senses—for the original production of unformed matter with its *rationes causales*, and for the conversion of these same *rationes* into the visible forms we now behold. By confounding these various senses, and using one for another, a very sophistical conclusion may be reached quite unconsciously. This is just what seems to have happened in the present case, as anyone can see by comparing the extracts marked *a, b, c, d, e*, with those marked 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. The two creations are confounded; the two senses of the word *evolution* are confounded; and St. Augustine's clear statements are turned into modern evolutionary language. The primitive *rationes causales* are called *germs*; generation, germination, &c., are called *evolution* in its technical sense; and almost every important word is used equivocally.

St. Augustine was, therefore, a creationist? Most certainly. Even the few extracts here given prove this; but everyone acquainted with his writings knows that they are saturated with the same doctrine. There is, however, this difference between him and modern creationists, like Cuvier, Agassiz, Whewell, and many living scientists of the first rank; his conclusion was derived from philosophy and Scripture, theirs from long and careful scientific research.

This sentence clearly expresses his doctrine: 'Universam igiter creaturam, non utique Deus per aliquam creaturam, sed *solus* fecit.' He often uses the words *creatura*

¹ Enarratio in Ps. cxxxv. 5.

and *natura* for species. He cannot here mean that God now produces *solus* every individual creature—flora and fauna. Would an evolutionist habitually use such language?

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

REGULA IV.—Libri eorumdem auctorum, qui ex professo de religione non tractant, sed obiter tantum fidei veritates attingunt, jure ecclesiastico prohibiti non habeantur, donec speciali decreto proscripti haud fuerint.

THIS rule states that books by the same authors ('acatholici'), which do not expressly treat of religious matters, but which assail merely in a passing way the truths of faith, are not to be considered condemned by ecclesiastical law, until such time as they be proscribed by a special decree.

(2) There are some words in the present rule which may give rise to doubt. What is the antecedent of 'eorumdem'? Does it refer to 'acatholici,' or does it refer to all those who have been mentioned in Rules II. and III. of the present chapter? Some may, perhaps, be inclined to refer it back to all the enemies of Catholicity mentioned in the previous rules of this chapter, and may be led to this conclusion by reason of its rhetorical position: that being in the last part of the chapter, it would naturally sum up all that has gone before. P. Pennacchi prefers, however, to limit its reference to 'acatholici' in the preceding rule. According to the grammatical use of the word, this would seem to be correct; for a relative is naturally referred to its immediate antecedent. Such an interpretation is also more in harmony with the spirit of the present constitution, which would be as lenient as the substance of the law can permit.

Obiter.—'Obiter' is used in contradistinction to 'ex professo.' When a writer starts with the express purpose of treating of religious matters, he is said to treat 'ex professo de religione.' When he leaves his road to treat of

a religious question which springs accidentally from his subject, he is said to treat of it 'obiter;' just, for instance, as Flavius Josephus when writing *De Antiquitatibus Judaicis*, steps aside to give his famous description of Christ; or when Gibbon leaves his way when writing the history of the *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* to assign the causes of the rapid spread of Christianity.

Attingunt.—Does this word imply more than it expresses? Does it mean merely to touch, or does it also imply an effort at refutation? We believe that it not only means to touch, but also implies an effort to refute truths of the Catholic faith; and that, accordingly, mere contact by those authors with certain Catholic truths is not sufficient for proscription. Three reasons lead us to this belief:—

1°. The spirit of the present constitution, as we have already frequently stated, is to make the laws of the Index as lenient as their substance will permit.

2°. If the books of non-Catholics merely touched on truths of the Catholic faith, and did nothing else, how could they be deemed in any way worthy of condemnation?

3°. In the preceding rule it is stated that the books of non-Catholics which treat 'ex professo de religione,' shall not be proscribed unless they contain something against faith; *a fortiori* then, books by the same authors *not* treating 'ex professo de religione,' but merely touching them, cannot be deemed worthy of proscription unless they contain something against the Catholic faith. Therefore, they must do more than merely touch on truths of the Catholic faith.¹

Jure Ecclesiastico.—What is the ecclesiastical law here spoken of? It can be no other than the present Leonine Constitution; for all previous legislation on the Index has been abrogated except the 'Solicita et Provida' of Benedict XIV., and the Bull of Benedict XIV. refers, not to the Rules of the Index, but to the internal organization and working of the Congregation of the Index.

¹ *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* seems to hold that the word 'attingunt' implies nothing more than it expresses. It writes (p. 20): 'I libri dei detti autori (acattolici) che non trattano 'ex professo' di religione, ma leggermente solo toccano le verità di fede, non sono proibiti per diritto ecclesiastico quando per speciale decreto non sono stati condannati.'

And here a question of interest and importance suggests itself. Although a book, such as those mentioned in the present rule, be not condemned by ecclesiastical law, is it possible that the faithful may still be forbidden to read print, publish, or defend it; or is it possible that a book be forbidden by the Natural or Divine Law and be still permitted by the present Rules of the Index? P. Vermeerish is of opinion that such is possible, and to his opinion P. Pennacchi and *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* subscribe. We believe that it is not only quite possible, but that it will be of frequent occurrence in the application of the present rules of the Index. This, the Pontiff seems to insinuate in the very wording of the law; for if there was no other law by which books might be forbidden besides the Rules of the Index what was the necessity of mentioning specially ecclesiastical law? If a book was of necessity permitted by every law, human and divine, once that it was permitted by the ecclesiastical law, why not have used a universal statement, and say 'permittitur' instead of making the distinction 'jure ecclesiastico non prohibetur'?

In explanation, then, it must be said, that a book may be forbidden by the natural, the divine, or the ecclesiastical law. The natural law regulates the preservation of the individual and the race. Any book, therefore, teaching anything tending to the destruction of either is condemned by the natural law. Accordingly, all books commending suicide and free sexual intercourse are forbidden by the natural law. It was this law, known by the light of reason to the Pagans, which induced the more cultured and refined among the ancient Romans to abhor the immoral books then in circulation, and which induced Julius Cæsar to condemn the work of Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*. As the natural law has the natural order of things for its object, so the divine law has the supernatural order of things. By the divine law, we are forbidden not only to read books which would be the cause of our committing sin, but also those which would *expose us* to the danger of committing sin—unless indeed a proportionately grave cause supervene. Accordingly, the Jansenistical books, which condemn fre-

quent confession, as well as many books of fiction which place us in the occasion of committing sin, are forbidden by the divine law. There are many books accordingly, forbidden us by the divine law, which would have been permitted by the natural law; for how many books are there that should be an occasion of sin to us, which, nevertheless, contain not a sentence against the natural law. Lastly comes the ecclesiastical law, which proscribes many books permitted both by the divine and natural law. How many are the books of apostates, heretics, and philosophers, which contain nothing against the natural law, which would not occasion us the slightest temptation, and which are still forbidden by the ecclesiastical law? ¹ Now, with regard to the relations that exist between those three laws, it is to be remarked, that, while the *extension* of the natural law covers both the divine and the ecclesiastical law, the *comprehension* of the ecclesiastical law includes that of the divine and natural law. Hence, what is forbidden by the natural law will also be forbidden by the divine and ecclesiastical law, but not *vice versa*—what is forbidden by the ecclesiastical law need not be forbidden by the divine or natural law.

How, therefore, are we to accuse the Pontiff of permitting books which are forbidden by the divine or by the natural law? To this question we answer with P. Pennacchi, that the present rule is not to be regarded as a permission to read bad books forbidden either by the divine or natural law, but rather as a kind of toleration, such as the Church grants in many other urgent cases—*e.g.*, freedom to the press, and toleration to heretics. She does this with regard to books in order to prevent confusion and greater evils. How many

¹ Dr. McDonald writes in the *I. E. RECORD*, February, 1897, on the relation between the ecclesiastical and natural law with regard to the proscription of books: 'It is equally in accordance with the Catholic tradition to believe that the natural law, which forbids us to expose ourselves to the danger, except under pressure of a proportionate necessity, is safeguarded by the addition of an ecclesiastical precept to the same effect.' Dr. McDonald uses the words natural law in its usual theological sense. We must apologise for giving to the terms a slightly different meaning. We exclude from the natural law all supernatural motives, and we do so in order to express why it was that the Athenian Senate, Julius Cæsar, Augustus, and other Emperors proscribed certain bad books; for those rulers were actuated by no supernatural motive, and still they had good reasons for what they did.

books on medicine and theology not proscribed by the Church, and which are still forbidden to ordinary lay men and women by the divine law! Who would say that a boy of fifteen would be free to read the Moral Theology of St. Alphonsus? And still the Moral Theology of St. Alphonsus is not proscribed. Hence our conclusion:—

1. A book that is not on the Index may still be forbidden to some by the natural or divine law.

2. The action of the Church, in not placing such a book on the Index, is to be regarded rather as a toleration than a permission.

Donec speciali decreto proscripti haud fuerint.—Here the legislator remarks that if any particular cause should arise for proscribing a book which had been so *tolerated*, a special decree will be published announcing its proscription. With this decree it shall become proscribed to all.

CAP. II.—*De editionibus textus originalis et versionum non vulgarium sacrae scripturae.*

REGULA V.—Editiones textus originalis et antiquarum versionum catholicarum Sacrae Scripturae, etiam Ecclesiae Orientalis, ab acatholicis quibuscumque publicatae, etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant, iis dumtaxat, qui studiis theologicis vel, biblicis dant operam, dummodo tamen non impugnentur in prolegomenis aut annotationibus catholicae fidei dogmata, permittuntur.

Chapter I. is an introduction to the entire set of Rules: it is, as it were, a general proposition, and the rest of Tit. I. a specification of it. Now, examining the sacred edifice of religion of which we have already spoken under Rule 2, we find that one of its fundamental parts is the Sacred Scripture; we find that another very important part is the purity of the morals of the faithful, and good social order; and we find that a third is the Sacred Liturgy of the Church, which is the external expression of her internal belief. To these parts of the sacred edifice the Legislator in the subsequent rules directs his attention, and he provides a protection and a safeguard against the books that assail them. First, then, come the books that treat of Sacred Scripture, and to them the Legislator devotes two chapters—Cap. II. and Cap. III.

1. The second chapter of rules treats of the original texts of the Sacred Scripture, and of translations published in other than the common language of the people. The first rule of this chapter prescribes that editions of the original texts of the Sacred Scriptures, and of old Catholic versions of the same—whether of the Eastern or Western Church—published by non-Catholics, are forbidden, though they appear to have been published in their entirety and purity; they may, however, be read by those engaged in theological or biblical studies, provided that none of the Catholic dogmas are assailed in the preface or introduction.

2. There are some terms that require an explanation in the present rule:—

Textus originalis.—A ‘copy’ (exemplar), an ‘edition,’ and a text of any book, are not to be confounded one with the other. ‘Text’ does not mean the book as it came forth from the hands of its author; as such, the book is called an autograph. Nor does it mean any of the copies made by scribes from the autograph of the author; nor again the translations made from the autographs in the very early ages; but it means the book in the same *form* as it had been woven or composed by the author. And if we speak of the Sacred Scriptures, the *form*, that will specify the original text, will be the language in which it was originally written. Any of the books, then, of Sacred Scripture in the language in which it was composed by its author is called an original text.

All the books of the Old Testament were first written in Hebrew, except the Book of Wisdom and II. Book of the Machabees. Hebrew will, therefore, be the original text of all the parts of the Old Testament except the Book of Wisdom, and the second book of Machabees, which were first written in Greek. All the parts of the New Testament were first written in Greek, except the Gospel according to St. Matthew, which had been first written in Hebrew. Consequently, for all the parts of the New Testament the Greek will be the original text, except St. Matthew’s Gospel.¹

¹ There are some, however, who would have us believe that the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew, and some who

Versiones antiquae.—A version is the same thing as a translation; and the ancient Catholic versions are the different Catholic translations that were published during the first six or seven centuries. Those translations are divided into two classes by the present rule. I. The translations made in the Western Church. II. Those made in the Eastern Church. We shall now fill in the members that fall into each of those classes :—

Versiones antiquae	{ I. Latin Church : versiones	{ (a) versio Itala
		{ (b) vulgata Latina.
	{ II. Eastern Church : versiones	{ (1) versio Alexandrina
		{ (2) „ Origineana
		{ (3) „ Samaritana
		{ (4) „ Chaldaica
		{ (5) „ Syriaca
		{ (6) „ Araba
		{ (7) „ Aethiopica
		{ (8) „ Persica
		{ (9) „ Aegyptiaca
		{ (10) „ Armena

(a) The 'versio Itala' is the most ancient Latin translation that has been made of the Sacred Scriptures. This translation comprises both the New and the Old Testament. Its author translated the Old Testament from the 'versio Alexandrina' of the Seventy interpreters, and the New Testament from the original Greek text. The author of this translation, the place where it was made, and the precise date at which it appeared, have long been subjects of discussion among biblical critics. It is probable that the 'versio Itala' appeared at the end of the first century, or the beginning of the second century of the Christian era; for St. Augustine says,¹ that Latin translations of the Bible had appeared from the earliest days of Christianity; and St. Jerome says that this very translation had strengthened the faith of the infant Church. It is probable that Rome was the place where it was made, or if not, that the author had been residing in some other part of Italy, or at least

endeavour to show that the Gospel of St. Luke was originally composed in Latin. The best biblical critics, however, hold that those two books were composed in Greek.

¹ *De doctrina Christiana*, lib.

that he undertook the work at the suggestion and under the direction of some of the Roman Pontiffs; for it is incredible that Rome, who has imposed her liturgy on so many different countries, and who has regarded her own schools of theology as the standards of orthodoxy, would have accepted from a perfect stranger a book that was to be used in her liturgy and schools. The tendency to analytical expressions, and the number of barbarous words formed after the model of pure Latin words that are to be found in the 'versio Italica' have led critics such as Cardinal Wiseman and Vercellone to the conclusion that the author must, however, have been a provincial from Africa.

(b) The 'Vulgata Latina' was the translation begun by St. Jerome under the direction of Pope Damasus and ultimately finished about the year 404. This translation after various vicissitudes, during the space of eleven centuries, was at last most carefully examined under the direction of the Council of Trent, and pronounced authentic in the fourth session. This is the version used at the present day in the liturgy of the Church, and in theological discussions. For an account of the ancient Catholic versions of the Eastern Church we refer our readers to Ubaldi.¹

Qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam.—Those words have a pretty wide extension; they afford considerable liberty. They not only embrace all those who frequent universities, colleges, or seminaries, but also those who privately study theology or Sacred Scripture, be they lay or clerical. To sustain the licity of this wide extension of the terms, we give some decisions of the Congregation of the Index. The following question had been proposed to the Congregation for solution:—

Utrum haec verba articuli 5, 'qui studiis theologicis aut biblicis dant operam' intelligenda tantum sint, de doctis viris, iis scientiis deditis, aut extendi valeant, ad universos S. Theologiae Tyrones?

Res: Neg ad 1^{am} partem; affir ad 2^{am} partem.

Datum Romae en Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis Indicis die Maii 23, 1898.

A. CARD. STEINHUBER, *Praefectus*.
FR. M. CICOGNANI, *O.P.*, *Secret.*

There are two questions which have already caused considerable doubt as regards the practical application of the words under discussion, and which have ultimately been proposed to the Congregation of the Index; we give the solution of the Congregation in confirmation of our own conclusions. In nearly all great ecclesiastical colleges certain portions of sacred Theology, and Hebrew or Greek are studied simultaneously. In Hebrew, of course, the text-book used is the Old Testament in the original text, and very often the original text of the New Testament is used as the text-book in Greek. (a) Can the students in such schools make use of editions of those books published by non-Catholics? They can, for the words of the law are: 'Qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam.' (b) Can Bishops proscribe in their seminaries editions of those books by non-Catholics, for boys who have not yet commenced Theology or Scripture? They cannot. Such are the answers given to the following question proposed to the Congregation of the Index for solution:—

Utrum sub nomine eorum 'qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam' veniant etiam alumni qui theologiae et linguae Hebraicae ac Graeciae in scholis Seminariorum vacant: *et quatenus affirmative*: utrum possit episcopus permittere, ut in scholis, alumni sub ductu professoris, textus Hebraicos et Graecos ab acatholicis editos legant ac vertant, dummodo non impugnentur in prolegomenis aut annotationibus talium librorum catholicae fidei dogmata:

Res: ad 1^{am} partem: affirmative.

„ 2^{am} „ negative: nisi specialem a S. Sede facultatem obtinuerint.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 21 Junii 1898

A. CARD. STEINHUBER, *Praefectus*.
FR. M. CICOGNANI, *O.P. Secret.*

The second response of the Congregation has reference to a state of things common enough in this country before the diocesan seminaries adopted the programme proposed by the Intermediate Board. In the diocesan seminaries the text-book prescribed in Greek was very often some portion of the original text of the New Testament, and Protestant

editions were selected as they contained a more ample vocabulary, and better grammatical annotations than Catholic editions. Such an act would appear quite pardonable and excusable, as the text was entire and pure, and no reference made to Catholic dogmas either in the notes or introduction. But according to the present rule bishops have no power to select such works for their seminaries. The reason is, that the boys are not engaged either in theological or biblical studies. They may, however, obtain a special permission from the Holy See, as the Congregation of the Index remarks.

(3) The present rule is rather complicated in its construction. In order, therefore, that we may be able to grasp it under one single concept, and thus be prepared for any possible deduction that can be made from it, it will be useful to examine and analyze its logical form. The rule is in the form of a composite exclusive proposition. It is *composite* : because it consists of no less than four propositions joined together ; it is *exclusive* : because the copulatives joining its parts are exclusive particles. We shall now give the parts of the rule, and state the principal relations that exist between them.

The Rule consists of four parts :—

(a) 'Editiones textus originalis et antiquarum versionum Catholicarum Sacrae Scripturae, etiam Ecclesiae orientalis ab acatholicis quibuscumque publicatae *non* permittuntur.' The word 'non' is not expressed, but is implied in the particle 'dumtaxat.' Had there been but this one part in the rule, it should have been a universal and absolute prohibition. There are some exceptions, however, made, and these exceptions are expressed by the other parts of the rule.

(b) 'Etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant.' These words require careful attention, as their force must be accurately determined in order to interpret Rule VIII. of the present code, to which all the conditions of the present rule are annexed. In the form in which we have here written the words—taken from their context, they are quite meaningless, as the sense is incomplete ; the words, however, which

are wanted to complete the sense may be supplied. Supplying we shall have the following proposition: *Et si fideliter et integre editae appareant, non permittuntur.* Now what is the relation of prop. (b) to prop. (a)? Prop. (b) is to be regarded as a simple explanation of prop. (a): an explanation of a particular case, which might have been considered by some excusable, and, accordingly not included in the prohibition. When viewed, therefore, in conjunction with the other parts of the present rule, this clause is not to be regarded either as a conditional or exceptive proposition, but as a simple explanation, or as the solution of a doubt that might have arisen in the minds of some.

(c) 'Iis dumtaxat qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam.' This part is an exception to proposition (a). But this third part is again subject to another exception:—

(d) 'Dummodo tamen non impugnentur in prolegomenis aut annotationibus catholicae fidei dogmata.'

Hence the following logical conclusions: an ordinary layman or woman is forbidden to read Protestant editions of Greek or Hebrew texts of the Bible; because such persons do not fall under the exception expressed by prop. (c); bishops cannot prescribe Protestant editions of the Greek text of the New Testament for their young seminarists; for such an action is precluded by the logical force of prop. (a); and is excluded expressly by prop. (b). It is to be remarked that the response made by the Congregation of the Index given above is nothing more than a logical development of prop. (b). If any student of theology wishes to study an edition of the original text of St. John, published by some learned Protestant, he cannot read it unless a condition be fulfilled—that Catholic dogmas be not assailed either in the preface or introduction: for prop. (d) and (c) are related to one another as the 'conditio' and the 'conditionatum' of an hypotheticalal proposition.

REGULA VI.—Eadem ratione, et sub iisdem conditionibus, permittuntur aliae versiones Sacrorum Bibliorum sive latina, sive alia lingua non vulgari ab acatholicis editae.

(1) It will be useful to compare this with the foregoing rule. Rule V. speaks of editions of the original texts of the

Bible, and of old translations of the same, made into Eastern and Western languages. In this rule there is no mention at all of editions of the original texts, but only of translations; moreover, the rule does not speak of translations made before the fifth century, but of translations made at a much later date; for those made before the fifth century are properly called ancient translations. There is a still further distinction to be made: translations may be made into the common language of the people, or into a language now dead, or if not dead, used only in literature.¹ Now the present rule prescribes nothing about translations made into the language of the people; it treats of the modern translations made into languages not *vernacular*. Those are for the most part, modern Latin translations made in imitation of the ancient vulgate translation of St. Jerome, to which we have already referred. In order that our readers may be able to recognise any of those translations which may fall into their hands, we shall now narrate briefly the vicissitudes of the Latin vulgate translation from the time it left the hands of St. Jerome until it was stamped with the seal of approval by the Council of Trent.

Owing to the natural dislike men had for innovations in Church liturgy, and still more owing to the death of his illustrious patron, Pope Damasus, St. Jerome's translation met with great opposition on all sides. However, as time went on, its merits began to be seen, in so much, that in the seventh century it had been universally received in the Western Church. Since, however, the number of copies transcribed by copyists was very great, and the means of recurring to the early manuscripts were few, errors crept in and were multiplied from year to year. This led Charlemagne to get his great schoolman, Alcuin, to correct the current version, and reduce it to the form in which it had left the hands of St. Jerome. This was but a halt. Errors again accumulated during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, so much so, that the great schoolmen of the religious orders saw

¹ In Armenia, for instance, we have two distinct living languages; the *Lingua Vulgaris* or spoken language, and the *Lingua Literalis* or written language.

the necessity of instituting a complete revision of the Vulgate, in order that the foundations on which they were to raise their theological structure might be firm and without a flaw. Those corrected copies are technically called 'correctoria.' The first 'correctorium' seems to have been made by the Dominican Order about the year 1236. It was this edition of the Vulgate which Hugo a Sancto Caro, Albertus M., and St. Thomas used. Within recent years this edition, we understand, has received the severest censure at the hands of Dr. Dollinger, who wished to excuse his denial of some of the forcible conclusions of St. Thomas, on the grounds that the angelic Doctor had been led astray by a corrupted version of the Scriptures. About the same time two other 'correctoria' were issued by the Franciscan and Carthusian Orders, who wished to maintain an independence from the Dominican Order.

The invention of the art of printing led to a crisis in the history of the Latin Vulgate. The errors that had gradually crept into the manuscripts were multiplied ten-fold in the printing; and as the number of copies printed were numberless, it was quite impossible for any subordinate authority in the Church to institute a complete revision, and coerce uniformity. The matter was, therefore, taken up by the Council of Trent. From the history of Pallavicinus we know that some of the fathers were strongly in favour of having a new Latin translation made; but the majority were in favour of having the old translation of St. Jerome most carefully revised and then published. This revised edition of the Latin vulgate of St. Jerome, begun under the auspices of the Council of Trent, and finally brought to light in 1592, is the version approved by the Church, and used by her in her liturgy and theological schools.

(2) *Aliae versiones*.—But besides the Catholic Latin translation, there have been made many others by non-Catholics. The most notable of them are:—that of Erasmus and Theodore Beza; the versio Munsteri; that of Leo the Jew, made in 1543; the versio Sebastiani Castalionis, made in 1551; the versio Junii et Tremelii, made in 1590; and finally, the versio Geneviensis, made about the same time.

(3) Those Latin translations of the Bible published by non-Catholics are proscribed by the present rule, in the same way and to the same extent as editions of the original texts by the same authors are proscribed by Rule V.; they are forbidden to the faithful at large; they are forbidden even though they should appear to be pure and entire. They are permitted, however, to those engaged in theological or biblical studies—provided that none of the Catholic dogmas are assailed either in the preface or introduction.

To be continued

T. HURLEY.

SOME REMARKS ON THE ORGAN

IN writing on the organ for the I. E. RECORD, it is not my intention to enter into technicalities of either organ-building or organ-playing. My object rather is to give such general information as is desirable for every educated person, and as might prove useful to anyone who, not professionally, but either accidentally, or in connection with his professional work, is concerned with organ questions. In particular, I should like to place those who have to order new organs in a position to understand, in a general way, at least, the points to be taken into consideration.

In an organ we may distinguish three divisions—(1) the sounding bodies—that is to say, the pipes; (2) the appliances which produce the compressed air that sets the pipes speaking—the ‘wind,’ as it is technically called; and (3) the various means by which the player admits the wind into the single pipes at will, and thus causes them to sound—the methods of control.

We take the second of these divisions first, because it can be dismissed in a few words. The bellows, which produce and store the wind, ought to be ample and silent. Any further investigation into their construction would mean entering into technicalities. But some practical hints

may not be out of place. The bellows, unless an engine is employed for blowing, are usually worked by a lever to be moved up and down by hand. A couple of levers to be worked by the feet would be more effective and economical. But if anybody were to suggest their use in this country, he would be encountered with ridicule, the usual weapon of unthinking men. In working this hand lever, then, one precaution ought to be observed. Each stroke of the lever may be as quick as the blower can make it, and as the demands on the wind may require it. But there ought to be a moment of rest between each two strokes: the reversing of the stroke ought not to be made suddenly. If this rule is observed, silent blowing will be secured even with the most exacting demands on the wind.

A great source of annoyance in connection with the blowing apparatus is a creaking noise produced by the friction of parts rubbing against each other. It may not be out of place to point out that, when the noise is caused by iron rubbing against wood, or wood against wood, oil would only increase the defect. A little soap, properly applied, will, as a rule, prove a convenient and effective remedy.

Turning to the sound-producing part of the organ, we must first remark that the material and shape of the pipes is of very great importance with regard to the cost of the organ, owing to the great number of pipes required. In a former paper on a kindred subject,¹ I tried to explain that an organ is a combination of different instruments varying in strength, quality, and pitch of tone. Now each of these different instruments—called stops—must have as many pipes as it is to produce different tones. If we play only a simple melody on one of these stops, each different tone of the melody must be produced by a separate pipe. Hence it is that in an organ of even moderate dimensions, say of twenty stops, the number of pipes exceeds a thousand. There is, consequently, a great temptation for organ-builders and organ-buyers to select cheap materials in order to save cost.

The material of which most organ pipes are made is an

¹ I. E. RECORD, February, 1897.

alloy of tin and lead, technically known as 'metal'; of these two ingredients, tin is the more expensive, but also the more conducive to good tone and durability. Pipes made of metal with a prevalence of lead, give a poor tone, and do not last long. It is generally considered that a mixture of three parts tin and one part lead is the best for practical purposes, some admixture of lead being necessary to make the tin more workable. Sometimes a larger percentage of tin is used for appearance, sake, but the tone is scarcely altered by that. In these countries a favourite material is what is called 'spotted metal,' an alloy of about equal parts of tin and lead. When the two ingredients are mixed at about this proportion, in the casting spots appear on the surface of the alloy, which look very pretty, and are the more brilliant the more—up to a certain percentage—there is of tin in the mixture. When there is a great preponderance of lead in the mixture, no spots appear, and we have what is known as 'plain metal.' This material, I think, ought not to be used in any organ at all. The difference in price between it and spotted metal is not very much, after all, and the advantages of the spotted metal are very great. I should strongly advocate, therefore, that those who order organs, should insist on getting best 'spotted metal' for the pipes; unless, of course, 'pure tin,' that is to say, tin with only a slight admixture of lead, be used. If this were done generally, the art of organ building would be greatly benefited.

For the larger pipes zinc is often used instead of 'metal,' on account of its cheapness. These zinc pipes are often placed in front, being decorated in colours. Though the tone of the zinc pipes is not as good as that of metal pipes, this plan cannot be strongly objected to where money forms an important consideration. But let it be clearly understood that these 'decorated front pipes' are specified for cheapness' sake. I fancy, too, that the prettier appearance and better tone of spotted metal or tin pipes will repay the additional outlay.

The second class of material generally recognised for pipe-making is wood. For many stops this material is just

as good as, and for some even better than, metal. As it is cheaper than metal, it is often used for the larger pipes of stops otherwise made of metal. If we except the manual open diapason and very bright stops of the gamba class, no objection can be made to this plan, as organ-builders can so 'voice' the pipes that the 'break,' that is to say, the transition from wood to metal, can scarcely be noticed; but the arrangement ought to be mentioned in the specification. On the other hand, it is desirable that the smaller pipes of stops, otherwise made of wood, should be made of metal, because they then better remain in tune. It is a well-known fact that hot air vibrates more quickly than cold air. Organ pipes, therefore, are sharper in summer than in winter. On the other hand, heat expands metal, and makes the metal pipes elongate slightly. This tends to flatten the tone, and, to some extent, obviates the sharpening alluded to. The wood pipes, however, do not expand with the heat, and, consequently, sharpen more. Now, with the longer pipes this difference of pitch does not matter much; but with the very small ones it becomes very noticeable and disagreeable. It is desirable, therefore, to have all the small pipes made of the same material, and this must be metal.

I have mentioned several times that the lowest pipes are expensive. On account of their size they take a great deal of material. They also occupy a great deal of space, and, consequently, add to the cost of the sound-board, on which the pipes stand. Finally, they take a considerable amount of wind, and materially influence the size of the bellows. Various plans are, consequently, adopted to obviate this increase of cost. One plan is to use cheaper material for these large pipes. With this we have dealt above. Another plan is to use closed pipes for the lowest octave of an open stop. This plan, though not ideal, can be allowed for some stops that have a quality similar to that of the closed stops, such as flutes. It would be altogether out of place, however, for open diapasons or very springy stops. In any case it should be mentioned in the specification, for, as I remarked in my former paper, it looks like deception if an organ-builder specifies, say, an open diapason, 16 ft., for the

pedal organ, and then puts in closed pipes for the twelve lowest notes.

A still more unsatisfactory plan is to omit the lowest notes altogether. With some stops, generally used for solo purposes only, such as *voix céleste*, or clarinet, these lower notes may be dispensed with. But with stops that are used for chord playing, as well as for the rendering of a solo melody, the cutting short of the compass is very inconvenient. These curtailed stops generally end at c_0 (tenor C). It would be much less objectionable if they were carried down at least to G_0 (gamut G); for it must be admitted that the very lowest notes of the 8-ft. octave are but rarely wanted, while the tones between G_0 and c_0 are constantly required. When the lower pipes of a stop are omitted, the stop is sometimes 'grooved,' that is to say, the lower notes are made to sound on pipes of another stop. If the two stops thus provided with a common bass are similar in quality and strength, not much objection can be urged against this plan. But then two such stops ought not to be on the same manual, especially in small organs. If, however, they contrast strongly in strength or quality, if, for instance, a Gamba is grooved into a Gedackt, the break is most disagreeable and offensive.

The objection against curtailing the compass of a single stop, of course, holds with intensified force against the curtailment of a whole division of an organ. The 'tenor C swell,' which was not uncommon in former days, is nothing short of an outrage in organ-building, and it is altogether unintelligible how a self-respecting organ-builder can condescend to build an instrument on these lines at this end of the nineteenth century.

The means of control in the organ are mainly twofold. They comprise the key-action and the stop-action. As is well known, the act of playing an organ consists in opening valves that admit the 'wind' into the single pipes. In order to enable the player to allow the wind into any pipe at his will, each pipe is, as it were, supplied with two checks. By pressing down a key, then, we remove one set of obstacles from all the pipes belonging to that key. But this alone

will not make any pipe to speak, because there is the second set of obstacles, controlled by the stops. By drawing a stop we remove a set of obstacles from all the pipes of one character—all those that make up one complete instrument, that belong to the same 'stop.' When this stop is drawn, then, any of its pipes will speak as soon as the corresponding key is pressed; and if several stops are drawn, the pressing down of a key will make the corresponding pipe in each of them to speak.

One of the most important plans for facilitating the management of the stops is the arrangement of several sets of key-boards, each being provided with its own set of stops. By thus distributing the stops over a number of key-boards we can quickly change the combinations of stops, and thereby the strength and quality of organ tone, by simply passing from one key-board to another. A second great advantage derived from this arrangement is, that we can accompany one combination of stops by another, and contrast them simultaneously by playing on two manuals at the same time. The usual number of key-boards is two or three. One of the organ departments corresponding with these key-boards is usually enclosed in the swell-box, and is hence called the swell; another, containing the more powerful stops, is called the great, and the third, as a rule, the choir, containing softer stops, mainly for accompaniment purposes. In very large organs sometimes four or even five key-boards are used; but the writer is of opinion that three key-boards are as many as are desirable, even if more than three organ departments are provided. In the latter case one or two of the key-boards should be 'duplicated,' that is to say, be used for two organ departments, an arrangement being made by means of which either one or the other of the corresponding departments, or both combined, could be played at the will of the performer. This arrangement has the disadvantage, indeed, that the two departments played on the one manual cannot accompany each other. But this drawback is slight as compared with the difficulty of playing more than three manuals, a fourth being of necessity out of the convenient reach of the performer.

While thus, by multiplying the key-boards, the management of the manual stops is made more easy, no corresponding facility is generally granted for the pedal stops. Still there can be no doubt, first, that proper organ-playing requires the use of the pedals in connection with any of the manuals ; and, secondly, that artistic taste requires a change in the pedal stops with every change of the manuals. But the result of the general defect of suitable appliances has been that organists either discard the pedals to a great extent, except with the great, or do not mind a want of balance of tone when pedalling with the other manuals. But if anyone tries to play the pedals properly, he must feel the attention required for the management of the pedal stops a constant bother and exasperating worry. If we look for a remedy for this defect, it is clear that a multiplication of pedal key-boards, corresponding to that of the manual key-boards, is out of the question. There is, indeed, an organ in existence provided with two pedal key-boards ; but the difficulty of managing two pedal key-boards is so enormous, that this arrangement has remained a solitary instance. Moreover, even two pedal key-boards would be inadequate for a three-manual organ.

A very simple and satisfactory device for controlling the pedal stops was invented, many years ago, by Mr. Casson. It consists in providing a special set of pedal draw stops for each set of manual stops, together with a piston—called by Mr. Casson the ‘pedal help’—under each manual, which brings the corresponding set of pedal stops into operation. By this means the organist can arrange the pedal stops for the various manuals beforehand ; and all he has to do, in passing from one manual to another, is to press the pedal help corresponding to that manual. This appliance, as we have said, is simple and satisfactory ; but for reasons inscrutable it has not been adopted generally by organ-builders, nor appreciated by organists. Recently Mr. Casson has designed a new form of his pedal helps, which is still more convenient for the player. In this arrangement the manual stops are made to draw automatically the suitable combinations of pedal stops, so that whatever combination of manual

stops the organist may draw, the pedal stops group themselves simultaneously into a suitable bass. The organist, therefore, for ordinary playing, need never touch the pedal stops. All he has to do is to touch the pedal help when passing from one key-board to another. This most ingenious device has been adopted in an organ recently erected in Abbeyleix Catholic church. The pedal helps in that organ take the shape of fairly long plates, hinged under the manuals, which have the advantage over the pistons that they can be easily reached by one of the hands from almost any position on the key-boards. This method of controlling the pedal stops is so extremely convenient for the organist, that I am sure it requires only to be known to be insisted on for every new organ of any pretensions.

Another important and universally adopted means of control are the couplers—a mechanical contrivance by means of which the different organ departments can be so connected with one another that two or more of them can be played from the same key-board. Thus the coupler swell to great enables us to play the swell stops from the great key-board, and thus to strengthen or qualify the stops of the great by those of the swell. Similarly, the manual key-boards are connected with the pedals, allowing the pedal tone to be reinforced or modified by the manual tone. Besides these couplers, which connect one key with the corresponding one in another key-board, there are special couplers, called octave couplers, connecting one key with the corresponding one in the next higher octave. Similarly, there are sub-octave couplers, connecting one key with the corresponding one in the next lower octave. These couplers, as will easily be seen, can be had not only between the various key-boards, but also on the same key-board. There are, however, some objections to these couplers. One is on account of the balance of tone. Although in an organ we have stops of various pitch—16 ft., 8 ft., 4 ft., &c.—representing various octaves, still the effect of all the stops, or of the various combinations, should be a tone having the character of an 8-ft. stop, and thus belonging to a definite octave. But when we use an octave coupler on the same

key-board, two octaves stand out with almost equal prominence, and the unity of organ tone is somewhat impaired. For this reason the octave couplers between different manuals are preferable; for as one manual is, as a rule, stronger than another, or the stops on the two manuals can be selected suitably, the stronger manual will assert its own tone, and the weaker only effect a modification of it.

The other objection is, that with the octave couplers there must be a 'break' at one end of the key-board; for it will be readily observed that if we use an octave coupler, the highest octave of the key-board, and if we use a sub-octave coupler, the lowest octave of the key-board, will not be reinforced, there being, of course, no pipes beyond the compass of the key-boards. On this consideration the sub-octave coupler is generally preferable, the break at the bottom being 'covered' by the pedal part, while there is nothing to hide the break at the top.

As the pipe material of the organ is very costly, efforts have frequently been made in the direction of using the same pipe for more than one purpose. The use of octave couplers might be considered under this aspect. The 'grooving' mentioned above also comes under this head. Somewhat different from grooving is a plan known as 'borrowing' or 'transmission,' which may be explained as using pipes of one stop for another stop of different pitch. Thus, a 16-ft. stop might be utilized for an 8-ft. stop by using all the pipes an octave lower; or, in other words, by an arrangement by means of which, when the 8-ft. stop is drawn, the keys affect the pipes an octave higher. The same 16-ft. stop might be utilized as a 4-ft. stop by using the pipes two octaves lower. This plan has been carried out to its extreme consequences. But the result is unsatisfactory, and the gain in pipe material well counterbalanced by the complexity of the mechanism. Only in the case of the largest pipes, say those of the 16-ft. and 8-ft. octaves, is the gain so great that some slight objections, such as questions of scale, may be overlooked. But even then the restriction is to be made that the borrowed pipe should not be wanting when octaves are played. The borrowing is,

therefore, practically confined to the pedals, which, normally, have only one part to play.

By far the best solution of the problem of utilizing pipes in a twofold manner, in my opinion, is the system of 'octave-duplication' recently invented by Mr. Casson, and exemplified in the Abbeyleix organ already referred to. In this system none of the complications of borrowing are required, but the advantages are very great, and I believe that this device means a real advance in organ-building. I, therefore, shall give a short explanation of the organ mentioned. The specification is as follows:—

GREAT

1. Lieblich Bourdon 16 ft.
2. Contra Salicional (Tenor C) 16 ft.
3. Open Diapason 8 ft.
4. Suabe Flute. 8 ft.
5. Dulcet 4 ft.
6. Mixture IV ranks.
- I. Octave Coupler.
- II. Second Manual (Coupler).

SWELL

7. Contra Viola (Tenor C) . . . 16 ft.
8. Geigen 8 ft.
9. Rohrflöte 8 ft.
10. Flute 4 ft.
11. Trumpet 8 ft.
- III. Octave Coupler.

In this specification the large number of 16-ft. stops is remarkable. There can be no doubt that they give great breadth and dignity to the tone, and allow of a great many interesting and beautiful combinations. Especially the contra viola in the swell is extremely useful, both for voluntaries and for accompaniment. But the 16-ft. stops acquire more importance in connection with the octave coupler. With this coupler they appear, of course, in 8-ft. pitch, and thus strengthen the 8-ft. tone of the organ, with the result that the tone of the full organ with the octave couplers is surprisingly uniform and distinct. Moreover, both manuals are provided with an extra octave of pipes at the top, which are beyond the compass of the

key-boards, but come into use with the octave couplers, thus preventing the disagreeable 'break' at the top. In this way the two octave couplers appear as altogether legitimate effects, and allow of a great many useful combinations.

But both the 16-ft. stops and the octave couplers find their fullest justification in the special feature of this organ, the octave duplication. This octave duplication simply means a device by which the unison action of the organ is put out of gear, and the octave action brought on alone. This implies no great complication or new, untried experiment. All that is wanted is to construct the unison action like a coupler, so that it can be put on or taken off at will. When the octave coupler works alone, the 16-ft. stops, of course, appear in 8-ft. pitch only, the 8-ft. stops in 4-ft. pitch, and the 4-ft. stops in 2-ft. pitch. Thus, by a mere combinational action, two new organ departments are derived from the existing material. The two 16-ft. stops of the great yield a *lieblich gedeckt* and a *salicional* of 8-ft. pitch, very suitable for accompaniment purposes, the softer of the 8-ft. stops, the *suabe flute*, makes an appropriate 4-ft. stop, and the dulcet 4 ft. can do duty as a *flautino* 2 ft. Out of the swell the *contra viola* 16 ft. yields a *viola* 8 ft., the *Rohrflöte* 8 ft. appears as a very beautiful *Rohrflöte* 4 ft., and the flute 4 ft. serves as a *piccolo* 2 ft. To these there is added a *célestes* 8 ft. We thus get these two organ departments:—

CHOIR

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|-------|
| 1. <i>Lieblich Gedeckt</i> | | 8 ft. |
| 2. <i>Salicional</i> | | 8 ft. |
| 4. <i>Suabe Flute</i> | | 4 ft. |
| 5. <i>Flautino</i> | | 2 ft. |
| II. Second Manual. | | |

ECHO

- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|-------|
| 7. <i>Viola</i> | | 8 ft. |
| 12. <i>Célestes</i> | | 8 ft. |
| 9. <i>Rohrflöte</i> | | 4 ft. |
| 10. <i>Piccolo</i> | | 2 ft. |

For these stops special draw-stops are provided, and, to control the four divisions of the organ, under each manual

two plates are hinged, labelled respectively great, choir' swell, echo. These the inventor calls 'manual helps.' When any of these is pressed, it brings on the key and stop action of its own department, and shuts off the other one. Thus when we press the manual help of the great, the unison action is brought on, and any of the stops (including the two couplers) drawn in the great, begin to work. The moment we touch the manual help of the choir, the unison action of the lower manual is taken off, all the stops of the great put out of gear, and the octave action and the stops of the choir begin to work. Thus, by a very simple design, the two key-boards are almost as useful as four, and eleven manual stops do the work of eighteen. Perhaps the most marvellous result of this system is the manifold use of the coupler second manual to first. There is but one coupling action between the two manuals, but this one coupling action does duty in four distinct functions, namely, as—(1) swell to great; (2) echo to great; (3) swell to choir; (4) echo to choir. This coupler, therefore, admits a great many combinations of stops, and the variety of tonal effects attainable on this small instrument, is truly wonderful.

I mentioned above that one of the organ departments is usually enclosed in the swell box. This, as is generally known, is a box provided with a set of movable shutters in front, which can be opened by the swell pedal, a lever placed convenient for the foot of the player, and by being opened produce a kind of *crescendo*. This arrangement also comes under the head 'means of control,' and there are two points to which I should wish to call attention. First, I should advocate the 'balanced swell pedal,' that is to say, a pedal which remains stationary at any point of its arc. I consider that the advantage of the swell consists not only in the actual varying of the strength of the tone, but also in the possibility of a delicate adjustment of strength to continue for some period of time. Now, with the ordinary swell pedal this later plan necessitates keeping the foot fixed on the pedal at the exact point, which is not only tiresome for that foot, but also seriously interferes with the proper pedalling, only one foot being available for this important

factor in organ-playing. I fancy that if the balanced swell pedal were more generally introduced, we should have, as a rule, a better proportion between the strength of the organ and that of the choir.

The second point is that the full amount of the *crescendo* attained by opening the swell ought to be equally distributed over the whole course of the pedal. It is a fact to be counted with that about three-quarters of this *crescendo* are produced by opening the shutters ever so little. Now with the ordinary arrangement, in which the movement of the shutters coincides with that of the pedal, we get these three-quarters within the first inch or less of the pedal movement, and only one quarter is left for the remaining six or eight inches. Surely, it is not beyond the ingenuity of organ-builders to devise a more satisfactory plan. In my opinion, the best way is not to make all the shutters open at once, but only one first, then a few more, and finally all. The mechanism required for that should not require to be very complicated.

In conclusion, I beg to give one general advice to those who are about to order an organ. It is, that a large instrument should not be looked for, when sufficient money is not available. The desire to get a big organ for a small sum of money is accountable for many instruments which are deficient from an artistic point of view. A large organ that will fill the church with a flood of sound is a very desirable thing, no doubt; but it is not absolutely necessary; while artistic perfection is a thing that on no account ought to be sacrificed, especially in anything intended for the public worship of the Almighty. If, therefore, only a moderate sum of money is available, let a small, but good, instrument be ordered.

H. BEWERUNGE.

THE ROMAN BASILICA AND 'RISH CHURCHES

BASILICA was the name given by the Romans to a description of building chiefly devoted to the courts of law, but which appears also to have been used as an exchange or place of meeting for merchants. The term is derived, according to Philander,¹ from βασιλεύς, a king, in reference to early times, when the chief magistrate administered the laws he made ; but it is more immediately adopted from the Greeks of Athens, whose second archon was styled αρχων βασιλεύς.² The term basilica is used by several of the early ecclesiastical writers for a church, and has continued in use to the present day as the most appropriate name for a large church, built in close resemblance to the civil basilicæ of ancient Rome. This name frequently occurs in St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Sidonius Apollinaris, and other writers of the fourth and fifth ages, before which time we scarce meet with it in any Christian author. But upon the conversion of Constantine, many of these were given to the Church, and turned into another use, for Christian assemblies to meet in.

It may be asserted, without fear of controversy, that the Roman basilica is the prototype of Christian churches. After the cessation of persecution in the reign of Constantine, the Christians discarding the heathen temples as unsuited, and their dimensions as inadequate, preferred the basilica as a model. These the emperor placed at their disposal. The form of the basilica being oblong and surrounded by porticoes or aisles, raised upon columns with galleries very frequently over them, was found very suitable both to the majesty and uses of religion. Little more was necessary for the latter purpose than to place an altar near the upper end, opposite to the bishop's throne, and an ambo or pulpit somewhere about the middle of the nave. Hence the

¹ *Comment. in Vetr.*

² *Paus.* i. 3.

churches of that period retained the name of *basilicae*, by which appellation some of the churches of Rome are known to this day. Under the name of Byzantine, Romanesque, Saxon, Norman, &c., this style and its several varieties extended over the entire of Christendom. In every country it developed itself differently, but preserved its general and important features. The prototype, therefore, of Christian churches is undoubtedly pagan, though its development was essentially Christian; and a production was formed both unique and original. Let us hear Dr. Petrie stating the case for Ireland:—

These primitive churches [built by St. Patrick and his immediate successors] in their general form preserve very nearly that of the Roman basilica, but they never present the conched semi-circular apsis at the end which is so usual a feature in the Roman churches, and the smaller churches are only simple oblong quadrangles. In addition to this quadrangle the larger churches present a second oblong of smaller dimensions extending to the east and constituting the chancel or sanctuary, in which the altar was placed, and which is connected with the nave by a triumphal arch of semicircular form. These churches have rarely more than a single entrance, which is placed in the centre of the west end, and they are very imperfectly lighted by small windows splaying inwards, which do not appear to have been glazed. The chancel is always better lighted than the nave, and usually has two and sometimes three windows, of which one is always placed in the south wall; the windows in the nave are also usually placed in the south wall; and, except in the large churches rarely exceed two in number.¹

A modern ecclesiologist would deem all this *correct*. What makes it more a wonder is their very limited dimensions. These churches of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries were never more than sixty feet in length; the one prominent exception being the great church or cathedral of Armagh, built by St. Patrick. This becomes evident not only from the existing remains of these churches, but from the accounts preserved in the ancient lives of the saint, in which that length is given as the measurement of Domhnach Mor, or great Church of St. Patrick near (*Tailtean*) now

¹ Petrie, *Inquiry*, &c., p. 162.

Teltown, in Meath, as we read in the annotations of Tirechan in the *Book of Armagh*.

Impressed as I am [writes Dr. Petrie in another place] with the conviction that the style of architecture variously denominated Romanesque, Tudesque, Lombardic, Saxon, Norman and Anglo-Norman, belongs to no particular country, but derived from the corrupted architecture of Greece and Rome, was introduced wherever Christianity had penetrated—assuming various modifications according to the taste, intelligence, and circumstances of different nations—I think it only natural to expect that the earliest examples of this style should be found in a country supereminently distinguished as Ireland was for its learning, and as having been the cradle of Christianity to the north western nations of Europe in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Neither should it, I think, be a matter of wonder that more abundant examples of this style, though on a small scale, such as might be expected in a kingdom composed of many petty and nearly independent lordships, should remain in Ireland, than in those more prosperous and wealthy countries in which such humble structures would necessarily give place to structures of greater size and grandeur.¹

Respecting ambitious views we may entertain of improving Christian architecture, we must first acknowledge that we have an amount of ignorance to overcome before we can do anything towards developing any future degree of excellence in Christian art. We have not yet learned our alphabet, and it is absurd to attempt to compose. The alphabet to be learned may be said to be, in the first place, the origin and history of Christian architecture, and foremost the basilica. This is the task we must in humility set ourselves to learn as we would try to comprehend a first principle, and then study it in its almost infinite and various applications.

How surely our principles should be limited in this [says Ruskin], we may easily determine by the consideration of the necessary modes of teaching any other branch of necessary knowledge. When we begin to teach children writing we force them to absolute copyism, and require absolute accuracy in the formation of the letters; as they obtain command of the received modes of literal expression we cannot prevent their falling into such variations as are consistent with their feeling, their circum-

¹ Petrie, *Inquiry*, &c., p. 240.

stances, or their characters. So when a boy is first taught to write Latin, an authority is required of him for every expression he uses; as he becomes master of the language he may take a licence, and feel his right to do so without any authority, and yet write better Latin than when he borrowed every separate expression. In the same way our architects would have to be taught to write the accepted style. We must first determine what buildings are to be considered Augustan in their authority; their modes of construction and laws of proportion are to be studied with the most penetrating care; then the different forms and uses of their decoration are to be classed and catalogued, as a German grammarian classes the powers of prepositions; and under this absolute irrefragable authority we are to begin to work. Then when our sight is once accustomed to the grammatical forms and arrangements, and our thoughts familiar with the expression of them all; when we can speak this dead language naturally, and apply it to whatever ideas we have to render, then and not till then a licence may be permitted, and individual authority allowed to change or add to received forms, always within certain limits; the decorations especially may be made subjects of variable fancy and enriched with ideas either original or taken from other schools.¹

This advice given to architects in general has a much more stringent application to us. When we build structures for the service of the Church and the worship of the Almighty, we are architects in the highest sense, though we may be ignorant of the technicalities of the builder. The idea, the life, the spirit of the edifice must come from the directing mind, and this function suits well the sacerdotal character. The architect, as a rule, is ready to draw anything or everything in any one, or in all the *five styles* simultaneously as he is directed; and it is but natural that he should seek inspiration in religious matters (and this is a religious matter) from the 'lips of the priest.' Under this impression let us proceed to the study of the Roman basilica. The pagan basilica was a covered place of meeting, consisting internally of a spacious and lofty central hall (*media porticus*), or what we may designate the nave, surrounded by a continuous aisle, or what Vitruvius calls the *portico*, divided from the central portion by columns rising from the

¹ *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, vii.

floor. Over the portico was constructed a gallery, with an upper range of columns. The building was usually entered at one end through a vestibule, and the opposite end was formed a deep recess, generally semi-circular in plan, and about the width of the nave. This was the tribunal or tribune in which the courts of law were held. One end of the portico passed in front of the tribune, dividing it in a convenient manner from the hall of the assembly, where ordinary business conversation went on at all hours of the day. The upper semi-circular part was called the *apsis* (*hemicyclium*); the other part formed the nave. The nave and apsis were separated by a transversal nave, as we have remarked; and this transversal nave with the apsis were exclusively reserved for legal transactions. In the middle of the apsis, and about the height of a man, was placed the tribunal where the judge was seated, and from which he directed the debates and pronounced the sentence. Around the tribunal, and below it, seats were arranged in a semi-circle for public functionaries: before the tribunal were the litigants, and under the ground floor of the tribunal was a sort of prison, where the accused were retained, guarded. In the transversal nave, touching the apsis, but behind a barrier, the spectators were placed. As a rule, galleries separated the transversal from the longitudinal nave to ensure the silence necessary for legal proceedings. From these galleries as from those which ran along the two sides of the great nave one could hear with still greater ease. The longitudinal nave, which communicated with the transversal naves by several descending steps, was apportioned to commercial business. Money-changers, merchants, the idle met in this place, and there was an enormous bustle. At Rome this part was very large on account of the greatness of its commerce. Besides the middle nave there were lateral naves which were separated from the principle one by ranges or columns, and *basilicae* were simple, triple, or quintuple according as they had but one, three, or five naves. The middle knave, which was generally the width of the apsis, was more elevated than the lateral ones, and was provided with galleries. In breadth these depressed naves were

about half that of the middle. The roof was constructed of wood and the ceiling panelled. Each nave had its roof, and the lateral ones resting against that of the middle, which was elevated, gave to the whole a tent-like appearance. The light entered by windows placed symmetrically in the lower sides; these were either arched or square; the principal nave, too, was lighted obliquely from above. Five doors gave exit from the basilicae to the portico or vestibule, which joined the edifice to the public square. Three of these doors were in the middle, and one in each lateral nave. These structures seen from without presented an imposing appearance. Rome had several of these basilicae; amongst them the *Æmelian* and the *Julian*, which are still interesting subjects to study, so likewise those discovered at Pompeii and Herculaneum.

These buildings, as is evident, were easily adapted to the exigencies of Christian worship. Their division into two distinct parts corresponded to the distinction of the clergy and laity. The faithful found sufficient accommodation in the great nave, while the apsis served admirably for the clergy. The more elevated place, before occupied by the judge, became that of the bishop; and the circular places, until then occupied by the legal functionaries, became those of the priests. The prisons underneath the tribunal could serve for the crypt and subterraneous chapels, reminding the faithful of the time when they took refuge in the catacombs, while they could be resorted to for private devotion. Finally, the altar could be erected in the transversal nave, which thus formed the rallying-point for both clergy and faithful. The Christian type associated most happily to the ancient model, and from this transformation sprung the architectural style of the Christian churches of both East and West, which retained the name of basilicae, perfectly suited to designate the temples consecrated to the King of kings.

Amongst the ancient basilicae of the East was that which St. Paula built at Tyr (313-322), as well as that which Constantine the Great founded over the tomb of our Redeemer at Jerusalem, in the year 325. Both are described by Eusebius. In the West, Rome can boast of

the most ancient, largest, and purest specimens; viz., St. Sabina, St. Mary Major, St. Laurence, outside the walls; St. Balbina—these are of the sixth century; St. Agnes, outside the walls; St. Gregory, in Velabro; St. Chrysogonus—of the seventh and first half of the eighth century.

These basilicae, therefore, supplied the following essentials:—One entered by a portico (*anteporticus*), which secured the church from the noise of the public squares, and came to a vestibule¹ (*paradisus*), which formed an oblong, surrounded by pillars. In the centre of this was the *piscina*, for the ablutions which were customary (*cantarus*) to be performed before entering the sanctuary. Thither the catechumens retired during the part of the Mass at which they were not allowed to assist. From the vestibule you passed to the narthex (*pronaos*), where the penitents assembled, some of whom remained in the vestibule, according to the different degrees of ecclesiastical discipline. From the narthex they could see the central and lateral naves. The men were placed on the right, and the women on the left. The naves were separated by ranges of pillars. To give the edifice an elevation a high wall was built over and supported by the pillars, which was ornamented by pictures in mosaic, and bearing windows in its upper part. In the East there were galleries here for women.

The ceiling of the central nave was flat, ornamented by panels of wood, richly carved. The ceiling of the lateral naves could commence only under the windows of the principal nave. The pavement was of marble or mosaic. At the extremity there was the transversal nave (nave of the Cross), in the middle of which the altar, of very simple construction, was placed; and at each side of the altar was an ambo, or pulpit, from which the Epistle and Gospel were read to the people, and from which one preached. The basilica was terminated by the hemicycle, with the elevated throne of the bishop (*cathedra*), from which the Pontiff

An idea of this portion of the edifice can be formed by a glance at the corresponding portion of the Public Library, Kildare-street, Dublin.

usually spoke to the people during this period. At the right and left of the throne in the apsis were placed the stalls of the clergy. Pictures in mosaic, with a ground of gold, ornamented the apsis—those of the Apostles, of the martyrs, &c., but prominent amongst all the colossal figure of the Redeemer. The church was built so that the entrance was towards the east; later it became just the contrary.

Such was the style of the basilica during eight centuries. In proportion to the development of Christian architecture, and the prevalence of different styles, the basilica underwent modifications which were more or less radical. Exteriorly these modifications originated, during the ninth century, by the general introduction of bells. Towers were added to the west end of the basilica, but, isolated and independent of the church, they in no way modified its interior. The transversal nave, between the galleries and the central nave, was elongated, so as to give the buildings the form of a cross. The number of windows was restricted. The basilica approached the Byzantine form, which now in general made its influence felt.

In the interior the space around the altar underwent changes necessary for the functions of the chantors and lectors. The hemicycle was advanced towards the central nave, and surrounded by a balustrade. Thus was formed, in front of the tribunal or episcopal throne, a second enclosed space, which was called 'choir;' while the tribunal itself received the name of 'presbytery.' Many lateral altars were erected in chapels, and the altar—henceforward the 'high altar'—was surmounted by an elevated tabernacle, supported by four pillars. The ornamentation was modified; lateral niches were constructed; around the tribune, on both sides, a gallery was constructed, which became a continuation of the lateral naves. The substituting of columns or piers for pillars modified the basilica much more essentially. The basilicae at Rome in which these modifications may be recognised are—St. Mary in Cosmedin, St. Vincent of the Three Fountains, SS. Nereus and Achilles, St. Praxideus, St. John Lateran, and St. Mary in Transtevere.

But the basilica was subjected to yet more important changes when Gothic architecture was introduced into Italy, and the orgive (or Gothic vault) appeared. The new element was first seen in the tabernacles (St. Paul, St. John Lateran); the hemicycle was transformed, was elongated, became a quadrilateral, encircling which was another hemicycle; the ancient choir disappeared, and the high altar, hitherto placed in the transversal nave, was transferred to the new choir. The tabernacle became larger and more elevated, the ambons surpressed, and the pulpit was placed against the pillars of the central nave. Massive columns or piers were substituted for the long ranges of pillars. During the period which followed, called the 'renaissance,' the basilica lost almost all its original character, preserving, however, the general outline.¹

It is time now to revert to our own country. We are not going to examine the primitive ecclesiastical structures of Ireland by ideas of abstract beauty, but rather as illustrative of the Church's genius and spirit; for Christian architecture has ever aimed at expression. Splendour frequently accompanies, but it is subordinate, and only inasmuch as it expresses her meaning. Men of learning and research have expended much time and labour in the examination of the remains of the ancient structures of our country, and in giving to the world the result of their exertions. Our purpose is to call attention to Ireland's ancient churches, in illustration of how the genius of our ancestors interpreted the divine idea which presides over the external action of the Church. Irish ecclesiastical architecture had undoubtedly much of its inspiration from Rome, and, after a marvellous tenacity to the forms she thence derived, became influenced, but by no means slavishly, by foreign ideas in the art of church-building. Here, probably, a difficulty presents itself to the minds of our readers. Ireland was once the luminary of the Western world, and Irish genius won high fame in the annals of the countries of North-western Europe, the native land of the sublime

¹ Werfer.

Gothic style; but where are the architectural monuments corresponding to this literary glory? Gigantic stone crosses and diminutive chapels, immeasurably below the standard of contemporary literature; and yet Ireland's glory was principally religious. Every country on the face of the earth preserves eloquent traces of the majestic presence of the Church. Has Ireland's most brilliant age left no great architectural witnesses to posterity? The expounding of the mystery will depend on the meaning we are to give to the words in question, 'great architectural witnesses.' The small, dark, rude recesses—the churches of the catacombs—are noble architectural monuments, witnessing to the indomitable courage and patience of the Church in her unequal strife with the temporal powers of this world. Her gorgeous Roman basilicas and libraries of later periods witness to her universal sway and fostering care of all that ennoble life in the world of art. Her sublime Gothic cathedrals witness to her power of eloquent expression of her rites and ceremonies in connection with the social life of nations; and so her structures in ancient Ireland, in material bulk insignificant, in character cyclopic, in ornament sparing, in expression Christian in the profoundest sense, witness to the spirituality of the Church, to that humbleness so characteristic of a religion not made for the rich, but for the poor and lowly. Their severe simplicity and contracted dimensions cannot rob them of their mysterious power, which we in vain endeavour to analyze.

I hold, therefore [Ruskin says],¹ with certain exceptions, that the smaller the building, the more necessary it is that its masonry should be bold, and *vice versa*. For if a building be under the average magnitude, it is not in our power to increase its apparent size (too easily measurable) by any proportionate diminution of the scale of its masonry; but it may be often in our power to give it a certain nobility by building it of massy stone, or, at all events, by introducing such into its make. Thus it is impossible that there should be nobility in a cottage built of brick; but there is a marked element of sublimity in the rude and irregular piling of the rocky walls of the mountain cottages of Wales, Cumberland, and Scotland. Their size is not one whit diminished though four or five stones reach at their angles from the

¹ *The Lamp of Power*.

ground to the eaves, or though a native rock happen to project conveniently to be built into the framework of the wall.

How this writer, whose eloquence is enkindled at the cottages of Wales and Cumberland, would have discoursed had he known or cared for our ancient churches, with their associations and attributes of 'power!' Of this principle of architectural 'power' we have striking examples in our earliest churches. The doorway of the ancient church at Ratass, near Tralee, like the entire structure, is built in a style of masonry perfectly cyclopedian (except in the use of lime cement), is only 5 feet 6 inches in height, in width 3 feet 1 inch at the base, and 2 feet 8 inches at the top. The stones are all of great size, and in most instances extend through the entire thickness of the jambs, which are 3 feet 1 inch, and the lintel stone is 7 feet 6 inches in length, and 2 feet in height, and extends through the entire thickness of the wall. These churches, it is true, are imperfectly lighted by small windows. But let us again listen to Ruskin —

Of these limitations [he says]¹ the first consequence is, that positive shade is a more necessary thing in an architect's hands than a painter's. An architect's chief means of sublimity are definite shades; so that, after size and weight, the 'power' of architecture may be said to depend on the quantity (whether measured in space or intenseness) of its shadow. And it seems that the reality of its works, and the use and influence they have in the daily life of men (as opposed to those works of art with which we have nothing to do but in times of rest or of pleasure), require of it that it should express a kind of human sympathy by a measure of darkness as great as there is in human life, and that as the great poem and the great fiction generally affect us most by the majesty of their masses of shade, and cannot take hold upon us if they affect a continuance of lyric sprightliness, but must be often serious, and sometimes melancholy, else they do not express the truth of this wild world of ours; so there must be, in this magnificently human art of architecture, some equivalent expression for the trouble and wrath of life, for its sorrow and its mystery; and this it can only give by depth or diffusion of gloom, by the frown upon its front, and the shadow in its recess. So that Rembrandtism is a noble manner in architecture, though a false one in painting; and I do not believe that any building was truly great, unless it had mighty masses, vigorous and deep, of shadow mingled with its surface.

¹ *The Lamp of Power.*

Though our ecclesiastical architecture is a development of Romanesque or Byzantine Christian architecture, it possesses characteristics which have not been found in any other country in Christendom, and, it must be confessed, bears a nearer resemblance to the architecture of Greece and the East than to that of Rome and the West. A few of these peculiarities are the absence of the semicircular apsis or termination of the chancel or choir, so general, almost universal, in the contemporaneous churches or basilicæ of the Continent, and so often found in the most ancient Saxon churches in England; the inclining arch of the doorways, and their flat lintels, with the generally massive and cyclopiàn character of some parts of the masonry, especially of the stones of which the doors are composed; the fewness of the windows, and the smallness of their external openings, while their inward splay for the admission of light is of considerable amplitude; the semicircular heads of the windows and chancel arch.

This Romanesque style seems to possess an almost infinite capability of development. How it would have developed in Ireland had it not been nipped in the bud by the 'Invasion,' it is difficult to conjecture. Cormac's chapel at Cashel, built before the arrival of Strongbow, is different from anything of its kind, and does no more than set our imagination abuilding edifices of solemn arches and richly ornamented doorways equally different from anything we have really witnessed of Roman or Gothic architecture. In Ireland churches are being built at present of a mixed Romanesque character and cruciform, which seem to meet with general approval. Doubtless, this style is of great adaptability to the wants of our age in our towns and cities. But Irish Romanesque is only in its infancy. English Gothic, attaining its grandeur in great part by its tremendous dimensions, has not met with enthusiastic approval in our country. The Gothic of the North of France, to us the most perfect, with its Celtic-like gracefulness, appeals more warmly to our countrymen. And we think those who would build a cathedral should not omit the study of Amiens, Rouen, and above all that acme of perfection, Notre Dame de Paris.

We are convinced of this eastern character of our architecture, which did not by any means wholly disappear under the influence of the type brought from Rome by St. Patrick ; nor was it his intention that it should.¹ Moreover, we must plead guilty to the desire that more of this eastern element should enter into our architecture. Who can contemplate the ruins of Hebron, Petra, or Philæ, and not feel impressed with a sense of awe and mystery. Let our ecclesiastical edifices be stern, chaste, and massive, speaking of mystery and eternity. It is in this style, we know, our fathers in the faith would have built—men of terrific austerity of life and imitators of the Baptist—who is especially revered to this day in Ireland : men of hermit life, dwellers in the caves and rocks, and on the wild shore of the infinite ocean like Elias, a favourite saint of our apostle Patrick. Follow after truth and reality, avoid mere showiness (the modern spirit).² Build the walls low and massive (if you are not building a cathedral), a high and bold roof, the strongest and best, and most suited to our climate. If only an humble and plain church can be afforded, take two oblongs for your ground plan, one for the nave twice or three times as long, and something more in width than the other, which will be the chancel or choir.³ The triumphal arch divides them. If means will not permit a rood screen, place in this arch the rood loft on which is the large figure of the Crucifix, with our Lady and St. John on either side. Turn the church east and west (the orientation). This position has many natural advantages as well as being the right one. The east window behind the high altar is the only one that needs be large, and it would be well to have this a fine one. The other windows, like those of the ancient churches ; may be small with narrow openings splaying broadly inwards. Do not fear an unbroken space or wall, if the stones are shapely. Ruskin tells us it is one of the means of securing 'power.' The sacristy could be on the south side of the

¹ Cf. *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, p. 56, by Dr. Healy.

² *The True Principles*, &c., p. 38, and *ibid.*, p. 41, by A. W. Pugin.

³ In Ireland the chancel was proportionally much larger. The measurement of the Cathedral at Glendalough is, the nave forty-eight feet long by thirty feet wide, and the chancel thirty-seven and a-half feet by twenty-three feet wide ; the sacristy, sixteen feet long by ten wide. Cf. *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*, p. 47, by M. Stokes ; also Pugin, *ibid.* p. 42.

chancel, on account of the climate, as it is at the Cathedral at Glendalough (which ancient church is on almost all points a good model). Cast away all false ornament, which always turns out to be expensive, such as pillars in front to help out the appearance—a pagan idea—or buttresses to prop up nothing just for effect, and nice pinnacles to set it off, &c.

One word concerning the classical ecclesiastical style. The pagan temples of old were, doubtless, beautiful objects, perfectly adapted to their purposes, and characteristic of their use; but we are not pagans in religion, nor is the climate of our country that of Greece or Italy; therefore, pagan temples cannot be revived here without certain alterations and adaptations to suit them to our climate and religion. Those being made, the temple is destroyed. Either the idea of a pagan temple or a Christian church must be abandoned. Hence we find that modern churches which have attempted to unite both are utter abominations.

The last characteristic of our ancient churches which we shall mention is their attribute of defying time. And here again let the eloquent Ruskin speak:—

For indeed the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones nor in its gold. Its glory is in its age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, or mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity. It is in their lasting witness against men, in their quiet contrast with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which, through the lapse of seasons and times, and the decline and birth of dynasties, and the changing of the face of the earth, and of the limits of the sea, maintains its sculptured shapeliness, connects forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity, as it concentrates the sympathy of nations; it is in that golden stain of time, that we are to look for the real light and colour, and preciousness of architecture. And it is not until a building has assumed this character, till it has been entrusted with the fame and hallowed by the deeds of men, till its walls have been witnesses of suffering, and its pillars rise out of the shadows of death, that its existence, more lasting than that of the natural objects around it, can be gifted with even so much as these possess, of language and of life.

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

¹ See A. W. Pugin's wonderful *Contrasts*, p. 19.

THE ANATOLIAN VERNAL EQUINOX

FULLY to expose the character of the (Irish) pseudonymous Anatolian Paschal Table, the original cycle of the Bishop of Laodicea has been reconstructed in the *Introduction to the Annals of Ulster*. Chief among the data therefor are the initial lunar day and the date of the vernal equinox, as set forth in the portion of the Prologue quoted by Eusebius,¹ in his notice of Anatolius. (To give an air of reality to the patchwork, Rufinus' version, in places purposely interpolated and perverted, is inserted in the Prologue to the forgery.)

The vernal equinox is defined as follows :—

(Eusebius, *H.E.*, vii. 32, ed. Burton, Oxon. 1838, tom. 2, p. 534.)

Εὐρίσκεται δὲ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ Φαιμενώθ ἑκτῇ καὶ εἰκάδι οὐ μόνον ἐπιβὰς τοῦ πρώτου τμήματος ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τατάρτην ἡμέραν ἐν αὐτῷ διαπορευόμενος.

(Rufinus, *Eus.*, *H.E.*, vii. 28, ed. Rhenanus, Basil. 1523, fol. 131.)

In qua [supradicta vigesima sexta Phamenoth] die sol invenitur non solum conscendisse primam partem, verum etiam quartam jam in ea die[m] habere, id est, in prima ex duodecim partibus.²

The present concern is exclusively with *τατάρτην ἡμέραν*. No MS. presents any variant; no editor suggests any meaning but *fourth day*. Consequently, there can be no doubt concerning the emendation *die[m]* for *die*: in fact, the edition of Rhenanus has *alias quartum in ea diem* on the margin. The erroneous reading arose from the constantly recurring scribal omission of the stroke overhead denoting the letter *m*. Bridefertus, in a gloss on Bede³ (where, to show his learning, he makes St. Jerome the translator), has

¹ *H. E.*, vii. 32.

² Some readers may be pleased to see the German rendering of Strothius (given by Heinichen, *Eusebius*, Lipsiae, 1827, tom. 2, p. 418):—

An dem gedachten 26sten Tage des Monats Phamenoth aber findet man die Sonne nicht allein aufsteigend in dem ersten Zeichen des Thierkreises, sondern sie läuft schon den vierten Tag darin.

³ *De Temporum Ratione*, c. xxx. (Migne, *P. L.*, xc., 427).

quadram in ea die. As regards the pseudo-Anatolian text, Bede gives *quadrantem in ea die* in one place,¹ *quartam in ea die* in another;² Bucherius,³ *quadram lunam in ea die* (with his partially correct insertion, *lege quartam diem*); the Cologne MS.,⁴ *quadram in ea die*.

Bede⁵ took the *quadrans* of the (Hibernian) 'holy father Anatolius' to signify the first of the *fourths* which make up the bissextile day,—an error which clearly proves that he consulted neither Eusebius nor Rufinus.

Phamenoth 26 being equal to March 22, the Greek, I concluded, was open to no other deduction than that of Ideler: 'Herefrom we see that Anatolius placed the vernal equinox on the 19th of March.'⁶ But my inference, I find, was made *sans connaissance de cause*. Among the sources cited in Professor Rühl's excellent *Mannual of Mediæval and Modern Chronology*⁶ is an Essay by the Abbé Duchesne, *The Question of Easter at the Council of Nice*.⁷

The following note occurs therein:—

What, for Anatolius, was the date of the [vernal] equinox? It is commonly said that he fixed it at March 18. [Here follows the Greek sentence, given above.] He seems to say here that on March 22 the sun is already four days in the Sign of Aries. This appears to me to contradict the context. Besides, for so learned a man as Anatolius to assign the equinox to March 18 is *a priori* unlikely. In the fourth century, the Alexandrines placed it on March 21. All could be arranged by a slight palæographical correction; in place of *τετάρτην ἡμέραν* to read *τετάρτην ἡμέρας*, and the text would thus say that on March 22 the sun is already *one-fourth of a day* in the Sign of Aries. The vernal equinox coincided at the time of Hipparchus (141 B.C.) with the beginning of the Sign of Aries. The precession of the equinoxes, calculated at the rate of 50 seconds a year, gives for 418 years, namely, the interval between Hipparchus and Anatolius [A.D. 277], a difference of six hours very nearly, or one-fourth of a day. In

¹ *De Temp. Rat.*, c. vi. (*ubi sup.* 321).

² *Ep. ad Wic.* (*ubi sup.* 601).

³ *De Doctrina Temporum* (Migne, P. G., x. 211).

⁴ Krusch, *Der 84 jährige Osterzyklus*, p. 318.

⁵ *Handbuch*, etc., ii. 228.

⁶ *Chronologie des Mittelalters u. der Neuzeit*, von Franz Rühl, Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Königsberg, Berlin, 1897, p. 110.

⁷ *La question de la Pâque au concile de Nicée: Revue des Questions Historiques*, xxviii. 5 sq.

admitting my conjecture, everything is arranged,—the explanation of the text, the historical probabilities, and the astronomical data.¹

It bodes nothing good to stumble *in limine*. The Abbé deducts 4 from 22, and thus makes Anatolius fix the equinox on March 18. Take a strictly similar case: Jan. 13 is the *octave* of the Epiphany; consequently, since 13 minus 8 leaves 5, the Abbé must place the principal feast on Jan. 5! *Mirus calculandi preceptor*; he seems to have forgotten, or been unaware of, the elementary rule of such calculations, that the extremes are included. As regards the statement that March 18 is the commonly accepted Anatolian vernal equinox, a tolerably extensive and close research has not brought to light any confirmation thereof.

To come to the 'slight palæographical correction,' *τετάρτην ἡμέρας* for *τετάρτην ἡμέραν*. Verbal emendations of the kind in any language are based on close resemblance between letters in question. This well-known canon the Abbé has not failed to employ with effect, in dealing with the recensions of the *Liber Pontificalis*, when he points out how, owing to the similarity of *cc* and *a* in pre-Caroline (and, he might have added, in Caroline) minuscule, *celii* of one group of MSS. became *alii* in another.² Whence one would naturally be led to conclude, in the present instance, that *Nu* and *Sigma* are so like, one to the other, as to mislead a distracted or inexperienced eye. But this is so far

¹ Quelle était, pour Anatole, la date de l'équinoxe? On dit communément qu'il le fixait au 18 mars. [Then *Εὐρίσκειται*—*διαπορευόμενος* is inserted.] Il semble dire ici que le 22 mars le soleil est déjà depuis quatre jours dans le signe du Bélier. Ceci me paraît en contradiction avec le contexte. D'ailleurs, la fixation de l'équinoxe au 18 mars par un homme aussi savant qu'Anatole est *a priori* invraisemblable. Au quatrième siècle les Alexandrins le plaçaient au 21 mars. On pourrait tout arranger avec un légère correction paléographique; au lieu de *τετάρτην ἡμέραν* on lirait *τετάρτην ἡμέρας*, et ainsi le texte dirait qu'au 22 mars le soleil est déjà depuis un quart de jour dans le signe du Bélier. L'équinoxe de printemps coïncidait au temps d'Hipparque (141 avec J.-C.) avec le commencement du signe du Bélier. La précession des équinoxes, calculée à raison de 50" par an, donne pour 418 ans, c'est-à-dire pour l'intervalle entre Hipparque et Anatole, une différence de six heures à peu près, soit un quart de jour. En admettant ma conjecture, tout s'arrange, l'explication du texte, les vraisemblances historiques et les données astronomiques. (*Rev. d. Q. H.*, xxviii., pp. 20, 21.)

² Dans le minuscule antécarlovingienne, les deux groupes *alii* et *celii* sont très faciles à confondre: on peut même dire que leur aspect est identique pour un œil distrait ou peu exercé (*R. d. Q. H.*, xxvi. 614).

from being the case, that, in the whole range of the Greek Alphabet, whether ancient or modern, no two letters are more mutually dissimilar. For the majuscule, reference is made to the Table of Paschal Terms (14th of moon) engraved on the famous Lateran statue of Hippolytus,¹ which shows that the forms were respectively identical with the Roman plain capitals N and C.² (The latter Greek character, in fact, is being introduced into Greek Capital type.) For the minuscule, it will suffice to refer to the Table of *Derivation of the Greek and Latin Alphabets from the Egyptian* and the Table of *Greek Cursive Alphabets* from B.C. 260 to A.D. 756, in Maunde Thompson's *Manual of Greek and Latin Palæography*.³

But, to waive this, admit the proposed correction, and what then? The wonder grows that any worker at first hand could have failed to see that τετάρτην ἡμέρας (like the corresponding Latin *quartam diei*), without a noun to be qualified by the adjective, are a mere *phrasis nihili*. *Fourth part* is expressed in Greek either by the adjective in composition (which is irrelevant here); or (a) independently (in the neuter); or with (b) μοῖρα, or, (c) more frequently, with μέρος: (a) τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε, τέταρτον, ἡμέρας ἔχουσι, [*the months of the year*] have 365½ days,⁴ τέτρακις γὰρ τὸ δ[ιγίναται] ἓν, for one-fourth four times [becomes] one;⁵ (b) ἐπέχει μοῖραν δ', it occupies the fourth part;⁶ (c) τέταρτον μέρος, the fourth part,⁷ τέταρτον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, the fourth part of the day.⁸

¹ Migne, *P. G.*, x. 876-7.

² In the Table of Easters (*ib.* coll. 879-80) and the woodcuts (coll. 881-4), the epigraphic C is conventionally represented by Z, σ, and s. In the well-known and rare edition of Fabricius (Hamburgi, 1716), it is correctly reproduced in the Plates (between p. 36 and p. 37) and transcriptions (pp. 38, 40). A transliteration of the two tables from photographs will be found in the *Introduction to the Annals of Ulster*.

³ Pages 10, 148.

⁴ Ioan. Damasc., *De Fide Orthod.*, ii. 7 (ed. Le Quien, Venetiis, 1748, tom. i. 167 E).

⁵ Isaaci Argyri *Computus*, c. 2 (Petavius, *De Doctrina Temporum*, Antwerp 1703, t. iii., *Uranologium*, p. 195).

⁶ Hipparchi *Exegesis ad Phaenomena*, etc., i. x. (Petavius, *De Doct. Temp. Uranol.*, p. 104).

⁷ *Gemini Isagoge*, c. ii. (Pet. *De Doct. Temp.*, *Uranol.*, p. 8).

⁸ *Is. Arg. Comp.*, *ubi. sup.* I omit μέρος, as I have found no example with τέταρτον. The Lexica have the dative singular with ἡμέρας.

With respect to the astronomical data, conceding, for the nonce, that the vernal equinox and the beginning of Aries fell on March 22, B.C. 141, the precession of the equinoxes, at the rate of 50 s. per annum, gives 5 h. 48 m. 20 s. for 418 years. The difference, 11 m. 40 s., trifling though it be, between this and 6 hours represents no less than 14 years,¹ and leads to a startling historical conclusion. For, reckoning thus, Anatolius must have written (not in A.D. 277, but) in 291!

Again, granting the further gratuitous assumption that he was acquainted with these purely astronomical minutiae, who can seriously propound that he employed them in an explanatory introduction to a practical Table? He could scarcely have been ignorant of the fact that, in the *Introduction* (to Astronomy), written, according to internal evidence, B.C. 77—more than three centuries and a half before his own time—Geminus, in the chapter on *Months*, after giving the lunar and solar correct fractional reckonings, states that for *civil use* (πρὸς πολιτικὴν ἀγωγὴν) the astronomers sought a [computation of] time having *whole days, and whole months, and whole years*.²

But, to come to the root of the matter, the Abbé gives no authority to support his fixing the vernal equinox on March 22 in B.C. 141. On the other hand, Ptolemy, the astronomer, found that, in the meridian of Alexandria (where he made the observation), it fell B.C. 146 on March 24, at 11 a.m.³ Now, the anticipation of the equinoxes (the *aliqua minuta* of the Breviary and Missal *De Anno et ejus partibus*), at the rate of 11 m. 12 s.⁴ per annum, gives 56 minutes for five years. Whence it follows that the vernal equinox of 141 B.C. was on March 24, at 10.4 a.m.

¹ Cf. Petav., *De Doct. Temp.*, t. iii. *Dissertationes Variæ*, lib. i., c. 4, p. 5. (In the third vol. of the Antwerp edition, the *Uranologium* and *Dissertationes*, &c., are paginated independently,—a most embarrassing arrangement.)

² Ἐζητεῖτο οὖν χρόνος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστρολόγων, ὃς περιέχει ὅλας ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅλους μῆνας, καὶ ὅλους ἔνιαυτούς (*Gemini Isag.*, c. vi., *ubi sup.* p. 18. The evidence for the year in which the work was composed is found in the same chapter, and, as was to be expected, is conclusively discussed by Petavius, p. 19, note).

³ Ideler, *ubi sup.*, i. 34.

⁴ *Id.* i. 67, 77.

Nor is the number of objections to the 'conjecture' complete still. The reconstructed Cycle presents fresh evidence,—evidence which the Abbé was, of necessity, unacquainted with. This proves that the Anatolian equinox was earlier than March 22. The initial new moon fell on March 22; which gives the Julian or Roman epact (i.e. the age of the moon on Jan. 1 and March 1; the lunations of the two months being identical) as 10. The Rule of adding 11 per annum and deducting 30, when that number is exceeded, assigns the epact 25 to the sixteenth year.¹ We have, consequently, in that year, new moon on March 7; moon 14 (Easter Term) on March 20; Easter (moon 15) on March 21,—a day in advance of the equinoctial date alleged to be fixed by the framer of the Cycle!

The 'slight palæographical correction' is, accordingly, excluded on graphic, linguistic, astronomical, and computistic grounds. It only remains to deal with the question that naturally arises: why did Anatolius fix the vernal equinox at the beginning of the Sign Aries? The answer is not far to seek. According to the scanty extant fragments of his ten books *de Arithmeticae Institutionibus*,² the bishop was, in the comprehensive Greek application of the name, a *mathematician*. As such, he followed the teaching of the *older mathematicians*, most, or nearly all, of whom, according to Hipparchus,³ divided the year by making the Solstices and Equinoxes coincident with the beginnings of the respective Signs. In particular, of Aratus, the Alexandrine poet (B.C. 270), who versified the *Appearances* (*Phaenomena*) of Eudoxus (470-350 B.C.), he writes that he 'divided the Zodiacal circle, commencing with the tropical and equinoctial Signs, so that these Signs should be the [respective] beginnings of the Zodiacals.'⁴ The subject has, in fact, as is well

¹ The epacts are: 10, 21, 2, 13, 24, 5, 16, 27, 8, 19, 30, 11, 22, 3, 14, 25, 6, 17, 28. Adding 12 (i.e. 11 + 1—the *Saltus* or moon's leap) to the last No. and subtracting 30, we have 10 for the 20th year, that is, the first of another Cycle. It is assumed, of course, that, the author being an Alexandrine, the Anatolian Easter fell on the 15th of the moon.

² Migne, *P.G.*, x. 261-6.

³ *Exegesis ad Phaenomena Arati et Eudoxi*, lib. ii., c. 3 (Petavius, *Uranol.*, p. 120).

⁴ Τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κυκλοῦ ὁ μὲν Ἀράτος πεποιήται ἀπὸ τῶν τροπικῶν τε καὶ ἰσημερινῶν σημείων ἀρχόμενος· ὥστε ταῦτα τὰ σημεία ἀρχὰς εἶναι ζωδίων (*ib.*, p. 119).

known to all workers, been amply discussed by Petavius in the Second Book of the *Dissertations* appended to the *Uranologium*.

Finally, as to the assertion, that it is *a priori* unlikely such a learned man as Anatolius would fix the Equinox on March 18, passing over the fact that his date, as has been shown, was 19, not 18, this very improbability was verified five and fifty years before Anatolius drew up his *Canon*. The sixth year of the Lunar Table of Hippolytus (A.D. 222) has the Paschal Term on the 15th of the Kalends of April.¹

Recently, in dealing with the question of Anglican Orders, to account for the editor of the *Liber Pontificalis* having maintained their validity, I suggested, in extenuation, that he was one who apparently worked with undue haste. The foregoing, not to mention other conjectural emendations in his present essay on the Paschal Question, give ground, it is to be feared, to infer that the aberration was owing to a more radical defect.

B. MACCARTHY.

¹ *Προ τε Κα. Απρις (Ante xv. Kal. April. Migne, P. G. x. 875; Fabricius, ubi sup. 36, 38).*

In connection herewith, may be mentioned one of the discoveries that come, all too seldom, to reward toilsome research. The third Paschal Term is 21, 22, March (*Προ ιβ, προ ια, Κα. Απρις*). For a long time, like Bucherius, (Migne, P. G. x. 888) and Ideler (*ubi sup. ii. 216*), I was completely baffled by this duplicate dating. At length, whilst verifying the Hippolytan Golden Numbers by reference to the (Julian) Calendar,—

Da flöste mir der Geist es ein,
Froh rief ich aus: Ich hab's gefunden.

Moon 14 was fixed on March 21, in order to give moon 16 to the Easter of March 23, which occurs twice in the Table of Easters, A.D. 256, 312 (F E). (It is the third under the ferial γ(3) and the eleventh under ς(6). Otherwise, this Easter would fall on moon 15, which was contrary to the principle of Hippolytus. Furthermore, 21 was the result of revision; the photograph shows it on the margin, and in smaller characters.

CORRESPONDENCE

OFFICE AND MASS OF THE BLESSED THADDAEUS

ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL, CORK,
16th November, 1898.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Dr. O'Callaghan would have me send you enclosed Office and Mass of the Blessed Thaddaeus, and explain that the omission of all mention of a prayer in copy of rescript sent for insertion in I. E. RECORD was due to the fact, that as the original prayer was special for Ivrea another had to be substituted, which was not to hand when you were asked to publish particulars of Office and Mass.

Yours faithfully,

R. M'CARTHY.

[We regret that the publication of the documents mentioned in Fr. McCarthy's letter has been so long delayed. More urgent matter crushed them out in December and January—Ed. I.E.R.]

DOCUMENTS

OFFICE AND MASS OF THE BLESSED THADDAEUS

DIE XXV OCTOBRIS IN FESTO BEATI THADDAEI MACHAR¹ EPISCOPI
CONFESSORIS

Omnia de Communi Conf. Pont. I loco praeter sequentia

ORATIO

Deus, qui Beatum Thaddaeum Confessorem tuum atque Pontificem in tolerandis adversis invicta fortitudine decorasti; concede, quaesumus, ut ejus exemplo peregrinantes in terris, adversa omnia fortiter superemus. Per Dominum.

AD MATUTINUM

In primo Nocturno *Lect. de Script.* occur.

IN II. NOCTURNO

LECTIO IV.

Thaddaeus nobilissima Mac-Cartheorum familia ortus est medio saeculo decimo quinto in agro Corcagiensi in Momonia, Australi Hiberniae Provincia, ejusque majoribus accensetur inclytus Princeps Cormacus, habitu quidem Rex, sed animo discipulus, patronus et amicus Beati Malachiae, de quo laus est apud Sanctum Bernardum. Egregiam sortitus animi indolem, ab ineunte aetate optimis moribus institutus, studiorum vix emensus curriculum, despectis mundi illecebris, clericali militiae nomen dedit. Quum ejus doctrinae, pietatis, atque insignium virtutum fama longe lateque in dies increbresceret a Summo Pontifice Xisto Quarto, juvenis adhuc sed sanctitatis splendore coruscus, Ecclesiae Rossensis regimini praefectus, apud Apostolicam Sedem Episcopalis consecrationis munere est auctus.

(R). Inveni David.

LECTIO V.

Factus forma gregis ex animo, Ecclesiae sibi commissae sanctissime praefuit, verbi Dei praedicatione, religionis studio, animarum zelo optimi pastoris laudem apud suos obtinuit. Sed magna oborta reipublicae perturbatione, in qua diu de regio Angliae solio acriter dimicatum est, Thaddaeus e sede sua primum exturbatur; mox aemulorum artibus apud Apostolicam

¹ Vel M'Carthy.

Sedem accusatus, immeritas poenas sine querela patientissime tulit, ut ejus virtus ad lydium tribulationis lapidem probata in acerbissimis in doloribus perferendis brevi nitidiori lumine effulserit. Attamen non multo post Thaddaei est innocentia comperta, ejusdemque sanctitas coram Innocentio Octavo Pontifice Maximo adeo eluxit, ut ipse Pontifex non modo illum in pristinos honores restituere, sed ad majora vocare proposuerit; unde nec minime cogitantem ad Ecclesias Corcagiensem et Cloynensem, magnisque beneficiis cumulatam destinavit.

(R). Posui adjutorium.

LECTIO VI.

Quum vero ob potentiorum rapaces ausus bonis et juribus suae Ecclesiae, magno animarum detrimento prohibitus esset, pauperrimo cultu et peregrini habitu Romam petiit, et Apostolorum limina veneratus, Christi Vicario causam suam detulit, qui eum benignissime complexus, amplissimis datis litteris, in Ecclesiasticae libertatis oscores severissime animadvertit. Deum in patriam remearet, quum Eporediae apud Subalpinos substitisset, pauper et incognitus in hospitio peregrinorum exceptus est, ibique aerumnis et laboribus fractus, itineribusque defessus, coelo maturus animam Deo reddidit, nono kalendas novembris, anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo secundo, aetatis suae trigesimo septimo. Ejus obitum mire coruscans flamma coelitus demissa decoravit; reique novitatis permotus Eporediensis Antistes, comitante Clero, ingenti fidelium turba stipatus, sacrum ejus corpus solemnem pompam per urbem circumtulit, et in Cathedrali Ecclesia, suis ipse manibus sub altari composuit. Insignem servi sui sanctitatem, multis, quae ad ejus tumulum patrata sunt, miraculis Deus testatam voluit, cultumque ab immemorabili tempore ei delatum Leo Tertiusdecimus Pontifex Maximus rite probavit et confirmavit.

(R). Iste est.

IN III NOCTURNO

LECTIO VII. CAP. 10.

Lectio sancti Evangelii secundum Matthaeum.

In illo tempore: dixit Jesus discipulis suis: Cum persequentur vos in civitate ista fugite in aliam. Et reliqua.

Homilia Sancti Athanasii Episcopi.

IN APOLOG. DE FUGA SUA

In lego praeceptum erat ut constituerentur civitates refugiorum, ut qui quomodocumque ad necem quaererentur, servari possent,

In consummatione porro saeculorum, cum advenisset illud ipsum Verbum Patris, quod Moysi antea locutum fuerat, rursus hoc praeceptum dedit: Cum vos, inquiens, persecuti fuerint in Civitate ista, fugite in aliam. Pauloque post subiicit: Cum videritis illam abominationem desolationis, quae dicta est per Danielelem Prophetam, consistentem in loco sancto (qui legit intelligat) tunc qui in Judaea sunt, fugiant ad montes: et qui in tecto est, ne descendat tollere aliquid de domo sua: et qui in agro est, non revertatur tollere tunicam suam.

(R). Amavit.

LECTIO VIII.

Haec cum scirent Sancti, ejusmodi tenuerunt suae conversationis institutum. Quae enim nunc praecepit Dominus, eadem quoque ante suum in carne adventum locutus est in Sanctis: et hoc institutum homines ad perfectionem ducit. Nam quod Deus jusserit, id omnino faciendum est. Ideoque et ipsum Verbum propter nos homo factum, non indignum putavit, cum quaereretur quemadmodum et nos, abscondere se; et cum persecutionem pateretur, fugere et insidias declinare: cum autem a se definitum tempus ipse adduxisset, in quo corporaliter pro omnibus pati volebat, ultro seipsum tradidit insidiantibus.

(R). Sint lumbi.

LECTIO IX.

At vero sancti homines cum hanc quoque formam a Salvatore didicissent (ab ipso enim et antea et semper omnes docebantur), adversus persecutores ut legitime certarent, fugiebant, et ab illis quaesiti, se abscondebant. Cum enim prestituti sibi a divina providentia temporis finem ignorarent, nolebant insidiantibus se temere tradere; sed contra, cum scirent quod scriptum est, in manibus Dei esse hominum sortes, et Dominum mortificare et vivificare, potius in finem usque perseverabant, circumeuntes, ut ait Apostolus, in melotis et pellibus caprinis, egentes, auguetiati in solitudinibus errantes, et in speluncis et cavernis terrae latentes, quoad vel definitum mortis tempus veniret, vel, qui tempus ipsum definerat, Deus cum eis loqueretur, et insidiantes cohiberet, aut certe persecutoribus eos traderet, utcumque illi placuisset.

Te Deum laudamus, &c.

V. Imprimatur

Concordat enim cum originali.

Eporediae, die 10 Aprilis, 1897.

Can. JOANNES SAROGLIA, Vic. Gen.

DIE XXV OCTOBRIS IN FESTO BEATI THADDAEI MACHAB EP. C.

INTROITUS. Eccli. 45.

Statuit ei Dominus testamentum pacis: et principem fecit eum, ut sit illi sacerdotii dignitas in aeternum.

Psal. 131. Memento, Domine, David, et omnis mansuetudinis ejus.

V. Gloria patri, &c.

ORATIO

Deus, qui Beatum Thaddaeum Confessorem tuum atque Pontificem in tolerandis adversis invicta fortitudine decorasti; concede, quaesumus, ut ejus exemplo peregrinantes in terris, adversa omnia fortiter superemus. Per Dominum.

Lectio libri Sapientiae.

Eccli. 44.

Ecce Sacerdos Magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo, et inventus est justus: et in tempore iracundiae factus est reconciliatio. Non est inventus similis illi, qui conservavit legem Excelsi. Ideo jurejurando fecit illum Dominus crescere in plebem suam Benedictionem omnium gentium dedit illi, et testamentum suum confirmavit super caput ejus. Agnovit eum in benedictionibus suis: conservavit illi misericordiam suam, et invenit gratiam coram oculis Domini. Magnificavit eum in conspectu regum: et dedit illi coronam gloriae. Statuit illi testamentum aeternum et dedit illi sacerdotium magnum, et beatificavit illum in gloria. Fungi sacerdotio, et offerre illi incensum dignum in odorem suavitatis.

Graduale. Eccli. 44. Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo. V. Non est inventus similis illi, qui conservaret legem Excelsi.

Alleluja, alleluja. V. Psal. 109. Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech, alleluja.

Post Septuages. omissi Alleluja et Versu seq. dicitur Tractus. Psal. 111.

Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum: in mandatis ejus cupit nimis. V. Potens in terra erit semen ejus: generatio rectorum benedicatur. V. Gloria et divitiae in domo ejus: et justitia ejus manet in saeculum saeculi.

Tempore Paschali omittitur Graduale, ejus loco dicitur.

Alleluja, alleluja. V. Psal. 109. Tu es sacerdos in aeternum
VOL V. L

secundum ordinem Melchisedech, alleluja. V. Hic est sacerdos, quem coronavit Dominus, alleluja.

✠ Sequentiae S. Evangelii secundum Matthaeum.

Cap. 10.

In illo tempore dicebat Jesus Discipulis suis : cum persequen-
tur vos in Civitate ista, fugite in aliam. Amen dico vobis, non
consummabitis civitates Israël, donec veniat Filius hominis.
Non est discipulus super Magistrum, nec servus super dominum
suum. Sufficit discipulo, ut sit sicut Magister ejus : ut servo,
sicut Dominus ejus. Si patremfamilias Beelzebub vocaverunt ;
quanto magis domesticos ejus ? Ne ergo timueritis eos. Nihil
enim est opertum, quod non revelabitur : et occultum, quod non
scietur. Quod dico vobis in tenebris, dicite in lumine : et quod in
aure auditis, praedicare super tecta. Et nolite timere eos, qui
occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere ; sed potius
timete eum, qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in gehennam.

Offertorium. Psal. 88. Inveni David servum meum, oleo
sancto meo unxi eum ; manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei, et
brachium meum confortabit eum.

SECRETA

Illo nos, Domine, tui amoris igne benignus accende, quo
Beatus Thaddaeus flagravat in terris. Per Dominum nostrum.

Communio. Luc. 12. Fidelis servus et prudens, quem con-
stituit dominus super familiam suam : ut det illis in tempore
tritici mensuram.

POSTCOMMUNIO

Concede, quaesumus, Omnipotens Deus, ut coelestibus sacra-
mentis refecti, Beato Thaddaeo intercedente, libenter pro tui
nominis amore mala hujus mundi toleremus et gaudiis perfruamur
aeternis. Per Dominum.

REVOCATION OF INDULGENCES

DECRETUM URBIS ET ORBIS

REVOCANTUR OMNES INDULGENTIAE MILLE VEL PLURIUM MILLIUM
ANNORUM

Quum huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis
praepositae ex ipsa sui institutione munus demandatum sit vigi-
landi, ne in christiano populo falsae et apocryphae, vel iam

revocatae a RR. PP. Indulgentiae temere evulgentur, pluries ab ea quaesitum est, num Indulgentiae mille sive etiam plurium millium annorum, quae in nonnullis Summariis et etiam in Pontificiis Constitutionibus leguntur, sint retinendae uti verae, an potius inter apocryphas amandandae, ea potissimum de causa quod immoderatae viderentur.

Porro quum haec S. C. generatim animadverterit praedictarum Indulgentiarum concessionem, ut plurimum, nulli aut supposititio niti fundamento, praetereaue perpenderit id quod Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus Sess. 25, cap. XXI Decret. de Indulg. docuit, in concedendis nimirum Indulgentiis moderationem esse adhibendam, ne nimia facilitate ecclesiastica disciplina enervetur; opportunum esse censuit, sicut alias peragere consuevit, ut indulgentiae omnes, quae mille vel plurium millium annorum numerum attingunt, praetermisso an veris sint accensendae vel apocryphis, revocarentur et abrogarentur: id enim postulare videbantur et mutata temporum adiuncta et modo vigens in Ecclesia disciplina.

Emi itaque Patres huic S. Congregationi praepositi, in generalibus Comitibus ad Vaticanum habitis die 5 Maii 1898 omnibus mature perpensis, unanimi suffragio rescripserunt: 'Indulgentias omnes mille vel plurium millium annorum omnino esse revocandas si SSmo placuerit.'

Facta autem de his omnibus relatione SSmo Dno Nostro Leoni Papae XIII in Audientia habita die 26 Maii 1898 ab infra-scripto Card. Praefecto, Sanctitas Sua Eminentissimorum Patrum sententiam ratam habuit et confirmavit, mandavitque per generale Decretum declarari omnes Indulgentias vel mille plurium millium annorum, quae hucusque concessae dicuntur aut sunt, revocatas esse, et uti revocatas ab omnibus habendas. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 26 Maii 1898.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. CARD. GOTTI, *Praef.*

L. ✱ S.

✱ ANTONIUS ARCHIEP. ANTINOEN, *Secret.*
IOSEPHUS M^o CAN. COSELLI, *Subst.*

SPANISH DEGREES IN THEOLOGY, CANON LAW, AND
PHILOSOPHY

DE SACRA CONGREGATIONE STUDIORUM

DOCUMENTA QUAE REFERUNTUR AD ERECTIONEM APOSTOLICAM
FACULTATEM SACRAE THEOLOGIAE, IURIS CANONICI, ET PHILOSO-
PHIAE SCHOLASTICAE IN SEMINARIO HISPALENSIS

1. PROOEMIUM

Innumeris prope beneficiis, quae nullo non tempore Apostolicae Sedis benignitati accepta refert Hispalensis Ecclesia, maximum nunc quoque accedit ex novissimo decreto Sacrae Congregationis Studiorum, quo Facultates S. Theologiae Iuris Canonici et Philosophiae canonice et more universitario eriguntur in Seminario SS. Isidori et Francisci Xaverii, una cum privilegio gradus maiores conferendi; quo quidem, dum amplissimo decoratur honore haec Metropolitana Sedes, tot sanctorum et sapientium parens, vota simul adimplentur perillustrium Antistitum hispalensium, quibus nihil fuit antiquius quam cleri sibi commissi instructionem in dies impensius promovere.

Nemini enim, qui Ecclesiae hispanae historiam vel a limine salutaverit, ignota erit celebris illa *Schola Christiana Hispalensis* ab egregiis Leandro et Isidoro fundata, unde sapientiam hauerunt Fulgentius, Ildephonsus, Braulius, alique complures scientia et sanctitate conspicuit. Etsi vero temporis tractu ob Maurorum irruptionem litterarum studium non parum deferbuerit, attamen nec tum defuit clericis nostris apta scientiarum institutio, ut non immerito praesumi potest ex doctis viris qui illa ipsa aetate floruerunt, quos inter annumerantur Theodula et Ioannes, huius Ecclesiae praesules.

Sed vixdum ab infausta servitute urbs nostra per invictum Ferdinandum erepta fuit, protinus *Schola Cathedralitia Archangelii Michaelis* nuncupata ad clerum erudiendum erigitur, cura et opera praeclari Capituli Metropolitanani, quae ab Alphonso X postea amplificata et Alexandri IV auctoritate munita, labentibus annis eximii Antonii Nebrixensis honorata est magisterio.

Saeculo decimo sexto ineunte, id est, longe ante Tridentinae Synodi celebrationem, Rodericus Ferdinandus a Santaella, huius Ecclesiae canonicus, non minus pietate quam litteris insignis, collegium Hispali instituit *S. Mariae a Iesu* appellatum, quo scientiae ac virtutis suppeteret copia iis qui ad leviticum assumerentur ordinem, verum scilicet seminarium, quod Iulio II anno

MDV obtinuit confirmationem, et licet, immutata serius pristinae conditionis natura, Roderici collegium in Universitatem conversum fuit, in hac etiam sacrae scientiae magno cum profectu celebrabantur. Sub ipsum fere tempus praeclarus dominicanae familiae alumnus et immortalis memoriae hispalensis archiepiscopus D. Didacus Deza, qui Christophoro Columbo Americae reperiundae praecipuus extitit adiutor, collegium *S. Thomae* dicatum Hispali pariter erexit munificeque dotavit, ubi etiam clerici sacris erudiebantur disciplinis; quod quidem Leo X anno MDXVI adprobavit, facultatem praeterea addens, archiepiscopis ut gradus maiores conferre possent alumni regularibus, etiam alterius Instituti, qui huius scholae aulas frequentaverint; quod utique privilegium Paulus III anno MDXXXIX ampliavit pro clericis saecularibus eiusdem collegii discipulis. Utrumque gymnasium per tria et amplius saecula ad nostra fere tempora innumeros peperit doctissimos viros, qui, vel in ecclesiasticarum dignitatem fastigio, vel in caeteris sacerdotalis muneris officiis, magistrorum decus et ornamentum evaserunt. Nec perfunctorie tantum, sed ampliori methodo ac ratione, et prout exposcere videbantur religionis bonum et sacerdotalis dignitas, omni scientiarum apparatus instruebantur ephebi; neque validiora deerant incitamenta sive per publica et celebriora certamina, sive per graduum academicam collationem, sive per alia quaeque subsidia ad laudabile fovendum studium. Romani Pontifices per litteras amore plenas utriusque scholae constitutiones laudibus extulerunt, ex tam magistros quam discipulos magnis cumularunt privilegiis.

Quamquam et nomine et re longe inferius praedictis, memoratu tamen dignum videtur collegium vere ecclesiasticum, quod sub *S. Isidori* advocazione Hispali instituit anno MDXXXII ven. Dei servus Ferdinandus de Contreras, huius cathedralis clero adscriptus, fautoribus Archiepiscopo D. Alphonso Manrique et ipso Capitulo.

Inter scholas, quae saeculo decimo septimo ad clericorum instructione destinabantur, collegium eminet *B. Mariae a Conceptione* (de las Becas vulgo dictum) a Gundisalvo de Ocampo, huius Ecclesiae canonico, in hac civitate fundatum anno MDCXV, auspicio Archiepiscopo D. Petro de Castro et Quinones, 'ut scopus (haec sunt fundatoris verba) quem S. Concilium Tridentinum sibi praefixit dum seminarium in unaquaque dioecesi statuit erigendum melius impleretur.' Clarissimi praesules DD. Augustinus

et Ambrosius Spinola atque Emus Card. D. Franciscus Solis Folch de Cardona huic collegio amplificando operam dederunt; quod quidem, sacerdotibus Societatis Iesu moderatoribus et magistris, ad perfectionis apicem pervenit in S. Theologia tradenda et explicanda. Nec praetermittenda instauratio vetustissimae scholae cathedralitiae ab ipsomet Capitulo peracta, it ut novum exurgeret gymnasium sub *S. Isidori* titulo, ab Urbano VIII anno MDCL adprobatum, ad clerum erudiendum.

Sed ingruente malorum colluvie, quae sub 'Revolutionis' nomine iamdudum christianum populum vexat, pia haec omnia instituta maiorum nostrorum indefesso labore ac magnis sumptibus exstructa et conservata, velut celsa arbor turbine deiecta, huc illuc corruerunt. Opus fuit itaque gregis hispalsensis Pastoribus anxius curare de seminario constituendo ad normam Concilii Tridentini, cum iam antiqua, si ita loqui fas est, seminaria seu collegia aut omnino defecerint, aut ad ruinam vergerent; huic operi perficiendo iam multum insudaverunt Reverendissimi Archiepiscopi DD. Ludovicus Salcedo et Azcona, Alphonsus Marcos Llanes, et Cardinalis Ludovicus de Borbon, quasi vicinae procellae impetum praesentientes. Tandem pio ac vere munifico legato nobilis viri D. Francisci de P. Rodriguez, qui pinguem haereditatem reliquit sub anno MDCCCXI. ad collegium erigendum, ubi Ecclesiae candidati pietate et litteris informarentur, ad optatum exitum res perducere potuit ab egregio Card. Archiepiscopo D. Francisco Xav. Cienfuegos, qui, omnibus superatis impedimentis, Seminarium *S. Francisci Xaverii* instituit in civitate quae Sanlúcar de Barrameda vulgo audit, anno MDCCCXXI; sed cum paulo post nova profluerunt incommoda ex civilis potestatis intrusione, de Seminario hispalsensi actum esset nisi haud longa interiecta mora, sub regimine et auspiciis Card. D. Iudae Iosephi Romo, Archiepiscopi feliceis recordationis, anno MDCCCLVIII ipsis in aedibus, ubi Rodericus a Santaella suum Collegium tribus abhinc saeculis statuerat, hodiernum Conciliare Seminarium fuisset constitutum.

Exinde praestantissimi viri, qui huius Ecclesiae praeposituram sunt adepti, Emmi Cardinales Emmanuel Ioachim Tarancon, Ludovicus de la Lastra, Ioachim Lluch, Zephyrinus Gonzalez, et Benedictus Sanz et Forés nihil intentatum reliquerunt ad Seminarii nomen altius Provehendum, donec occasione arrepta Instructionis S. C. Studiorum editae mense Iunio Superioris anni.

¹ *Ofr. Anal. Ecol.*, vol. iv., p. 486.

Exemus. D. Marcellus Spinola et Maestre, qui nunc Ecclesiam regit Hispalensem, enixe efflagitavit, ut eodem beneficio ac privilegio, quo quinque Hispaniae Seminaria *Centralia* vulgo dicta fruuntur, nostrum etiam insigniri valeret; cuius precibus Apostolica Sedes benigne annuere dignata est, ut ex documentis, quae praelo excusa sequuntur, cuique patebit.

Grates igitur imo corde D. O. M. persolvantur, nec non amantissimo Patri Leoni XIII, quem diu sospitem incolumemque Divina Providentia servet ad societatis bonum et Fidei Catholicae incrementum. Adprecandum ergo SS. Cor Iesu ut pontificia concessio, qua hodie nostrum ornatur Seminarum, scientiae amore, cuius avidissimus semper extitit clerus hispalensis, magis magisque candidatorum pectora exardescere facit, ut sacerdotum numerus quotidie augeatur, qui ad gloriosa fidei praelia apprime instructi veritatis catholicae accelerent triumphum.

PRECES ARCHIEPISCOPI HISPALENSIS AD SS. PATREM NOSTRUM
LEONEM XIII PRO ERECTIONE IN SUO SEMINARIO FACULTATUM
THEOLOGIAE, IURIS CANONICI ET PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLATICAЕ

BME PATER,

Infrascriptus Archiepiscopus Hispalensis summa fretus indulgentia, qua Sanctitas Vestra filiorum supplicationes exaudire solet, ad Eiusdem thronum reverenter accedit, ardens sui cordis desiderium expositurus, quod Sanctitas Vestra pronissima ad augendum splendore quidquid augeri meretur, procul dubio benevolo animo excipiet.

Ex quo infrascriptus non suis meritis, sed Aplica. Sanctitatis Vestrae munificentia ad praeclaram hanc Sedem evectus est, maximum persensit impulsum postulandi, ac pro viribus satagendi, ut eius Seminarium Dioecesanum *Centrale* fieret ad instar Toletani, Valentini, Salmanticensis, Compostellani, et Granatensis, in quibus Laureae, seu gradus maiores, in S. Theologia et Iure Canonico conferuntur. Neque impulsus hic amor tantum tribuendus erat Archiepiscopo exponentis erga Ecclesiam, in qua ad Sacerdotium natus, animarum curam longo tempore gessit, Canonicatum habuit et Episcopi auxiliaris partes apud Emum. san : me : Cardinalem Lluch egit : altiore siquidem causam ille agnoscebat, et originem.

Hispalensis Archiepiscopus extitit egregius admodum vir ille, Hispaniae decus ac totius Ecclesiae ornamentum, in quo sub saeculi VI et VII christiana scientia, si ita licet loqui, incarnata

fuit ; divus nempe Isidorus, qui in Conciliis Toletanis, in IV praesertim, pro fovenda Cleri educatione et instructione adeo felicis successu adlaboravit, ut exinde, eo duce et moderatore, sapientissimi proederint Decreta, quae normam certe, ac regulam Seminariis insequentium aetatem praebuerunt.

Praeiverat autem gloriosus frater Leander, qui eodem plane zelo motus fundamenta iecerat scholae christianae Hispalensis, cuius fama ultra montes pervagata est ; quam Isidorus postea philosophiae aristotelicae, et orientalium linguarum studiis magnopere ampliavit ; et ex qua sanctissimi exierunt Episcopi Ildephonsus Toletanus, et Braulius Caesaraugustanus, nec non ex quorundam sententia celeberrimus Taus.

Hispalensis praeterea Ecclesia inter Hispania nobiliores recensetur non modo ob remotissimam ipsius antiquitatem, verum etiam ratione Sanctorum et Doctorum, quos Hispaniae et universali Ecclesiae quovis tempore edidit ; ratione ardentissimi studii, quo adversus omnes errores et haereses catholicam fidem constanter propugnavit ; ratione denique spiritus verae pietatis et religionis, quo eius filii nonnunquam praestitere.

Quae quidem omnia Bme Pater, notissima sunt, atque ex ecclesiastica Hispaniae historia ita comprobata, ut olim huic Ecclesiae argumento fuerint, ad sibi prae aliis Ecclesiis Primatum Hispaniarum magna contentione vindicandum.

Demum Ecclesia haec Metropolitana titulo etiam honoratur *Patriarchalis*, uti Mater cunctarum Ecclesiarum, quae in novo Mundo, per Columbum reperto, institutae fuere, quaeque ab ipsa normam quoad cultum praecipue et regimen internum susceperunt.

Tot igitur illustria monumenta satis superque exposcere videbantur, ut Seminarium Hispalense, Seminarium scilicet antiquae S. Isidori Sedis, illius dioecesis, quae aliquando scientiae ecclesiasticae emporium constituit, illius tandem territorii, ubi intra Hispaniae fines prima floruit christiana schola, inferius nequam haberetur Seminariis Salmanticensi et Valentino, Gravatensi et Compostellano ; ideoque Archiepiscopum subscribentem vehementer urgebant, et quasi ius quoddam eidem tribuebant vocem suam et deprecationem ad Sanctitatis Vestrae solium efferendi, ut hoc eminarium memorato privilegio donaretur.

Sed, in lucem edita Instructione, quam Sanctitatis Vestrae ussu Sacra Studiorum Congregatio sub die 30 Iunii nuper elapsi ad Episcopos misit illarum Ecclesiarum, in quibus nunc *Centralia*

Seminaria existunt, notabilior fit inferioritas, in quae haec Metropolitana relinquantur; atque Antistes, qui licet indignus eam regit, non potest diu differe ad Sanctitatem Vestram recursum ut coram Eadem singula humillime exponat, quae et huius Sedis gloria, et suorum fidelium utilitas ipsi suggerunt.

Iam vero Sanctitatem Vestram latere nequit quid sit, et quanti aestimanda civitas Hispalensis. Ipsa quidem et divitiis (hodie atis immunitis) et incolarum numero, et artium monumentis, quorum plures fidei christianae signum ostendunt, magno nomine gaudet; sed absque dubio litterarum cultura, atque eruditione multo longe praecellit. Hic resident auctoritates superiores, quae non in cunctis provinciarum capitibus sedem habent, uti sunt Audientia Territorialis, sive Appellationum Tribunal, Praefectura Militaris, etc.; hic Universitas litteraria valde frequentata; hic forum civile inter clariora Hispaniae iure merito annumeratum; hic Academiae scientiarum, litterarum, et pulchrum artium; hic uno verbo societates admodum exulta, quae Clerum postulat scientiae et auctoritatis aureola circumdatum, ut valeat eam per veritatis semitam tuto ducere, eius errores quotiescumque opus fuerit, viriliter corrigere, eisque nefarios abusus strenue compescere.

Hoc autem inter impossibilia amandandum est nisi Seminarium Dioecesanum *Centralis* praerogativam obtineat. Cuius rei obvia est ratio ac luculenta. His in regionibus, Bme Pater, absque ulla pene exceptione et diversis de causis, quas longum esset hic recensere, nonnisi filii pauperum, vel fere pauperum studiis ecclesiasticis operam dare solent; qui proinde in conficiendis academicis curriculum, multum magis in petenda civitate Granatensi maiores gradus suscipiendos, haud levem experiuntur difficultatem; unde complures iuvenes, etsi idoneitate et merito praediti, materialibus tamen facultatibus, destituti, hos gradus obtinere non possunt.

Si vero id nunc temporis contingit, facile est praevidere quid in futurum eveniet, quando nempe ad eosdem gradus accipiendos alumnis opus sit integrum biennium in aliquo ex Seminariis *Centralibus* transigere. Nullus ex Hispalensibus scholasticis sumptum huiusmodi sufferet; nullus idcirco lauream Licentiatum vel Doctoris consequetur; et post aliquos annos Clerus Hispalensis comparisonem sustinere non poterit cum Clero aliarum Ecclesiarum; destituetur morali auctoritate adeo necessaria ad rectam directionem huiusce societatis, quae non obstante sua cultura, et

forte ob hanc ipsam culturam, pluris facit quod exterius hominem decorat, quam eiusdem scientiam et virtutem ; ac denique vel huius ipsius Cathedralis Praebendae clericis aliarum Ecclesiarum, haud sine gravi Sacerdotum Hispalensium laesione, conferendae erunt.

Fortasse non deerit qui has difficultates, haecque incommoda ultra realitatem ponderata existimet. Ast, Beatissime Pater, Praelatus exponens ita non credit, immo tacto pectore iudicat, se in superius relatis plenam dixisse veritatem.

Intelligit praeterea, seu melius, certo scit, idem quod ipse efflagitat, a Senatu Hispalensi, caeterisque spectatissimis civitatis Collegiis, nec non a fidei plebe vehementer cupi ; scit etiam Gubernium Hispanum huius privilegii concessionem minime repugnaturum, nec illud aegre accepturum, eo vel magis quod Aerarium publicum nullo novo gravamine inde onerandum sit. Dei enim Omnipotentis ope, adnitente Archiepiscopo, et bonis patritiis cooperantibus, nihil dubii quin Seminarium Hispalense intra terminum praefixum in laudati Instructione diei 30 Iunii, iis ornandum sit conditionibus, quas Sanctitas Vestra, iustissimo incensa ardore sacra studia magisque magisque fovendi, pro his ecclesiasticis Gymnasiis requirit.

Ignoscite, Bme Pater, infrascripto Archiepiscopo, si longis suis precibus Sanctitatis Vestrae menti, arduis Ecclesiae universalis negotiis intentae, molestiam aliquam intulit, et ei sit excusationi quod ita agit ex muneris sui ineludibili officio, et sub spe a Sanctitate Vestra id adipiscendi, quod validis innixus argumentis ab Ipsamet toto corde implorat.

Hispani di 8^a Septembr. 1896, Nativitati B. V. M. sacra.

BME PATER,

Sanctitatis Vestrae pedes demississime deosculatur

Humillimus ac Devotiss. in Xpto Filius

✱ MARCELLUS, *Archiep. Hispalensis.*

LITTERAE EMI CARD. PRAEFECTI S. STUDIORUM CONGREGATIONIS
AD ARCHIEPISCOPUM HISPALENSEM UT STATUTA CONFICIAT

Illme ac Rme Dne,

Quas Amplitudo Tua SSmo Dno misit litteras, die 8 Septembris nuper elapsi datas, quibus enixe petit ut sicut quinque Seminariis centralibus in Hispania iam existentibus, etiam Hispalensi benigne a S. Sede privilegium apostolicum tribue-

retur gradus maiores conferendi in S. Theologia et Iure canonico, rite recepi.

Verum quoniam res proponi et definiri debet apud h. S. St. Congregationem, cuius Secretaria usque ad diem 12^{um} proxime advenientis Novembris clausa manet, nulla in praesens potest petitionis evasio fieri.

Interim tamen Amplitudo Tua poterit ab Emo Pro-Nuntio Apostolico exemplaria petere sive instructionis quinque Archiepiscopis datae sive Statutorum, quae nuperrime pro Toletano Seminario ab h. S. C. adprobata sunt.

Iuxta in his praescriptas normas et ordinationes poterunt accurate et diligenter statua confici Seminario Hispalensi propria, et opportuno tempore ad h. S. Congregationem transmitti, ut, omnibus mature perpensis, facilius et absque mora res expediri queat.

Libenter hanc accipio occasionem, ut peculiaris observantiae meae sensus ex corde Amplitudini Tuae promam, cui omnia fausta et felicia a Dno adprecor.

Datum Romae die 6 Octobris 1896.

Addictissimus Servus

C. CARD. MAZZELLA.

Illmo ac Rmo Dno

Archiep. Hispalen.

DECRETUM ERECTIONIS FACULTATUM THEOLOGIAE, IURIS CANONICI
AC PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE

DECRETUM

Perillustris ac per Orbem celeberrimae Hispalensis Archidioeceseos Antistes, Dnus Marcellus Spinola y Maestre, statim quum noverit S. Theologiae, Iuris Canonici et Philosophiae et Facultates canonice et more universitario penes quinque Hispaniae vulgo dicta Seminaria centralia, Pontificia auctoritate erecta fuisse cum Apostolico privilegio gradus academicos maiores conferendi, enixe efflagitavit, ut in suo Metropolitano Seminario eadem fieret trium Facultatum canonica erectio, idemque benigne tribueretur privilegium, ne suis et suffraganeorum Dioecesium innumeris clericis ad dioecesana officia et beneficia candidatis, gravis imponeretur obligatio sese penes quinque praedicta Seminaria conferendi, et inibi integro saltem biennio, ex S. Sedis

praescripto, studiis vacarent ad gradus maiores academicos assequendos.

Huius S. Studiorum Congregationis EE. Patres in plenariis comitiis diei 1^o Iulii labentis anni, omnibus mature perpensis, Hispalensis Antistitis precibus benigne indulgeri posse decreverunt: quam EE. Patrum sententiam SS^{us} Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. confirmare benigne dignatus est.

Iam vero quum per exhibita Nobis documenta certo constet omnia recte constituta fuisse iuxta huius S. Congnis praescripta pro optata Facultatum canonica erectione rite peragenda, Nos, utendo facultatibus ab Eadem Sanctitate Sua benigne tributis, Facultates S. Theologiae, Iuris Canonici ac Philosophiae scholasticae auctoritate apostolica in Seminario Hispalensi canonice erigimus, easque rite constitutas et erectas declaramus cum Apostolico privilegio gradus omnes conferendi clericis, qui Facultatum scholas rite celebraverint, dummodo omnia et singula, quae praescribuntur in Statutis ab hac S. Congregatione adprobatis amussim et fideliter servantur. Contrariis quibuscumque non observantibus.

Datum Romae die IV Augusti MDCCCXVII.

FR. CARD. SATOLLI, *Praef.*
IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secretis.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE COMPARATIVE NUMBER OF THE SAVED [AND LOST].
A Study. By the Rev. Nicholas Walsh, S.J. Dublin:
Gill & Son. (3s. 6d.)

WHAT strikes one most about this book, apart from any question as to the truth of the author's opinions and the force of his arguments, is the fine, generous spirit he displays; his simple, yet noble, confidence in the Creator, Father, and Redeemer of all; and his love for what may be called the merciful and generous side of the divine character. The same spirit is revealed in Father Walsh's estimate of the proportion of good to bad among men. He loves to think of the pious people who make so little stir in the world, in comparison with the wicked; of the virtues which are practised even by the worst; and of the inadvertence, ignorance, and ancestral habits, of which the great Judge will take account before finally rejecting any soul towards which His Heart yearns, and for which His Blood was shed. It is pleasant to listen to one who tells us that 'the majority—the great majority—of mankind will be saved;' that 'the vast majority' of adult Catholics are in the same happy position; that 'the difficulty is, or ought to be, not to be saved, but to be lost; and that none are lost for ever except those who wilfully fight God to the end' (pp. 22, 85, 8).

In proof of this opinion Father Walsh argues from the character of God, as the Creator, Father, and Redeemer of all men, as well as from the mind and action of the Church. In so far as the second line of argument differs from the first, it consists in a reference to the ease with which Catholics may avail of the means which the Church possesses, with a view to the salvation of her children (p. 14); and a statement of what is being done in heaven, in purgatory, and by holy souls on earth, to prevail on God to pour forth His graces. It is on the first of these arguments that Father Walsh mainly relies.

To the present writer—who, before he read Father Walsh's book, had formed no opinion on the question at issue—it seems that there is a lack of conclusiveness about arguments from what may be expected from the Creator, Father, and Saviour of men.

Few Catholics, if any, doubt now that God wills the salvation of all; that Christ shed His blood for all; and that He has, with infinite love, provided means more than sufficient for effecting His saving purpose. Sufficient grace is at the disposal of everybody—proximately or remotely, as the case may be.

Does it follow, however, that, when God has done His part, the majority of men will do theirs? Or is God in any way bound to see that they do so, under penalty of forfeiting His claim to the title of Father and Saviour? Is He not the Saviour and the Father of children who die without baptism, and who, without fault on their part, shall never share in the paternal inheritance? Surely, His love and beneficence are not lessened by the fact that others, who will share as little, are cut off entirely through their own fault. It seems to me that God would be no less the Father and Saviour of men if, when He had provided ample means for the salvation of all, the majority should neglect to profit by His aid.

But, Father Walsh insists, God would prove Himself a failure, if He did not succeed in saving the majority of those on whose salvation His Heart was set. On the day of judgment the triumph would be on the devil's side, if he should carry with him to his kingdom the majority of the subjects of the rival King; and the heavenly courts would show but poorly, if the great majority of the dwellers there, were children who had never got an opportunity of committing mortal sin (pp. 36-7, 51, 85, 102-4, 15).

Now, in a certain sense, God may be said to fail, whenever it happens that His love, His graces, and His precious Blood have been given in vain. And as He did not die merely for the race in general, but for each individual soul, it must be admitted that, in the sense referred to, He fails whenever any individual is condemned to hell. Nay, since it is the will of God and the purpose of His passion, not merely to save men from torments, but to procure them admission to heavenly bliss, He may be said to fail in effecting this purpose whenever an infant dies unbaptized. What the proportion of these failures is to successes, not even Father Walsh is prepared to say.

It may be questioned whether 'failure' is the proper term to apply to the condition of One whose glory shines forth where, at first, He does not seem to succeed. Is not the glory of God manifested even in hell? For what other end are the wicked punished, except that truth and right should at last prevail? And if

this be so, surely it is but playing on our imagination to represent the devils as triumphing in the number of those who accompany them to the pit, when the truth is, that every individual soul thus brought to ruin serves but to increase the confusion and the torment of those who contributed to the wreck. And how could God be jealous of such a triumph, since, in so far as it is anything, it serves but to show forth His own power, His justice, and His truth?

It is not by *a priori* reasons that the question is to be resolved, if it can be resolved at all; but by ascertaining the facts, as far as may be, from the statements made by God Himself, and from the experience of those who have opportunities of knowing the condition of the world. And as in a matter of this kind, where so much depends on what passes in secret between each individual conscience and its Master, the judgment of the keenest human observers is largely dependent on guesswork and speculation, it seems to the present writer a matter of regret that Father Walsh has devoted so little space to the direct testimony of the only one who may be said to know anything about the subject—to an examination, that is, of the passages in Holy Writ in which God has been pleased to make known the state of things behind the veil.

It is pleasant to turn from considerations with which one cannot fully sympathise, however much one may admire the generous, large-hearted devotion and liberality of the author, to other not less important aspects of the subject, in the treatment of which one almost more than heartily concurs.

Father Walsh is careful to state (p. 1) that by 'the lost' he understands those who shall at the last day be condemned, with the devils, to everlasting fire. Now, though he does not make an equally explicit statement as to whom he includes among the saved, yet he seems all through to regard as such those only who shall attain to the supernatural vision of God. But there is a third class, comprising those who die without baptism, as well as others who, though adults in physical and social development, have never fully realized the nature of mortal sin as a complete separation from the Infinite Good. Who shall measure the number of these, not only among heretics and infidels, but within the household of the Church itself?

When one considers the three stages, as it were, through which mortal sin may pass,—material sin, philosophical, and

complete and formal separation from the last end ;—and when one realizes that before this final stage is reached, the sinner must not only well know, but fully advert to, what he is about to do ;—the more one reflects on these things, the more one feels inclined to suspect that formal mortal sin may not be so common as is supposed by some. Pagans, for instance, know God ; but do they know Him as infinite, and that this Infinite Good is to be their last end ? Do they advert to these things when they do what is materially a grievous crime ? And how often is it before the minds of Christians, when they sin, that in pursuing temporal pleasures they are there and then separating themselves from the Infinite Good ?

For hereties and infidels Father Walsh makes large allowances ; and is he not amply justified ? Not that the fact of revelation and the divine mission of the Church are not obvious in themselves ; but rather, alas ! that it so often happens that the mists of error obscure the brightest beacons ; and because, even where the darkness is not external, the powers of vision may in themselves be dim. Who will deny that there are difficulties in connection with revelation and Church authority ? And though these difficulties may not be pleaded in justification by whoever has been privileged to behold the light in its splendour, may they not serve to excuse others who have been brought up in pursuit of wandering fires ?

Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that, though ignorance excuses, it cannot save. No man who, during life, was merely ignorant, will ever enter into the joy of the Lord. For that, faith is necessary ; not merely knowledge and love of God and His ways, but knowledge and acceptance of the truth, as revealed by Him. No mortal sin, original or personal, is ever remitted except on these conditions ; and without remission of at least original sin, there is no admission to the kingdom of God.

Now, heretics have faith, if they do not knowingly reject Church authority ; so have Jews and Mahommedans, if they do not willingly separate themselves from Christ. It is possible for these to make supernatural acts of charity, and so attain salvation. But what of pagans ? Does God make known to them, by interior aspirations, not only that He exists and is the Infinite Good, but that it is He Himself who tells them this, so that they may make an act of divine faith in that Infinite Goodness ? Or may it be that pagans do not depend for their knowledge of God

exclusively on the light of reason, but take into account also, and perhaps principally, the traditions which have come down to them, and which De Lugo (*De Fide*, d. 12, n. 51) regards as sufficient foundation for an act of faith? Even so, is it not very much to be feared that true divine charity is rare among those who do not know of its necessity, and scarce dream of its possibility; and that if pagans especially escape damnation, they will have to thank the innocence which preserves them, or the ignorance which excuses them, from grave personal sin, rather than any supernatural faith and charity whereby their sins may have been remitted?

This reminds me of another matter to which Father Walsh refers—the ease with which remission of sin may be obtained. All that is required is, to ask grace of God—‘the easiest kind of speaking;’ and to make use of this grace, which must be given, ‘in making a true supernatural act of contrition—a minute’s work—and all sins are forgiven as to their guilt’ (pp. 48, 49).

Now, this is all quite true; yet it seems only fair to add, that when one is entangled in a habit of sin, or when repentance means the giving up of something which has got woven with the heart-strings, it may not be so easy to pray with the sincerity and perseverance which true conversion requires. How many a man feels the slavery of sin—of intemperance, for instance; weeps over his position and that of those who are dear to him as himself; prays, in a way, for strength to conquer his passion; and has little or no chance of success. You say he does not pray sincerely, or does not continue to do so. Yes, but in that appears the difficulty. Or, take the case of a man of business, in good position, who finds that he cannot keep up his trade without having recourse to unjust practices. Suppose even that he is on his dying bed, and is conscious that, owing to injustice in the past, he is bound to restore a large sum. Is it easy for him to pray for the grace which will strengthen him for the ordeal of leaving his family in want? Will not other loves tug strongly at his heart? It is fear of hell alone which, as a rule, supplies such people with the necessary strength. Instead of praying for help to do one’s duty in such circumstances, is it not much more easy to soothe one’s conscience with some doubtful specific, as, for instance, ‘I am doing, or have done, only what others do’? Pray God this is not the method ordinarily adopted, as to the success of which there is much reason to fear.

But, at least, we may hope that at the approach of death many passions lose their force. He who is racked by pain brought on by intemperance, must, while this condition lasts, feel nothing but disgust for what he knows to be the cause of his agony. Nature herself comes to his rescue, as it usually abhors whatever has produced a condition so dreadful; and it is easy to resolve to avoid in future what one feels one shall never more have a chance of enjoying. No doubt, in such circumstances, it is easy to turn from drink; easier still, perhaps, to turn from other pleasures. But does such aversion mean conversion to God?

Let me put this in another way. Every theologian requires an act of true theological hope as a necessary means for the remission of sin. Now, theological hope is a prevalent desire to possess the Infinite Good. And is there not reason to fear that when one has spent a life in the pursuit of other pleasures, without a thought of the Infinite Good, except to despise it;—is it not to be feared that when such a one, at death, repents of the conduct which brought him to his present position, his repentance will not be influenced by considerations for that which he ignored or despised so long? Is this pessimism? It is what seems to me the true explanation of the worthlessness of death-bed repentance—a commodity of which even Father Walsh has not a good word to say.

I must conclude a notice which has run already beyond all reasonable bounds. My apology is, the interest of the book to which I am calling attention, and the many serious thoughts which it suggests. This is one of the characters of the work—it is suggestive; and I sincerely hope it may be widely read.

W. McD.

1. INTRODUCTION A LA VIE SACERDOTALE. 3 frs. 50 c.
2. RETRAITE SACERDOTALE RELIGIEUSE ET APOSTOLIQUE. 5 frs.
3. PRATIQUE DES VERTUS. Methode pour travailler a la Perfection au Moyen d'un Exercice de Vertu chaque jour. 3 Vols. 15 frs. Delhomme et Briquet, Sixieme mille. Paris: 1898

It was a bold attempt of Father Bouchage to undertake to do for the priests and ecclesiastical students, what St. Francis de Sales had done for the faithful in general. We venture to say, after a careful study of this work, that he has succeeded admir-

ably. Keeping strictly to the lines of an *Introduction* he leads the clergy into all the paths of the spiritual and sacerdotal life. He may say with confidence in putting this work into our hands: 'Derige semitam pedibus tuis et omnes viæ tuæ stabiliuntur.' (Text from Prov. iv. on title page.) With the approbation in usual form, we have the Report of those appointed to examine the book, which, as it expresses our opinion, we give in full:—

' Nous avons examiné l'ouvrage du Rev. P. H. Bouchage, *Introduction à la vie Sacerdotale*. Ce livre est un manuel complet et logique de théologie ascétique à l'usage du clergé, surtout du clergé des paroisses. L'auteur a su, en suivant la division commune des trois voies de la vie spirituelle, présenter sous la forme d'exercices pratiques et progressive tous les enseignements des ascètes, et faire ainsi un livre plus utile que ne le serait une *Retraite* ou un *Cours de Conférences*; nous croyons même que cette *Introduction* est unique dans son genre et a tout ce qu'il faut pour réussir et faire beaucoup de bien à ceux à qui elle est spécialement adressée.'

The work thus highly recommended is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the foundation of the sacerdotal life and the exercises of the *via purgativa*. It is admirably divided and subdivided. True notion of the Priesthood, knowledge of God, Sin and *de Novissimis* occupy in logical order three books. The means of preserving and increasing grace are treated in the fourth and fifth books, and with these he closes the first part.

The second part is announced: 'Comprenant une excitation à la ferveur et aux exercices de la vie *illuminative*. Here we have again five books. They treat respectively of 'De la Ferveur Sacerdotale'; 'Préparation à l'Imitation de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ'; 'Vertus personnelles de N. S. Jesus Christ'; 'Des Fonctions du Saint Ministère'; 'Zèle et œuvres du bon Pasteur.' We regret that space will not allow us to go into the details of the fourth and fifth books. It is wonderful how the author has been able in so few pages to introduce us in an eminently practical manner to all that is necessary or useful to sanctify ourselves and make fruitful our ministry. He is severe on those who give much time to devout women and do little for the lost sheep. To one who would defend himself by citing the example of St. Francis de Sales, he promptly answers, 'Yes, St. Francis directed pious women; but

he also converted seventy-two thousand heretics, he tripled the number of his priests, he founded the university or holy house of Thonon, he replaced by excellent religious monks who give but little edification, he was more occupied with his apostolic work than with direction.' Conclusion: 'Qu'on l'imite en ceci, si on veut s'autoriser de son exemple en cela' (p. 389).

The third part which comprises 'La Description, les exercices et la Pratique de la vie unitive' is shorter than the others. There are two books, and the general headings give a fair notion of the contents of the thirty-five chapters which they contain, namely: 'De la vie unitive et de l'infinie amabilité de Dieu,' and 'De l'Oraison et des autres Pratiques unitives. Here we have put before us briefly, clearly, and forcibly what draws us to God, and unites us perfectly to Him. Perhaps one of the most striking chapters is the VII. of the second book: 'Dé l'acte unitif par excellence.' Having referred to other acts, he says: 'L'essentiel, pour arriver à vivre tout en Lui c'est de conformer nos desirs à ses desirs, notre volonté à sa volonté et cela par des actes délibérés, amoureux et tous les jours répétés' (p. 494). He shows that this is the teaching of the saints who were masters in the 'via unitiva. We must not, he says, however, conclude too easily that our will is perfectly united to the will of God: for 'un jour nous accepterons une peine, mais nous laisserons un travail, peine et travail étant voulus par Dieu, il aurait fallu accepter les deux' (p. 494). We should so dispose ourselves in our contemplation 'que nous devenons librement pour Dieu ce que sont pour notre âme, les yeux, la langue, les bras et tous les sens de notre corps' (p. 495), and this supposes great virtue. This is 'l'acte unitif par excellence;' because it strips us of all attachment to created things, and to our temporal interest, by cutting every day the cords or affections with which the world would bind our hearts (p. 497). This is a fair specimen of the practical manner in which this exalted subject is treated.

In the 'Avant-Propos' the author indicates in few words the end he has had in view when composing this work, and the method to be followed in order to profit by it. 'Le jour,' he writes at the end, 'où le clergé en masse cultivera l'ascétisme avant tout sera la jour des grandes renovations, parceque, ce jour-la l'ère des hommes vraiment apostoliques et nombreux fleurira dans l'Eglise. (x.)

2. *Retraite.* The *Introduction à la Vie Sacerdotale* is addressed

in a special manner to the secular clergy occupied in the care of souls, but useful to all priests ; the *Retraite* is written for religious occupied in apostolic works, but useful to all priests. The only change needed is that where the author refers to obligations arising from vows, a secular priest would read the spirit which should animate him although he has no vows. All the meditations are directly and primarily sacerdotal meditations. The exercises are short, but full of substance, and there is no escaping the particular and general conclusions. They are arranged for ten days' retreat, and for each day there is a meditation, an instruction, an examination on some duty, and a consideration. There is also an exercise for opening, and another for closing the retreat. The distribution of subjects is not ordinary, but there is a connection which the author explains in the *avertissement*. He thinks that many will find it more easy to make the exercises when presented in a new order. The end which he proposes is : ' Outre la rénovation spirituelle commune à tous les directeurs de retraites, nous avons eu pour but spécifique ce que nous voudrions appeler le rehaussement moral du prêtre religieux, et missionnaire . . . nous nous sommes efforcé de lui prêcher la pénitence, l'imitation religieuse de N. Seigneur et la grande loi d'amour de Dieu . . . d'une manière plus relevée, quoique simple, qu'on ne le fait parfois ' (viii.). From the outset he raises the standard of priestly holiness high, and he never lowers it ; all tends, as it should do, to 'la Deification du Prêtre,' even his instruction on the text of St. John : ' Qui facit peccatum ex diabolo est,' and which has for heading : ' Sur la santanization du Prêtre.' We may question the author's choice of the heading, but to his exposition and conclusions we may well apply his own words : ' Expliquez tout qu'il vous plaira, pour moi ils me pénétrèrent de terreur ' (p. 50). Were we asked to give the character of these exercises in a single word, we should say *force*, and yet they are not devoid of sentiment, for the appeals of the author are frequently most touching, and he imitates his holy founder in making us pray. His 'Pacte d'union avec Notre-Seigneur' (p. 247), and his address to the Blessed Virgin Mary for the grace of perseverance (p. 252) are particularly beautiful. In an appendix we have 'Semaine de Prières Indulgencées à l'usage du clergé.' There is also a plan for a retreat of eight days, and one for secular priests who wish to make a retreat of five days in their own presbytery. We may safely add that these medita-

tions may be profitably used in the course of the year, for they certainly merit to be read over and over again.

3. *Pratique des Vertus*. The reviewing of the preceding works was pleasant and easy; the mental reviewing of the *Pratique des Vertus* is not less agreeable; but to give the readers of the I. E. RECORD anything like an adequate notion in a mere notice touches on the impossible. It would be necessary to give the whole *Introduction* to enable them to form a just idea of the plan, importance, and method of this work. In three volumes, especially addressed to priests and religious, the author gives the practice of all the Christian and religious virtues, meted out day by day and month by month in such a manner that 'it would be difficult to conceive how anyone following his guidance can fail to become perfect. Two passages from the 'Avant-Propos' of the third volume will serve as a fair introduction to his method. We cite them in the tongue used by the author: 'Pour moi, qui n'ai pas suivi ce système sans m'être convaincu, par l'étude, la critique et la comparaison de beaucoup d'auteurs, de sa profonde sagesse je me plais (abstraction faite de mon travail) à le comparer à l'arbre de vie que S. Jean vit au ciel: "Au milieu de la place" dit cet apôtre, "était l'arbre de vie, portant douze fruits, et, chaque mois donnant son fruit; et les feuilles de l'arbre sont pour la guérison des nations." ' And as Father Bouchage in this work only carries into more minute detail the system of his Father, St. Alphonsus, he cites the words of a successor of the holy founder as an authentic exposition. Here are the words of Fr. Nic. Mauron, Sup. Gen., C.SS.R.—' Hunc in finem (*i.e.*, the perfect imitation of Jesus Christ). Regula nobis sapientissimi duodecim praecesteris virtutes praescribit colendas: quas singulis mensibus assidue meditentur . . . fieri non poterit quin magnas quotidie ascensiones ad montem sanctitatis disponamus.' Here we have in broad outline the plan of the three volumes. The author chooses a virtue for each month; these twelve virtues embrace the whole spiritual life. In most perfect order, he supplies for each day of each month short considerations on the virtue which is assigned to the month. Each consideration is complete in itself, and the considerations of the whole month supply a full course of doctrine, and indication of the practice of each virtue. So admirably has he made the division, that he, who is faithful to the method prescribed for using the matter, grows, we might almost write necessarily grows, in the

virtue. Having thus acquired a proficiency in one virtue, he takes up another the following month, beginning with new fervour at what is like a new work, while, in reality, it is a continuation of what has already been done. The considerations vary both in matter and quality: all are good, many most excellent. They speak to the understanding, they move the affections, and they press the will into action.

Following in the footsteps of St. Alphonsus, the author assigns faith to January, hope to February, love of God to March, love of our neighbour to April, religious poverty to May, chastity to June, obedience to July, meekness and humility to August, mortification to September, recollection to October, spirit of prayer to November, abnegation and love of the Cross to December. It is easy to show that these twelve virtues comprehend all the practices of the most perfect ascetical life. We may look on the first four as laying the foundations of holiness, the next four as removing the obstacles to perfection, and last four give us the true means by which we arrive at the practice of the others. (Introd. 1, vol. v.)

The theory of the author is put very clearly in a comparison which he uses:—

‘Celui [he writes] qui voudrait arriver à un degré d’habileté dans l’art de faire des portraits, et qui put produire les traits les plus délicats des figures les plus difficiles, n’aurait rien de mieux à faire, pour cela, que de s’exercer tous les jours à tracer tantôt un œil, tantôt une bouche, tantôt un oreille, tantôt une autre partie de la tête humaine. Cet exercice lui ferait la main, lui donnerait un coup-d’œil sûr, lui apprendrait peu à peu à reproduire toutes les figures avec fidélité, grâce et rapidité . . . Or cet exercice, jugé capital, n’est peintre : . . . De même pour la perfection. L’âme ayant à se rendre si forte et si habile qu’elle puisse reproduire toutes les actions des saints, et imiter le Sauveur lui-même, ne saurait trouver, pour acquérir cette force et cette habileté aucun moyen plus efficace que de s’exercer chaque jour à un acte spécial de vertu. D’autant plus que cet exercice par sa variété même, est aussi agréable que profitable, aussi facile que nécessaire.’ (l. c. iii.)

We are of opinion that it is the variety and facility, together with the fruit which this method has produced, that has made *Pratique des Vertus* one of the most popular ascetical books of our day. We learn, from a notice at the end of *Retraite*, that the

sale has already reached six thousand, and that it has been highly praised by the episcopate, by the clergy, by the superiors of seminaries and religious houses, and by the leading Catholic reviews. We are of opinion that these three works are well deserving of a place in every priest's library.

To anticipate a question which will rise naturally in the minds of the readers, we inform them that the three works are in octavo. The *Introduction a la Vie Sacerdotale* is one volume of 574 pages; *Retraite*, one volume of 315 pages; *Pratique des Vertus*, three volumes, 532, 521, and 573 pages. The paper, printing, and general arrangement are excellent.

We have only dwelt on the ascetical view of the *Pratique des Vertus*; but we might easily have shown that these volumes are a veritable mine of useful matter for a priest. Father Bouchage has admirably imitated his holy founder in his industry and in the spirit of true piety which breathes in the three excellent works which we have reviewed.

J. M.

INSTITUTIONES JURIS PUBLICI ECCLESIASTICI. Felix Cavagnis : Desclée, Lefebvre et Cie., Rome.

THE three volumes before us belong to the third edition of a work that, as books go now, cannot be called new. Ever anxious to further the education of clerics, and render it fit to cope with the growing intellectual unrest of men, in 1880 the present Holy Father established in the Roman Seminary a chair for the exposition of what is known as 'Jus Publicum Ecclesiasticum.' More than a century before this subject had been for the first time treated as distinct from another to which it is closely connected, and with which sometimes it is confused—Canon Law. The object, as well as the sources, of this latter are well known to all ecclesiastical readers. The former science deals with what is, at the present time, ever becoming a more important subject: the rights and duties of the Church, considered as a perfect society, divinely instituted; and the source whence all its principles are drawn is Revelation.

The man, chosen by the Pope, for the new Professorship, was the author of the work before us; and, to judge from the matter and manner of the Lecture here presented, it was a happy choice. Fulness, as far as the scope of his work allowed, clearness in the laying down of fundamental positions, accuracy in his treatment

of distinctions, conclusiveness in the answers to difficulties, a pleasant philosophical atmosphere throughout, these are a few of the qualities or characteristics we wished for and found in this attractive little work. It should not, however, be thought that one could read it in the same way as a popular exposition of the many questions treated. This is a student's book, though a pleasant one, requiring some of that attention in its perusal, which such books ordinarily demand. These, however, who may have been forced by stress of ministerial duties to neglect in their reading that patience of investigation which characterised their college days, could with little difficulty resume their old methods in a perusal of these volumes. The object, too, is most inviting, and should, we think, claim the attention of these who have the leisure necessary. The nature, rights, and duties of a perfect society as such, those of the Church in particular, its relations to secular States, and other religious bodies, the subject of the Church's power, its organization, the many special questions arising under these broad heads, education, &c., give ample matter for thought; and, when treated clearly and convincingly, as here, strengthen one in defending ecclesiastical claims, and protesting energetically against ever-growing encroachments and injustice.

P. S.

A TREATISE ON BRINGING CHILDREN TO JESUS CHRIST.

Translated from the Latin of John Charlier Gerson, by the Very Rev. W. Canon Whitty (Translator of *Let Us Go to the Holy Table*). Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

We have much pleasure in recommending this admirable little book. The translator is already well and favourably known by his excellent translation of that well-known and most useful little work, *Let Us Go to the Holy Table*. The present booklet will be found to be not less useful, and we hope it will have as wide a circulation as its merits deserve.

The subject treated is one of the very first importance—*Bringing Children to Jesus Christ*—and the name of the author, the famous, holy and learned Gerson, is sufficient to ensure that the treatment is worthy of the subject. He has long been acknowledged as a master in spiritual things, and in this matter he speaks with special authority, for during many years of his life, though weighted with the cares of a high and responsible office, he devoted much of his leisure time to the, to him, congenial work of forming Christ in the souls of the little ones.

As the editor's preface to the Latin edition puts it :—' This universally commended little book contains, in a comprehensive form, almost everything that need be known regarding the difficult but important task of forming Christ in the souls of children, either by teachers, pastors, or confessors.' The book will, indeed, be most useful to parents and teachers ; but, without doubt, it will be invaluable to priests and confessors of children. We have no hesitation in saying that the priest who, in his work for children, and, above all, in the very important work of hearing their confessions, is guided by the principles so clearly set forth in this little treatise, will do an incalculable amount of good amongst the little ones, and be the means of sanctifying and saving many souls.

We may add that the translator, besides rendering the text of the little work into very simple and easy-flowing English, has also given at the end some 50 pages of new and very useful matter in the form of Appendices : 1st, a synopsis of the teaching of the author ; 2ndly, a word to parents ; and, 3rdly, an article on the nature of catechistic work (formerly published in *I. E. RECORD*). If we mistake not, these Appendices will be found to be not the least useful portion of the work.

The book is brought out by the eminent firm of Gill & Son, Dublin.

LA MUSIQUE SACREE. Telle que la veut l'église, par l'Abbé Eugene Chaminade, Chanoine Honoraire, A. Maître de Chapelle à la Cathédrale Saint-Front de Périgueux. Paris : P. Lethielleux.

THERE are practically no books in the English language from which one could derive information regarding the general qualities good Church music ought to possess. Many of our readers will, therefore, be glad to have this French book brought under their notice. The author has set himself the task of writing a kind of commentary on the ' Regulations for Church Music ' issued by the Congregation of Rites on July 6th, 1894. Building thus on a very safe foundation, he has succeeded in bringing together a good deal of valuable information on a subject which, while very important, is at the same time difficult of theoretic definition. His method of treatment is lucid, easily intelligible even to those that have no technical knowledge of music. His lively and spicy diction make the book very pleasant reading.

The first chapter deals with the general conditions of good Church music under these headings: Latin language, no profane music, integrity of the texts, no undue repetitions, &c. The second chapter is devoted to the polyphonic or Palestrina style, and shows the excellence and peculiar suitability of this kind of music. The third chapter is, perhaps, the most interesting of the book. It deals with modern music, 'chromatic' music, as the Regulations of the S. R. C. call it. It is full of pointed and racy remarks on modern Church music in general, and on particular composers, such as Mozart, Haydn, Rossini, Gounod. But it also gives detailed instructions as to the conditions under which modern music may be used in churches. Special chapters are devoted to the Organ, the Orchestra, and 'Fanfares et Harmonies,' which means, we believe, bands of wind instruments. The last chapter contains 'Practical Conclusions,' and amongst the suggested means of improvement we are glad to find enumerated, in the first place, better teaching of music in the seminaries and in Christian schools, especially Convent schools. There are added to the book Appendices on the Rubrics of Liturgical Functions, and on the singing of women in the Church, together with a list of sacred music.

H. B.

THE LIFE OF ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN. Translated from the French Carthusian Life, and edited, with large additions, by Herbert Thurston, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. Quarterly Series.

To all who have a taste for the history of the Church skilfully and imperceptibly interwoven with the life-story of one of her most illustrious sons, this, the latest volume of the Quarterly Series, offers an intellectual morsel of the choicest quality. Clergy, especially, of all ranks, will find abundance of spiritual food, solid edification, and welcome encouragement in the story of one whom a learned English Protestant (Dimock) describes as 'an upright, honest, fearless man, an earnest, holy, Christian bishop'—one whom Ruskin (*Preterita*, iii. 1.) enthusiastically declares to be '*the most beautiful sacerdotal figure known to me in history . . . his power in his own personal courage and justice only, and his sanctity as clear, frank, and playful as the wave of his own Chartreuse well.*' Few, we think, will rise from a perusal of this freshly-written and interesting biography without

a feeling that the great word-painter has here, at least, evinced in the domain of human character the same delicate and accurate appreciation of perfection which in the realms of landscape and architecture has immortalized his name.

A career so chequered as that of St. Hugh of Lincoln, ought to possess an interest for an exceptionally large and varied circle of readers. Born in one of the sunny, fertile, vine-clad valleys of Savoy, his childhood was spent amid the romantic surroundings of a feudal castle in the age of the First Crusader. A rude nursery, truly, for a saint; yet his eighth birthday had scarce dawned when, in company with his widowed father, he bade a definite farewell to the world, and entered a priory of the Canons Regular. Such a life, however, was but a stepping-stone to the summit of his ambitions. From the towers of his ancestral castle of Avalon, might be seen afar the rocky mountain walls that surround the lonely monastery of the Grand Chartreuse, and the secret desire of his heart had ever been to join that little band of solitaires, 'already famous imitators of the Fathers of the Desert.' He became, at the age of twenty-two, a Carthusian of the Carthusians, and a Carthusian he remained, in spirit as in fact, to the end, despite the many and various offices of dignity and trust which circumstances thrust upon him. When Henry II. of England, doing penance for the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury, founded a Carthusian monastery at Witham, in Somersetshire, he took our saint from his peaceful solitude at Chartreuse to be its Prior, and before long made him his sole confidential friend and adviser. It was an easy stage from thence to the bishopric of Lincoln, an onerous and difficult position in those turbulent times, with such a series of stiff-necked and arrogant monarchs as Henry, Richard Cœur De Lion, and John on the throne of England; but its duties were discharged by St. Hugh, with energy and fearless determination to the day of his death.

Such a life evidently opens up a period of English history larger in extent, and of unusual interest; and to this aspect of it his biographer has certainly done ample justice. To many, perhaps, the book will seem, at first, rather overweighted with the historical—a charge which, it must be admitted, presses rather sorely on many of its elder brethren of the Quarterly Series. But the educated reader will, we would venture to promise, find that, thanks to Father Thurston's well-stored mind and brilliant

pen, the occasional historical notes and disquisitions are among the most interesting and attractive features of the book.

The miraculous element too, which, with all its peculiar difficulties to a biographer, is largely present in the life of the saint, has, like the historical, been wisely and ably handled. It is not always so with modern biographers. Time, in draining the strong wine of mediæval faith, has left us, sometimes, too much of its credulity in the dregs. But the learned Jesuit editor subjects all such episodes to the merciless scrutiny of a Bollandist, and his painstaking annotations are calculated to convince the most cautious, that here, at least, they are trusting to no mere common hunter after 'more vulgar marvels which might or might not be vitiated by fraud or imposture.' And what has survived the test of Father Thurston's critical apparatus is enough, we should think, to satisfy the keenest appetite for the marvellous. Witness, for example, his chapter on the great wild swan that sailed from out the Lincolnshire fens on the day of St. Hugh's consecration, and for fifteen years remained the bishop's devoted guardian and attendant, leaving him again, with manifest tokens of sorrow, a short time previous to his death.

The book, to our mind, eminently realizes the ideal of spiritual reading. 'Example is better than precept : ' *verba movent, exempla trahunt* : and the living, moving picture herein painted of simple, manly piety combined with hard, untiring apostolic labour, is surely more potent to encourage and stimulate the passing Christian than any mere soulless 'thesaurus,' however well meant, of spiritual maxims.

J.W.B.

JEROME SAVONAROLA : A Sketch. By Rev. J. L. O'Neil,
O.P. Boston : Marlier, Callanan, & Co.

THIS little volume, which we have read with much interest, is divided into two parts. In one the author describes or effy and clearly the chief events in the life of the celebrated Florentine Friar ; in the other he strives to represent, in what he regards as its true light, the character of his hero. The spirit of this latter portion of the work may be gathered from a few quotations that must excite the wonder even of some who were in the past, thought sincere defenders of Savonarola. 'In 1516 Leo X. journeyed to Florence, and, having gone to St. Mark's, granted an indulgence of ten years and ten Lents to all who

would devoutly visit the Prior's cell' (p. 185). 'Clement VIII. declared that if Ferrara fell into his hands he would canonize her most illustrious son Savonarola' (p. 186). 'Benedict XIV. declared that he was worthy of canonization' (*ib.*). Finally 'Madden states he had it on high authority that one of the earliest designs of Pius IX. was the canonization of Savonarola.' (note).

It is not, however, in a spirit of indiscriminating, and somewhat prejudiced, hero-worship that the rev. author approvingly cites those facts. Savonarola's disobedience to the Pope is in no way palliated or excused by Fr. O'Neil, though the example of St. Cyprian is quoted to show the efficacy of repentance even in those who openly resisted their superiors. The Friar's development into a merely political partisan meets with the same scant mercy at the hands of his biographer. Still, in spite of such admissions, Fr. O'Neil's sketch succeeds in portraying Savonarola as a man of sanctity, who began his work of moral reformation, in an almost paganized city, out of a priestly hatred of sin, who wrought there a wondrous, if not lasting, moral revolution, and died a patient victim of unscrupulous civil hatred. No trace of doctrinal relationship to Luther can be seen either in the narrative of the Prior's life, or in the many selections from his writings in the Appendix; and the book will cause even the most prejudiced to regret that this ardent Catholic priest should be seen in effigy, beside the immoral originators of the so-called Reformation, in the Luther statue at Worms.

P. S.

THE MISSION, NOVENA, AND RETREAT COMPANION. By Rev. Richard M. Ryan. Dublin: J. Duffy & Co.

EVEN the cursory head on which a jaded reviewer often bases his estimate of a book is sometimes quite enough to impress him with the excellence of a particular work. We had not read through many pages of *The Mission, Novena, and Retreat Companion*, before being convinced that we held in our hands a precious thing, a life-giving book, if only the dead would read it, or even read one of the eight conferences which make up the body of the work. Here, indeed, is no so-called pious book, with long eloquent prayers, and strange stories, and elaborate schemes of devotion; nothing new, indeed, is here at all; but the 'basic' elements of spirituality, the great fundamental truths are set

forth in all their traditional costume without any suggestions of 'happiness in hell,' or of 'God being too good to damn anybody,' or any other such nonsense. It is just the book for this age of multiform worldliness : for being so gracefully written as to satisfy all but the most fastidious dilettanti, and so logical as to attract the educated intellect, there runs through the whole work a tone of warning and threat, now heightened by vivid glimpses of the wrath to come, now relieved by reflections on the means of salvation ; the whole being calculated to make this world with all its pomp appear a very petty bauble in comparison with the spiritual realities which it is the fashion to ignore. The subjects treated are : Salvation, The End of Man, Sin, Death, Judgment, Hell, God's Mercy, and the Resurrection of Christ. Each conference is followed by a suitable prayer, always one of the old classic prayers, such as the Litany of our Lady, the Universal prayer, or the Act of Reparation to the Sacred Heart. Reading has now become the privilege of the million, and a thousand agencies are busy in supplying a demand which is daily on the increase. It is, therefore, recognised that the circulation of sound Catholic literature has almost become an official duty of the pastor. Here is a book which he may with safety recommend to his people. It is of small compass, cheap, instructive, devotional, and eminently calculated to arouse the sinner from indifference and tepidity.

T. P. G.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE DE SACRAMENTIS ECCLESIAE.

Auctore Joanne Bapt. Lasse, S.J. Volumen Alterum.
opus Posthumum. Cura Augustini Lehmkuhl, S.J.
De Poenitentia cum Appendice de Indulgentiis. De
Extrema Unctione. De Ordine. De Matrimonio.
Friburgi : Sumptibus Herder.

In the I. E. RECORD of June, 1897, there appeared an appreciative notice of Father Lasse's first volume of the Sacraments. The critic mentioned that it was the author's intention to give us the benefit of his genius, and of his twenty years' experience in teaching theology, by publishing monographs not merely on the Sacraments, but also on a great many other dogmatic questions. God willed otherwise, however. Before Father Lasse had fully prepared for the press the second volume on the Sacraments he was called away to a better life, let us hope.

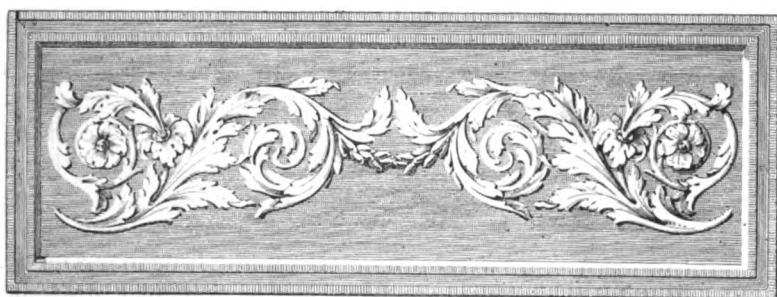
Fortunately, it required but the services of a competent editor to render fit for publication the volume now before us. This work fell to the lot of Father Lehmkuhl. He did not consider it necessary to modify in any way the result of Father Lasse's labours; and, with the exception of an explanatory note here and there—which he always acknowledges—and the insertion of the different rites connected with the sacrament of Orders—an insertion evidently intended by the author—both matter and form remain what they were before the editor's work began.

We have reason to be thankful for this modesty on Father Lehmkuhl's part. For, taking it on the whole, the book is one that needs no touching or refining; at least, a touch other than the author's might only spoil what is a fairly perfect specimen of its kind. It is a very full treatment of the different subjects, full in substance, and not wearying by unnecessary details. The author is no faddist. He is content to follow beaten paths; but he always does so with his eyes open. We may not agree with his views on a great many of the questions he discusses, and we all know what a fruitful parent of diverging opinions sacramental theology has ever been, but we must always admit that he is a brilliant advocate, and that he is never alone. Then, it is a very readable book, evidently the work of a man who had something sensible to say, and who said it. For this reason we are inclined to believe that this second volume, at any rate, though very exhaustive, is not above the heads of ordinary students of theology, even of those who are making their first acquaintance with the subject.

Of course, it would not be human handiwork if it did not carry imperfections on its head. The consecutive numbering of the paragraphs is a want that we should like very much to see supplied. The numerical divisions and subdivisions for purposes of argument are often rather faulty, sometimes intricate and confusing, sometimes—once certainly—clearly overlapping. There are too many *Scholia* scattered up and down through the volume. Many of these might well have been inserted in the body of the thesis, while others are of so important a character that they demand co-ordinate treatment.

As may be seen, however, such defects are merely passing shadows, and leave a very praiseworthy, and a very valuable work, very praiseworthy and valuable still.

D. D.



MUSIC AND THE WORK OF THE PRIESTHOOD

'All musical people seem to me happy. It is the most engrossing pursuit ; almost the only innocent and unpunished passion.'—**SYDNEY SMITH.**

SOME little time before Socrates was proffered the deadly cup he unbosomed himself to Cebes, and explained that all through his life he had been haunted by a dream in which someone kept repeating to him, 'O Socrates, compose and practice music.' Unfortunately, the Philosopher neglected the invitation, compliance with which might have saved him from an untimely end, and left to the world for some further space of time the master-mind it could but so sadly afford to lose. In his disregard, however, of the divine art, the midwife's son was in no wise dissimilar to the many learned men who either preceded or were contemporaneous with him. In fact, owing to the long-continued ignorance as to its real principles, music, as an art, remained practically undeveloped at a date when the sister arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, had attained their fullest and richest perfection. For long centuries music was little better than the Cinderella of the Art Family.

Taking a cursory glance back through the ages we can trace the history of music as an art up to its fountain-head in the East, whence came all learning and refinement, ever gravitating westwards. The female musicians and singers of Tyre were in great demand in Egypt; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Phœnicians, in their

frequent descents on the coasts of Spain and Britain, taught the Druids the use of the harp and other simple instruments. Certain it is that the proficiency of the Druids on those instruments occasioned Cæsar, when he came amongst them, B.C. 55, no small amount of surprise. According to Josephus there were no less than forty thousand psalteries and harps in Solomon's Temple made from the purest bronze. Among the Greeks there was anything but a universal love for music. Pindar, indeed, pays a high compliment to his countrymen when he describes Orpheus, when commissioned by Apollo, drawing even the trees after him, so enthralling were the sounds emitted from his lyre. But albeit Diodorus perfected the flute by adding to the number of holes, and Timotheus improved the lyre by the addition of an extra string, for which hardihood on his part he was fined of the Lacedæmonians and banished their city; and even though Plato writes of music as a moral law which imparts a soul to the universe; still the fact remains, that the Greeks, as a nation, failed to realise the extent to which music may be employed as an aid to the attainment of culture. The Romans have a still more lamentable record in this particular.

During the first centuries of the Christian era music was practically at a stand-still. St. Paul urged his neophytes to sing and make melody in their *hearts*; advice which was very literally acted upon during those long, dark days of relentless persecution, when there was but little scope, and less desire, for the exercise of the vocal gifts of the faithful. St. Augustine, endowed with that prevision which invariably accompanies genius, seemed to realise clearly the multitude of uses to which music might be put, and its importance as a factor in drawing the minds and the hearts of men towards God. Thus in Letter CI., addressed to Memor (A.D. 409), he alludes to the metre of the Psalms, and to David himself, 'that holy man who loved sacred music,' and who, 'more than any other has kindled in me a passion for its study.' Again, writing to St. Jerome,¹ on the origin of the human

¹ Letter clxvi., A.D. 415.

soul, he quotes the words of Isaias, xl. 26, *qui educit in numero militiam eorum*, &c., and adds, 'for which reason music, the science or capacity of correct harmony, has been given by the goodness of God to mortals possessed of reasonable souls, with a view to keep them in mind of this great truth.'

But had it not been for the patronage extended to it by the Church, to which all the arts are but so many hand-maids helping her in the great work of purifying and elevating the human mind and heart, it is difficult to imagine the extent to which the development of the art of music in its highest forms might have been retarded, and the gross, debasing use to which this noble gift of God might have been subjected. From the time of Ambrose and Augustine on to the days of Gregory, who accomplished so great a work in the interests of Church music, we find this art keeping pace with the progress of the Church, till in the sixteenth century Palestrina poured a flood of sacred harmony upon the world bringing home to countless human souls in all ages a thrill of rapture but rarely experienced this side of the grave.

Seeing that the Church has proved herself so bountiful a Patron of music one would imagine that the clergy, more especially in the closing days of the nineteenth century, would rank themselves amongst the most impassioned lovers and students of this glorious art. We cannot blind ourselves to the fact that music makes directly for refinement and culture, gifts which we as priests can no more afford to dispense with than can the man of the world. I have a very clear recollection of the impression left upon my mind when, hurriedly looking through Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* for the purpose of review, I was arrested by the words *Ni colte, ni civile*, as applied to the clergy; and read that this very circumstance, in the Cardinal's estimation, was one of the hindrances to the spread of the faith in England. Be this as it may, I have always considered that there is no man more deserving of pity than he for whom the notes in a stave of music possess no more significance than a motto carved in Hebrew characters; who is ignorant of the relative

value of a semibreve and a quaver ; and who never feels the least inclination to discover what is meant by the time signatures, or the extent of disagreement between such terms as *Scherzando*, and *Andante Maestoso*.

In these *fin-de-siècle* days of ours, when almost every other school miss is a professed Wagnerite, sighing for the coming of the day when she will find herself in a position to visit Bayreuth ; when the baker over the way is capable of appreciating the most expressive, and intricate chromatic passages to be found in the compositions of Bach or Purcell, and of describing, with some show of eloquence, the numerous dramatic strokes of Gluck, and the beauties of Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, and Weber, it is, evidently, full time that we of the clergy, as men of education and culture, had made ourselves acquainted with this branch of the tree of knowledge.

I have sometimes heard it stated, that priests, as a body, are not musical, and I fear there is a large element of truth in the accusation. For my part, when I came to reckon up the fathers with whose acquaintance I am honoured, I feel constrained to admit that at least two-thirds of them possess very little more than a superficial knowledge of music. In fact, an intimacy with even the primary laws of harmony seems to lie as far outside them as does the enumeration of the latest additions to the *Materia Medica*. I have a very vivid recollection of the second of the Richter Concerts, given in the Queen's Hall, during the Autumn season of 1896, and which I attended with a clerical friend who accompanied me more, I am sure, from a desire to fall in with my views than from any immediate prospect of intense enjoyment. The far-famed Viennese *cappellmeister* was in splendid form, and the programme was one well calculated to satisfy even the most exigent of musical epicures. We had Wagner's overture to Faust ; a delightful Humoresque by Strauss ; a symphonic poem entitled 'The Golden Spinning Wheel,' by Dvorák, a composer that can be heard almost daily with a growing sense of pleasure ; and the stirring, ever popular Valkyries Ride, by Wagner. The *pièce de resistance*, however, of the programme was

Tschaïkowsky's symphony in B minor, more generally known as the *Pathétique*. It is perfectly astonishing the freshness, vigour, and brilliancy exhibited in the works of these Russian composers. Somebody said lately, that a century hence the Celto-Saxon, and the Slav races will divide the habitable globe between them. This may be. Certain it is, they are to-day dividing the world of song without the faintest fear of rivalry. Than the *Pathétique* it would not be easy to find a finer sample of the work of Muscovite School of Music. In October, 1893, the composer, Tschaïkowsky, conducted the first performance of this his greatest work at St. Petersburg. Three short weeks later, when the composition was repeated by the Imperial Musical Society in the Russian capital, the occasion proved to be an *In Memoriam* concert given in honour of the composer who had paid the debt of nature in that short interval.

The work consists of four movements. In the first there are evident traces of the strivings, the doubts, and the storms of a noble soul borne down by an adverse fate. Occasionally there is a bright soft gleam of hope and resignation; but the cry of anguish and despair is never hushed for long. The second movement, *Allegro con Grazia*, is said to be almost a solitary instance of an extended symphonic movement couched in $\frac{3}{4}$ time. The third is remarkable for a long running passage of ascending and descending scales, until the final coda brings the movement to a close on G major. The madly turbulent passage in the finale goes on increasing in speed until it ends with a terrific clash (*fff*) on the cord of C major, after which the movement gradually dies away into silence, with here and there a sob of heartrending sorrow.

More than once during the rendering of this superb work did I look into the face of my companion. But his eyes flashed forth no gleam of appreciation. In fact, I think he was bored by the whole performance, at which thousands of musical experts were gathered from all parts of the country. I question if even the never-to-be-forgotten 'Hailstone Chorus,' as given by three thousand singers at

the Handel Festival in the Crystal Palace, would have made anything more than a transient impression upon him. Shakespear's declaration, to the effect that

The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not moved by concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils,

strikes one as being of a very sweeping character. Perhaps it is but the poet's way of expressing his contempt for the man who fails to appreciate music of a high order. For has not music been described as 'the living voice of the beautiful'? as something without which beauty itself is incomplete, 'needing some adequate utterance of the soul within it'? Sydney Smith, with whose words I have prefaced this paper, lays it down that

If we are stupid and indolent we are capable of resisting the power of music for a time. But [he adds] when the twangings, and the beatings, and the breathings once reach the heart, and set it moving with all its streams of life, the mind bounds from grief to joy, from joy to grief, without effort or pang, but seems rather to derive its keenest pleasure from the quick vicissitude of passion to which it is exposed.

We can never afford to lose sight of the fact that the greatest composers have written not so much to delight the ear, as to refine our passions, and to improve our minds.

'Well, Master Handel,' said George the Second to the great composer at the conclusion of the first performance of the *Messiah* in London, 'it must be owned you have made us a noble present in your *Messiah*. It is a brave piece of work, and I would gladly show my gratitude to you, in your own person, for the fair entertainment you have provided us all.'

'Sire,' replied Handel, with a profound obeisance, 'I have endeavoured, not to entertain you, but to make you better.'

This noble aim on Handel's part goes far towards explaining his early unpopularity in England. The mimics and the coarse-minded comic (*sic*) singers of those days mocked and ridiculed the matchless music which is now embalmed in the memory of the nation. Dublin was the first city in the kingdom to hear the *Messiah*; and be it said to the everlasting credit of the Irish capital, Dublin went mad over it, and hailed the great composer, in the

words of Beethoven, as 'Monarch of the World of Music.' I remember once reading an essay by the late Mr. Gladstone, in which he combatted, in his own incomparable way, the idea that music ranks amongst the trifles of existence. This idea the great statesman denounced as 'a gross error.' To his thinking, if I remember aright, music ought to be regarded as one of the most forcible instruments, either for training, arousing, or governing the human mind. To prove this assertion he brought his vast classical lore into play, and reverted to the time when letters and civilization had but begun to dawn upon the world. Not even then, he insisted, was music unknown; nor was it, at that remote date, the handmaid of light amusement. But to it the noble art of poetry was essentially wedded. The poet was also a musician; and no verse was spoken in the early ages of the world, but music was adopted as its vehicle. Thus, we are shown that it was then a fixed conviction that through music lay the straightest and easiest way to the human heart and affections. Even as I write these words a fact is pressing itself upon my attention which goes far to prove the usefulness of music as a means of reviving our flagging spirits. The day is wet and depressing, like most of those opening days in 1899; a company of soldiers is marching past. There is no band; but a private at the head of the squad has a piccolo, on which he is discoursing one of those quaint old Scotch airs which Burns probably whistled as he followed the plough, or wandered at eve in the shaws of Drumlanrig. The men, as they march along, take up the refrain, and it is not a little interesting to watch the poor fellows pulling themselves together under the influence of the music.

As priests we must all recognise the importance of possessing some knowledge of music. We know that the laity are forging ahead in this particular, and that they frequently criticize our shortcomings in this as in numerous other matters which I will not stop to mention. Convinced that we ought to know something about music, how comes it to pass that the generality of priests display such an amount of carelessness in the matter of mastering even the simplest elements of the Church's plain song? With this,

at all events, every priest ought to be perfectly familiar ; for, to my mind, it forms to-day almost as important a part of our equipment as the knowledge of Canon Law we receive does. What can be more devotional, what better aid to piety can we have, than a Mass well and properly sung ? What more fertile cause, on the other hand, of distraction, and to those possessed of trained ears, of pain, than one badly sung ? Yet think of the number of times we have heard the Preface spoiled, disfigured beyond all hope of recognition. It is not easy to find two priests who will sing the prayers alike, paying due attention to the *Punctum Principale* and the *Semipunctum*. The Epistle is generally either *read* or else embellished beyond all bounds. The Gospel proves a stumbling-block to many. I do believe that were a detonator to explode under the feet of some of our deacons, it would occasion them less dismay and terror, than the meeting with a note of interrogation in the Gospel. Outside Rome, and a few large and well-appointed churches, who of us has ever heard the beautiful music of Holy Week rendered as it ought to be ? I have few recollections of a more painful nature than one which brings me back many years to a certain Palm Sunday when, for the first time in my life, I heard the Passion sung by three priests. The gentleman who impersonated the 'Turba' did not evidently know one note of the music from another. The effect was appalling. For my part, I hope that life has no similar trial in store for me. Surely, there is a limit to human endurance. Yet when we come to think how slight an output of energy would suffice to remedy this state of things, one cannot but wonder at its long continuance.

Even the poorest voice is capable of development and training ; and there is scarcely a man living that is not possessed of some sort or other of singing voice. It may not be very much, but it exists, and whatever exists is endowed with some capacity for improvement. What an excellent thing it would be if three or four priests living in the same locality, were to combine and form themselves into a singing class. By making it a point always to practice together, they would soon, with the aid of a

piano or a harmonium, master all that they require to know for the proper rendering of the services of the Church. Think of the improvement which might be effected in the singing of the music of a Requiem Mass if only the simple harmonies required for the *Kyrie*, the *Dies Iræ*, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnes Dei* were once and for all completely mastered. When one comes to think of the renderings he has heard of the Requiem Music, he is able to form some idea of the extent of ground which lies ready for improvement in that direction.

A priest with a voice can accomplish wonders in the direction of improving the Church services. These can never possibly be given with sufficient devotion and fervour. Take the Benediction service. Every movement of it appeals directly to the mind and heart of the worshipper. A nicely trained choir of four or five voices, singing the *O Salutaris*, the Litany, and the *Tantum Ergo*, devoutly, simply, and without any striving for effect, can accomplish wonders in this particular instance; and yet one is driven almost to despair when he reviews his experience of the Benedictions he has assisted at. It is nothing unusual now-a-days to hear people say that they cannot bring themselves to attend High Mass or Evening Service because of the atrocious manner in which our choirs sing, This is a pity; but it is a fact; and the absentees will go on increasing until something has been done to render the services mentioned above bright and attractive. And that this can be effected without any considerable expenditure of time or money, I, for one, have not the faintest shadow of doubt.

During the last year or two, much has been said and written on the matter of Church music. It is a question on which those entitled to be heard take widely divergent views. This, perhaps, is just as it should be. A prominent writer, one of the greatest living authorities in musical matters, recently wrote that, 'The practice of singing in church proceeds from the idea that, in the exaltation of prayer, the soul, having reached the last limit obtainable by mere words, demands an extended expression, and finds

it in song.' But how is this 'song' to be rendered? Can we ever find men and women sufficiently impressed with the sacredness of the words to which they are giving vocal expression, or adequately conscious of the privilege they enjoy in being permitted to sing in the house of God? We cannot always find voices of pure etiolated quality of a choir of nuns; and it seldom falls to our lot to hear the music of the Mass rendered as the writer above mentioned describes it as having been

Sung by two grey-haired men in the Papal choir in Rome, soprano voices of a rarer and more radiant timbre than any woman's sexful voice, and subtle, and, in some complex way, hardly of the earth at all—voices in which no accent of sex transpired; abstract voices aloof from any stress of passion. They were not human voices, and, hearing them, Evelyn had imagined angels bearing tall lilies in their hands, standing on wan heights of celestial landscape, singing their clear silver music.

Those who take part in the controversy as to the most suitable sort of music for Catholic churches may simply be divided into two classes. One class advocates the rigorous banishment of the finest of the sacred compositions of such men as Mozart, Haydn, Gounod, Rossini, Beethoven, and Weber, from our choirs. They tell us that a reaction, as someone has put it, is preparing 'against the jovialities of Rossini, whose *Stabat Mater* still desecrates Good Friday, and against the erotics of M. Gounod and his suite,' and that matters will never go right until we return to the severity of strict Gregorian in our churches. Another class of writers maintain that the compositions of Mozart and the other famous artists just mentioned, are eminently suited to the requirements of our churches, and that they are completely in harmony with that sense of beauty, sweetness, and majesty, which pervades all things Catholic. With this school of musicians I am in agreement. In fact, I hope the day may never come when we shall see Mozart's No. 1, Haydn's No. 2, Beethoven in C, Weber in G, or Gounod's 'Messe Solennelle,' banished from our churches. Strict musical connoisseurs may consider Gounod's *Ave Maria* an abomination; but, surely, we have Cherubini's

to fall back upon as an antidote to the outcome of Gounod's misrepresentation of Bach. There is one part, however, upon which experts of all classes are agreed, and that is the urgent need that exists for improvement in our manner of singing our vernacular hymns. Enter a church of the Establishment or a Wesleyan Chapel, and you will find that the hymns are sung invariably in four parts, each part being well balanced, and the whole delivered with due attention to strictness of time and expression. With us it is quite the reverse. As a general rule, our hymns are sung in unison; little or no attention is paid to the important matter of expression; and, as for time, it is nothing unusual to find the members of the congregation in the nave of the church a full bar behind the people in the choir. This is a shocking thing to hear, and might very easily be remedied if approached in the proper manner. I could never understand what object the members of the congregation have in view when they insist on joining in the singing of hymns which are but very indifferently known by them. And if they will chime in, the least that can be expected from them is that they sing in time.

Most desirable in the case of every priest, a thorough knowledge of music may be regarded as a matter of absolute necessity in the case of a priest whose lot is cast, say, in a missionary country such as England or Scotland. It may very easily happen that during the course of his ministry such a priest will find himself some day responsible for a small country mission—an institution well calculated to bring to the front the latent powers and capabilities of any man. *Experto crede*. In this particular I can safely say I am but detailing my personal acquaintanceship with the difficulties to be encountered and overcome. No priest, I take it, has ever attempted to carry on the Sunday services without a choir; and the formation of a choir in a small country mission, with a sparse Catholic population, will occasionally almost exceed the limits of what is possible. Anyhow, the thing has got to be done, and if the good Father is himself musical, and not unblessed with a certain amount of patience, he will have the gratification of seeing the good

results of his toil and perseverance. Further, if the Father has some idea of voice production—and the sooner this idea is looked upon as an essential part of a seminarist's education the better—the quality of the work of the choir will be very considerably enhanced. Ask any man whose voice has been trained to sing the note E, and hear another whose vocalization is uncultured producing the same note, and you cannot fail to be impressed by the difference of tone and quality, not to mention the husbanding of power and energy in the case of the trained singer. However, this is a digression. It may be difficult to start a choir; it is a still more laborious work to keep its constituent parts together. In the beginning everything goes smoothly; all are eager to learn, and display a fair amount of interest in their work. Then, unfortunately, the spirit of jealousy manifests itself; for in choirs, as in the more elevated states of life, it is the least competent members who take it as a personal slight that others succeed where they themselves become involved in hopeless muddle and confusion. The conductor of the choir will have his own idea as regards time. This may, or may not, coincide with the organist's notion. Hence a fruitful source of squabbling. Then the least capable of the soprani is certain to feel hurt at not being permitted to display her powers in a solo calculated to tax even the superb attainments of an Albani or a Melba. The tenor will generally (on an important feast *always*) have 'something the matter with his throat.' This reminds me of the saying of Hans von Bülow, that a tenor is not a man, but a disease. A useful disease, surely, but still one that demands much skilful management. A marked peculiarity of all small choirs, and more especially of country ones, is that the members can rarely be induced to sing short, easy, tuneful masses. They have quite a *penchant* for the most elaborate and intricate compositions of Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, and Gounod, from which the most highly-trained choirs in the land shrink back almost in dismay. It will take time, and delicate handling, to wean our little band of singers from this far-fetched notion.

The direction and control of all these musical, yet discordant, elements will devolve on the Father, who, if he

be wise, will make it a point to be present at each choir practice. This may not be an easy thing to do, more especially for a priest who, very probably, is being consumed by the thousand and one cares that weigh down every small mission, with its inevitable starvation income, with a crushing force that has shortened the days of many a priest of worth and ability. But the consolation—to my thinking one of the purest joys of a priest's life—of hearing a Mass or Benediction service rendered with feeling and devotion, will more than compensate him for the time and labour spent upon the choir.

The priest will not merely find a sound knowledge of music useful in the training of his choir, but he can employ it with the best results in the rendering of the glorious chants of the Church. There is a pathos, an attar of faith and devotion emanating from every Preface and Pater Noster well and properly sung which appeals with an irresistible force to the minds and hearts of even the humblest worshippers. Then there is the social side of a priest's life, his daily intercourse with his people, with his brother priests. Herein the value of a knowledge of music is something great. One does not expect a priest to be able to warble at a moment's notice, and without accompaniment, such gems as *Salve*, *Dimora*, or *Walther's Preislied*, but surely we can accomplish something better than those discordant *Minstrel Boys*, and soporiferous *Wests Asleep*, fine, robust lungs which demand a freshness of attack, and an intimacy with the whole diapason of expression which few of us can lay claim to.

I cannot allow myself to bring this paper to a close without quoting some words of a great and passionate lover of music, the late Cardinal Newman, which are frequently in my mind, and which express with perfect accuracy the thoughts of many hearts:—

There are seven notes [he says] in the scale: make them fourteen, yet what a slender outfit for so vast an enterprise! what science brings so much out of so little? Out of what poor elements does some great master in it create his new world! Shall we say that all this exuberant inventiveness is a mere

ingenuity or trick of art, like some game of fashion of the day, without reality, without meaning? Is it possible that that inexhaustible evolution and disposition of notes, so rich yet so simple, so intricate yet so regulated, so various yet so majestic, should be a mere sound, which is gone and perishes? Can it be that those mysterious stirrings of the heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends in itself? It is not so; it cannot be. No! they have escaped from some brighter sphere; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound; they are echoes from our home; they are the voice of angels, or the magnificat of the saints, or the living laws of divine governance, or the divine attributes; something are they besides themselves, which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter.

Beautiful, noble words these; and rich in music. It is only such souls as Newman's that can hear that 'inarticulate, unfathomable speech,' as Carlyle calls it, which is known as music, and which in its highest forms can verily lift us above this world, and impart to us whilst still burthened with this flesh, a foretaste of the blessed vision of God.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

THE TWO STANDARDS¹

THIS work, from the pen of Dr. William Barry, has been, no doubt, awaited by many with much expectation. Any book coming from such a source would necessarily display fine literary qualities, and probably not a little erudition. Moreover, the author is known to be quite capable of doing, what he has lately praised, in a glowing article on a religious novel, as 'preaching a crusade' in favour of the Catholic faith; and the title of his own forthcoming work, referring as it does to a well-known meditation in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius, seemed to promise us that we should find in it something of the nature of a crusade against modern Paganism, or at least a vivid contrast between its standard of life and thought and that of the Cross of Christ. Would it be too much to hope that we were going to have at last a competent attempt at doing for Christianity what a well-known authoress accomplished a few years ago for the Religion of Unbelief? So I entered with a light heart on my task of reading the book, with the view of writing my impressions of it. When, however, I had got well into the reading of *The Two Standards* I began to doubt my ability to deal fairly with the book. I am not much of a novel reader, and it appeared to me I was reading something very like an ordinary society novel, crisp, indeed, and piquant, containing very vivid descriptions of many varied things, with some careful character-drawing, and showing certainly a constructive power which was more than common. Moreover, the whole effect of it seemed to me to be rather cold. Not that there was a complete absence of feeling, for at times the intense brilliancy of the word-painting seemed to be softened by a warmer light as of human pity. But I looked in vain for that deep passionate appeal, in which

¹ *The Two Standards*. By Dr. William Barry, author of *The New Antigone*. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 189".

human heart speaks to human heart, forcing it not merely to recognise the truth, but to love it.

Still, after closing the book, and setting myself to understand more fully its motive, I could no longer give myself up to sheer disappointment. After all, the author has 'preached a crusade,' though he has chosen his own method of preaching as he has a perfect right to do. He has also chosen a clear theme, and has, on the whole, kept to it very well. He knows the audience he has to address, and he has chosen to speak to them in their own language. He has undertaken to prove to his English readers, or at least to those of them who have the artistic temperament, that 'the commercial idea, if allowed to reign, is an insanity, is the destruction, of art, and reduces life to a monomania as vulgar as imbecile.'

'The destruction of art.' This is a heavy indictment, but it is well sustained. From cover to cover the book speaks the language of art. I do not mean merely artistic language. It would be superfluous to tell the readers of the I. E. RECORD, who are mostly Irish priests, that their brother, Dr. Barry, could not possibly speak any language that is not artistic. But he has chosen the symbolic language of art as the medium not merely to adorn a tale, but to point a moral. The hero is a composer, and the heroine an actress, of musical drama, and their story, which is itself very much more like a musical drama in prose than a controversial novel, is shadowed not dimly in the pieces they perform; and, indeed, culminates in one of them, which expresses dramatically and very beautifully, not merely their own choice, but the choice of all those who rally round the standard of the Christian King.

The ethical *motif* of Dr. Barry's musical drama is the Christian view of the marriage tie. The fact that he has again chosen the theme of *The New Antigone* as his subject, seems to show how intensely he realises that of all the tendencies of modern society, nothing is more deplorable and more dangerous than an increasingly easy attitude towards what it is pleased to call the sex problem.

The plot, which is of the simple and elemental type,

though skilfully, and perhaps too richly, interwoven with vivid episodes, deals with one central figure—that of a noble woman whose inherent goodness triumphs over a cruel destiny. The character-drawing of Marian Greystoke is distinctly good, and on it has been lavished the author's chief attention. In this sense the novel might be classed as psychological, though the stages of Marion's mental growth are rather indicated by her successive acts than subjected to any rigid analysis. We do not know that they would bear a strict analysis; but are they any the less womanly on that account? However this may be, we think Father Barry's work may be rather compared to Thackeray, to whom we should imagine he may have the special attraction that comes of affinity, than to the other great novelist of the century, George Eliot. Still, George Eliot would have found her namesake Marion interesting, as a clergyman's daughter, who was brought up so religiously that she had not any religion. Neither has she any principle to guide her except the determination to see life and enjoy it. And see it she does, but hardly to enjoy it. High-spirited and highly strung, a born artist with eastern blood, and she knew it, running in her veins, deeply imaginative, longing for excitement and for someone to love, yet early in the story she is unhappily mated. She does not love, and could not respect her husband, Harland the Company-Promoter. He is not wholly without redeeming qualities, for he too, like the rest of them, has something of the artist in him, and he dearly loved Marion—after his own fashion. But as a man, he is callous to brutality; and, as a financier, a hypocrite as well as a rogue. Of course, when Marion meets her fate in the form of another man, she leaves Harland, and at this crisis in the story a providential interference, which is finely delineated, prevents her falling into the pit that opens wide to devour her. I need not tell here the story of her sufferings; but finally she is re-united to her husband. On him the hand of God has fallen, how heavily! He has been doing five years penal servitude, and his mind, previously overstrained with work and anxiety, has not stood this final test. His wife comes to visit him, and afterwards works

successfully to obtain his release. I will give the passage here, which describes this strange meeting, as for vividness it well illustrates Father Barry's style when at its strongest :—

'Let me see him as soon as you can,' was Marion's answer. 'I am bound in the same chain ; we must wear it together, and wear it out.'

She did see him, days after, passing along corridors, and the clash of keys resounding, until she came between four white-washed walls, and a cage opened its mouth, and they entered. It was the visible emblem of the marriage that held them both prisoners. Silent men paced up and down, watching them. A crude harsh light filled the room, was thrown back from its awful whiteness, and rested on their heads like an anathema.

Marion, the Princess, that no weeds could disguise or grief disfigure, sat speechless, but with an eloquent face, and crimson lips. Her silence implied stormy emotion. The man, half crouching, a little way off, had on his features a cere-cloth, waxen immobility, beneath which the eyes were quenched, lips frozen, a wan and woe-begone yet vacant air. She thought how quick-glancing it was in old time, never at rest. Now he looked sideways, and trembled, but with a most pitiful attempt to hide his trepidations, as a beast that is often struck. His cropped hair had lost its gloss and become utterly white—the hair of a man of seventy.

'Lucas,' she said, in a low, but tender voice, clasping his fingers, 'you know who it is, don't you?' The hand which lay in hers had no warmth.

He answered with a feeble effort. 'I used to call you my wife,' then lapsed into his shroud.

'Call me so still,' she said. 'I went away : but you remember, Lucas, I did come back. I asked you to forgive me. You do forgive me.' She must not let the fingers slip, or his wavering consciousness would flicker and go out.

He made no sign of repugnance to her holding his hand. 'I can't think of things,' he answered, always in the same slow fashion.

On the whole, I should consider the concluding part of the book the strongest, and this may be considered a rare feature in a work of sustained and varied interest. Combined with intense earnestness, and a complete absence of humour, though there is much grim satire, there is displayed throughout the work a lightness of touch, and that indefinable faculty of reserve which comes from familiarity with the

best, and especially with Greek, literary models. The great attention to the details of the plot may, perhaps, be also due to the same influence, for the Father of Criticism lays it down as essential to good tragedy that the plot should be considered far and away beyond everything else. And in welding his rather bulky material into a harmonious whole, Father Barry has shown a maturity which might be expected as the result only of many efforts in this branch of literature.

The propensity to satire to which I have alluded is one that might be moderated with advantage. It is an aesthetic mistake to leave a sensation in the reader's mind like an unpleasant taste in the mouth. And in dealing with English religion and other phases of English life, there would have been no loss of moral effect by treating it a little more kindly.

Evidently the book is intended, as it is calculated, to do the readers good. It is a pill containing very salutary ingredients, and there is no lack of gilding either, but the gilding could have been done more neatly. Is it necessary to be uniformly cynical to do people good, to exaggerate their faults in order to cure them? I could give many examples of my meaning, but one will suffice. When Marion goes forth alone at night to view life in the London streets, to see it at its worst (God grant it be not quite so bad as she sees it!), after she has heard her husband talk to a cast-off mistress, and treat her like a dog—after she has seen every other imaginable horror—she is not allowed to return home until a policeman has rifled her of every penny in her purse. It may be legitimate art to suppose such an occurrence (which I do not by any means deny to be possible), in order to heighten the poor woman's sense of desolation; but is it not rather hard on the average London policeman? I know the picture Mr. Stead has given us of the guardians of public morality in Chicago, and it may or may not be true; but is it true that their English brethren mostly spend their spare time in relieving desolate ladies of their spare cash? I ought in justice to add that afterwards Mrs. Harland met another man who was kinder to her than the fiend olicem

Now to return to the point from which I started. Religion is not prominent in the book at all. There is a gentle suggestion of Christian music, which runs through the weird and entangled chords of human passion, and at times the strains makes itself heard with something like precision, till at last it dominates, though it does not drown, the horrible tumult expressive of human frenzy and crime. More than this was not attempted, and what was attempted has been done, and, generally speaking, done well.

H. BROWNE, S.J.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

RULES 7-10.

CAP. III.—*De Versionibus vernaculis Sacrae Scripturae.*

RULE VII.—Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde ob hominum timeritatem, detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri; versiones omnes in lingua vernacula, etiam a viris catholicis confectae, omnino prohibentur, nisi fuerint ab Apostolica sede approbatae, aut editae sub vigilantia Episcoporum cum annotationibus desumptis ex Sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus, atque ex doctis Catholicisque Scriptoribus.

IT will be necessary to note accurately the difference between the subject-matter of the present chapter of rules and that of the preceding chapter. The subject-matter of Chapter II. was, *editions of the Bible published by non-Catholics, in Latin or any other language not spoken by the people.* The subject-matter of Chapter III. is *editions of the Bible published by any author whatsoever in a vernacular language.* The present rule, then, prescribes that all vernacular versions of the Sacred Scripture, published by either Catholic or Protestant authors, are strictly forbidden, unless they have received the approbation of the Holy See, or have been published with notes and explanations

taken from the Fathers of the Church and learned Catholic authors, under the supervision of the bishops.

In Rules V. and VI. there is an exception made with regard to the Greek and Hebrew texts of the Sacred Scriptures in favour of those engaged in theological and biblical studies. In the present rule there is no such concession made, with regard to vernacular translations of the Bible. A strong reason justifies this exception : the dangers arising from bad, imperfect, or mutilated editions of the original texts would not effect so much harm, as bad editions in the vernacular tongue ; for the original texts in Greek and Hebrew would be read by linguistic or biblical critics who would be sure to detect any inaccuracy in the reading, or any perversion of the meaning, whereas versions in the vernacular tongue would be in the hands of the common people, who would have no power of discernment, but would take everything they read for granted.

(2) The form of the present rule is rather complex, and owing to its many parts, and their relation to one another, a great many puzzling questions might be mooted, had we not clearly before our minds its logical analysis. Its logical analysis may be thus graphically shown :—

I. Part : Reason of framing it :—	cum experimento manifestum sit . . . quam utilitatis oriri.	
	(a) <i>conditionatum</i> :	versiones omnes in lingua vernacula etiam a viris catholicis confectae omnino prohibentur.
	(b) <i>conditiones</i> :	(1) nisi fuerint ab Apostolica Sede approbatae. (2) aut editae sub vigilantia episcoporum cum annotationibus + desumptis ex Sanctis Ecclesiae Patribus + ex doctis catholicisque scriptoribus.
II. Part : Conditional Proposition.		

Looking, therefore, at the rule, we perceive that it is composed of two main parts. The first part expresses the motive which led the Pontiff to frame it—the injury done

to religion by publishing indiscriminately translations of the Bible. The second part of the rule is an hypothetical proposition; the 'conditionatum' is plain and easy enough—that all vernacular translations of the Sacred Scriptures are forbidden, no matter by what author they may have been published. The 'conditio,' however, is apt to give trouble unless carefully examined; it is double, and its two parts must be taken disjunctively and not 'conjunctively,' as the disjunctive particle 'aut' clearly indicates. Hence, if any one of them be verified the vernacular translation may be allowed to pass: if either the Apostolic See or the bishop has approved the translation, we are allowed to read and use it. Furthermore, the second condition is composed itself of two parts: the annotations must be taken both from the fathers of the Church and from approved Catholic writers; for there are many questions on which we have not clear and explicit testimonies in the writings of the fathers, and which are, notwithstanding, dogmas of our faith, or the common teaching of theologians; and in order that the simple faithful may not be in doubt about such truths they will require to have the explicit teaching of approved Catholic writers. Hence the present rule speaks of two kinds of approbation—the approbation of the Holy See, and the approbation of bishops. A translation of the Bible which has received the approbation of the Holy See may be read naked of all annotation or explanation. A bishop's approval, however, does not suffice alone: the translation must be illustrated with annotations; nor will any kind of annotation do: they must be taken both from the writings of the fathers and from the approved Catholic authors.

RULE VIII. — *Interdicuntur versiones omnes Sacrorum Bibliorum, quavis vulgari lingua ab acatholis quibuscumque confectae, atque illae praesertim, quae per societatis Biblicas, a Romanis Pontificibus non semel damnatas, divulgantur, cum in eis saluberrimae Ecclesiae leges de divinis libris edendis funditus post habeantur.*

Hae nihilominus versiones iis, qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam, permittuntur: iis servatis, quae supra (n. 5) statuta sunt.

The last rule was specially directed against authors—

whether Catholic or Protestant—who might presume to publish translations of the Bible independent of the approbation of the Church; the present rule is mainly directed against Bible Societies. Bible Societies despise and violate all the salutary regulations of the Church regarding the translation of the Sacred Scriptures; they are quite heedless of preserving the Sacred Text in its purity and integrity, and rest content and satisfied with their work, if they succeed in getting men to use their own private judgment in interpreting the Bible, independent of the authority of the Catholic Church. The present rule, therefore, prescribes that all translations made in vernacular languages by non-Catholics, and especially those made by Bible Societies, are strictly forbidden. Those persons, however, who are engaged in theological or biblical studies may read them—provided that there is no Catholic dogma assailed either in the preface or introduction.

(2) *Societates Biblicas*.—In order that our readers may be able to recognise the translations proscribed by the present rule, we shall now give a brief notice of the principal Bible Societies in the world, and indicate the extent of their labours. Bible Societies are associations having for their object the diffusion of the Sacred Scriptures. England seems to have been the cradle and the hot-bed of all the Bible Societies. In 1780 an association was formed for diffusing the Bible among the soldiers and sailors in British pay. At first it was simply called the Bible Society. It subsists to the present day, although it has changed its name from its primary simple form to that of the Naval and Military Bible Society. Although this Society is extremely active at the present day, yet it dwindles into insignificance when compared with the gigantic Association called the British and Foreign Bible Society. Like many other institutions, the British and Foreign Bible Society had a very modest origin. It owes its foundation in great part to the efforts of a certain Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala, an indefatigable Protestant missionary. It appears that he was led to the conception of this organization during one of his missionary tours, by the touching conduct of a little girl. He states

that during the course of a mission through some of the desolate parts of Wales he met a little girl who had been for some time carefully putting by her earnings, with the hope and intention of ultimately procuring a copy of the Bible. When she had saved a sufficient sum, she walked twenty-five miles to the nearest book-shop, but on arriving there she met with sad disappointment; for the last Bible had just been disposed of. When the Rev. Thomas Charles returned to London, he represented to the Religious Tract Society this crying want, and illustrated it by the touching incident of the pious Welsh girl. The British and Foreign Bible Society was forthwith organized. At the present day it has within the British dominions not less than six thousand dependent auxiliary associations. In 1886 its funds amounted to £221,754. It is stated that this society issues 4,000,000 Bibles in the year, in two hundred and eighty different languages.

Scotland was without a Bible Society until 1826. The present Scottish Bible Society owes its origin to a disunion which arose amongst the members of the British and Foreign Bible Society in the year 1826. In this year a discussion arose amongst the societies associated with the central one in London regarding the circulation of the apocryphal books of Scripture. The English societies moved that the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society should thenceforth be expended exclusively in the circulation of the so-called canonical books. This measure did not please the auxiliary Scottish societies; they accordingly dissented, and remained all and each of them independent, till the year 1861, when they were amalgamated to form the National Bible Society of Scotland. In 1886 the income of this society amounted to £36,767, and its issue of Bibles for that year was 707,580.

The American Bible Society ranks next in importance to the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was founded in New York, in 1816. It can number about seven thousand auxiliary societies through the United States. Its annual income amounts to about 524,000 dollars, and its issue of Bibles is about 1,500,000 Bibles in the year.

The principal Bible Societies that have existed on the Continent have been those of Germany, Austria, and Russia. The German Bible Society was organized in 1814, owing in great part to the generous assistance afforded by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It has a number of auxiliary associations in different parts of the Prussian dominions. Its annual issue would be about 363,000 Bibles. Efforts were made to organize subsidiary associations through the Austrian and Hungarian dominions; but they were pronounced illegal by the Austrian Government in 1817, and those then in existence were dissolved by Act of Parliament. The Russian Bible Society was founded in 1813, under the patronage of Alexander I. At the outset the Russian Society entered on a career of great hope and ardour. It acted in co-operation with the British and Foreign Bible Society, and with the assistance of bounteous subsidies from that Society, it published a large number of Bibles in every language spoken within the vast boundaries of the Russian Empire. In 1826, however, at the very height of its success, it was dissolved, and all its funds confiscated by the Emperor Nicholas I., owing to his persuasion that the circulation of the Bible was the peculiar duty and office of the Church, and not of secular associations.

(3) *Non semel damnatas*.—All those Bible Societies have received from their very start, the solemn condemnation of the Catholic Church. The encyclicals, in which the Supreme Pontiffs have condemned those societies, have been collected and opportunely published in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, in Rome. From this collection we learn that Pius VII. condemned the Bible Societies in two different letters written in the year 1816—some twelve years after the British and Foreign Bible Society had been first organized in London. In one of those letters the Pontiff remarks, that since an important truth is oftentimes expressed in the Bible by a single word or by a single phrase, it is right that there should be a version of the Sacred Text, as unchangeable as the dogmas that are to be expressed therein. Hence the Council of Trent set its seal once for all

on the Latin Vulgate and laid all other versions aside. In 1824, Leo XII. renews the condemnation of his predecessor. In 1844, Gregory XVI., in an encyclical to the Bishops of the entire Church, repeats and approves all that had been written by his predecessors on the said societies. In this encyclical, Gregory XVI. examines and analyzes the ends and motives of all Bible Societies; he lays bare the unreasonable groundwork on which they stand; he holds up to view their mock zeal for Christianity, and their opposition to some of the simplest and most fundamental truths contained in the Bible itself; and, finally, condemns them one and all, in the most severe and absolute terms. The Pontiff justifies himself for this condemnation:—

The end, venerable Brethren, to which those societies tend, has not escaped your notice. You remember the admonition of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, who, after having mentioned and commended the Epistles of St. Paul, remarks that 'there are still certain things in them hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction' (2 Pet. iii. 16-17). And adds immediately after: 'You, therefore, brethren, knowing these things before, take heed lest, being led aside by the error of the unwise, you fall from your own steadfastness.' You know that from the very earliest days of Christianity, it was the favourite art of heretics to repudiate divine tradition, to set at nought the authority of the Catholic Church, and to either interpolate the words of Scripture or pervert their sense. You know, Venerable Brethren, what care and what learning is required to convert the word of God from one language into another. What, then, is more easy than that the most serious errors should have crept into the numberless translations made by those Bible Societies, owing either to the inability of the translators, or, perhaps, even to their fraud? The very number and variety of those translations help to conceal their errors, to the great detriment of many souls. The Bible Societies care not a whit whether those who read their translations fall into one form of error rather than another. They are quite satisfied if they can gradually induce those who read them to exercise their private judgment in the interpretation of Sacred Scripture, to despise and overlook the divine tradition contained in the works of the fathers, and to reject the Church herself as a living exponent of the Sacred Text.

As the rise of Bible Societies could scarcely have been

foreseen in the sixteenth century no mention of them was made in the old rules of the Council of Trent.

(4) The same concession is made in this rule as was made in Rule V. in favour of those engaged in theological or biblical studies. Everything, therefore, that we said of the conditions found in Rule V. is applicable also to the present rule. We would call the attention of our readers to the clause '*etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant*,' found in Rule V. We explained the logical force of this clause in its context, with a special view to preclude a difficulty that might arise in the minds of some regarding the present rule. What, if the translations published by Bible Societies have mutilated the original text, and have left out certain passages that displeased the translator, or that presented, perhaps, some peculiar difficulty in translation? Are they proscribed by the present rule even to those engaged in biblical or theological studies?

If '*etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant*' has the force of a condition, it would appear that they are forbidden, for '*negata conditione, negatur etiam conditionatum*'; so that if '*fideliter et integre*' becomes '*corrupte et mutile*' '*permittuntur*,' at the end of Rule 5, shall become '*non permittuntur*.' However, there are very strong reasons to suppose that the phrase has not the force of a condition, but that it is rather a species of amplification or explanation. We might read the clause, for instance, in this form—'*et-si fideliter et integre editae appareant, sunt interdictae*.' This logical explanation is supported by a strong reason based on the *matter* of the rule. The translations published by Bible Societies are, as a matter of fact, nearly always mutilated, as they generally omit or exclude the canonical books of the second order (*Deuterocanonici*) of the Old Testament. Hence, if '*etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant*' be regarded as a conditional phrase in Rule 5, the present rule will, practically speaking, become a general prohibition. But there is an exception made in explicit terms of those engaged in biblical and theological studies at the end of this Rule 8; hence, if we regard the said phrase as a condition, the translations of which there is

question would have been *forbidden* and *permitted* at one and the same time to those engaged in biblical and theological studies: forbidden as a logical conclusion, permitted in explicit terms: and this cannot be. We must, therefore, regard '*etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant*' rather as an explanation than as a condition.

CAP. IV.—*De libris obscenis.*

RULE IX.—*Libri qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant, narrant aut docent, cum non solum fidei, sed et morum, qui hujusmodi librorum lectione facile corrumpi solent, ratio habenda sit, omnino prohibentur.*

After having treated of the Sacred Scriptures in the II. and III. Chapters, the legislator turns to immoral literature. This would seem to be the order of importance too; for as there is no book that begets such purity and sanctity of life as the Bible¹ when read in its genuine form, with the proper dispositions, so there is no book that can breed such evils, when read with bad dispositions or in a corrupted form, according to the well-known adage '*corruptio optimi pessima.*'

The present rule is not new; it is nothing more than a transcript of the seventh rule of the Council of Trent. There is one clause, however, of the Tridentine rule omitted in this: '*et qui eos (libros) habuerint severe ab episcopis punientur.*'

(2) There are some terms in the present rule that demand an explanation.

(a) *Ex professo tractare de rebus obscenis.*—We have already explained in a former context what it is to treat a subject '*ex professo.*' A subject may be said to be treated '*ex professo*' in any book when it has been from the outstart the main scope of the author. Hence, a book may be said to treat '*ex professo de rebus obscenis,*' wherein the author introduces an immoral practice, explains it, lauds it, endeavours to justify it, and to destroy the arguments against its lawfulness. By virtue of this clause, therefore, all those

¹ St. Augustine was wont to call the Bible his pure and chaste delight.

books that impugn the Sacrament of Marriage as bad and immoral, that propose and endeavour to justify free sexual intercourse, or any other practice of a kindred nature, are strictly forbidden. On the other hand, all works on theology that merely state those doctrines to refute them, and all works on medicine that state such practices to explain the possible physiological effects that might ensue, are not proscribed. It will depend very much, however, on the age, the training, or the profession of the individual, whether such books be not forbidden him by the natural or Divine law.

(b) *Res obscenas narrare*.—To narrate obscene things is to recount the immoral acts of others, whether real or fictitious, with all their circumstances. This clause of the rule would seem to refer to four different species of modern literature—the *romance*, the *novel*, the *fable*, and the *tale*.¹

But, how are we to know that a romance, a novel, a fable, or a tale is proscribed by the present rule? The rule itself supplies the criterion: *when it is dangerous either to faith or morals*.

(c) *Docent res lacias*.—P. Pennacchi thus explains this

¹ The word *romance* has been derived from *Romanus*, and was at first applied to designate a certain family of languages—the offshoots of the antient *Lingua Romana*. In the course of time the word lost this fundamental meaning, and as far back as the thirteenth century we find the word used to designate—not the language, but the works written in the language. This change in the meaning of the word was caused quite simply. About the thirteenth century two different classes of literature began to appropriate to themselves, exclusively, two different classes of languages. All works on arts and sciences continued to be written in the Latin language, and all works of fiction began to be written in the current dialect of the people. The very structure of the Latin language obliged the authors to make this selection; for they found that it was too stiff and stately to stoop down and adopt new manners of expression and words of new formation suited to the altered character of the people and the analytical manners of thought that began to be in vogue. Dante supplies us with a practical illustration of this selection. He is said to have written Latin and his native dialect with equal ease. For a long time he hesitated about a choice of language for his *Divina Comedia*. At length he determined in favour of the current dialect of Florence; and he thus became at once the father and the greatest ornament of the Italian language. Works, then, written in the offshoots of the Latin language were called *romances*. Now, what was the character of those books? Their *subject* was some great knight of chivalry; hence chivalry and romance are always associated. As regards their *form*, they devoted themselves rather to the narration of great achievements than to the delineation of character. Hence we may define a romance as, a

expression: 'Demum libri qui res obscenas docent sunt illi, qui tradunt et explicant, quomodo, quibusve modis, turpes actus perficiantur, quibus artibus mulieres, praesertim adolescentulae, corrumpi et ad propria desideria pertrahi possint.'

(3) *Cum non solum fidei, sed et morum qui hujusmodi librorum lectione facile corrumpi solent ratio habenda sit.*—In those words the legislator states the reasons that have led him to proscribe the class of books which we have explained: they were—to preserve the faith, and morals of the people. *Morum*: The corruption of *morals* that follows in the wake of licentious literature not only affects the individual, but the entire state. In proof of this we have already stated that Augustus and the Athenian Senate, moved solely by motives of political expediency, proscribed certain immoral books, and drove their authors into exile. We may receive Aristotle as the spokesman of everything that was good in Grecian philosophy: 'Omnino obscenitas, inquit, verborum exterminanda est de civitate; ex turpiter enim loquendi licentia, sequitur et turpiter facere.'¹

work of fiction which treats of the wondrous deeds of some hero of by-gone days.

The *novel* differs from the romance in its *specific object*: while the romance goes back to former days to find some hero for a subject, the novel seeks its subject in more recent times from the ordinary scenes of life; and on this account it is called novel (*nouvelles, novella*). It differs from the romance in its *form*: the romance takes the form of a *narration*; the novel is a *delineation of character*. It may delineate its subject in either of two ways—by manifesting his drollery, or by analyzing his inclinations; and thus in the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, who is the father of the novel, some stories are full of fun, and some full of passion. We may, therefore, define the novel, as a work of fiction which delineates the characters of men or women taken from the ordinary scenes of life.

The *fable* has for its *object* the inculcation of some moral truth. To inculcate this moral truth it does not employ the direct and literal use of language, but takes irrational, and sometimes even inanimate, objects of nature, and makes them speak and act as living men and women. This may be perceived from an examination of the fables of Æsop or La Fontaine, which are the purest models of the fable. We may, therefore, define the fable as, a work of fiction in which irrational, and sometimes inanimate, beings are, for the purpose of moral instruction, feigned to act and speak with human interests and passions.

A *tale* implies something told (*tellan* = to tell; Fr. *conte* = *raconter*). A tale, therefore, is a work of fiction written in the form of oral narration. When we say a *wonderful* romance, an *interesting* novel, an *instructive* fable, and an *amusing* tale, we state briefly the specific character of all those kinds of fiction.

¹ Lib. vii. *Polit.*, cap. 17.

Philo the Jew writes : 'Worthless are those who devote their talent to the composition of immoral works. Such persons are generally slow to learn what is noble and good, but are quick and sharp to learn what is low and bad.'¹ St. Chrysostom writes : 'He who speaks smutty language makes himself ridiculous, and does himself an injury even before he injures others. He besmears himself, like one who vomits forth what he has just eaten ; and if the vomit be so filthy, imagine what must be the stomach from which it is belched forth.' Then how are we to describe the injuries done to intellectual culture by the indiscriminate reading of works of fiction ? St. Alphonsus, as we have elsewhere remarked, traces the want of solid education in many youths to this cause. They become so immersed, so saturated with alluring material considerations, that they cannot make a serious effort to study what is presented to them in a general or abstract form. St. Thomas insinuates, in several places, that intelligence and immorality tend in opposite directions—one to matter, the other from it ; and that, accordingly, they cannot associate well together.² And as we have mentioned St. Thomas, to what can we attribute his tenacious memory, his penetrating intelligence, his marvellous foresight, his even and unerring judgment, except to the extraordinary gift he miraculously obtained from God,³ of controlling all the inferior faculties of his soul, and of suffering no disordinate inclination to ruffle the calmness of his mind !

Fidei.—Licentious literature not only conduces to immorality, but also to heresy ; and, consequently, the Pontiff has proscribed obscene books, not only to prevent corruption of morals, but also to prevent corruption of faith. P. Pennacchi, treating of this context, writes : 'A corruptione morum ad fidei corruptionem brevis est via ; constat enim, a morum corruptione initium ducere incredulitatem, nullumque reperiri incredulum, qui castis moribus exornetur, neminem autem qui castimoniam observet incredulum

¹ *Apud Joan. Damos. Sacra Paraliela*, lib. i., tot. 46.

² *Pars i.*, Ques. xiv., Art. 1 ; and ii-ii., Ques. xv., Art. 3.

³ *Brev. Romanum*.

esse.' St. Gregory¹ says that darkness of understanding arises from lust; and in Ps. lvii. we read: 'Supercecidit ignis (*i.e., concupiscentiae*) et non viderunt solem' (*i.e., Deum*).²

RULE X.—Libri auctorum sive antiquorum sive recentiorum, quos classicos vocant, si hac ipsa turpitudinis labe infecti sunt, proper sermonis, elegantiam et proprietatem, iis tantummodo permittuntur, quos officii et magisteri ratio excusat: nulla tamen ratione pueris vel adolescentibus, nisi solerti cura expurgati, tradendi aut praelegendi erunt.

(1). The present rule bears the same relation to the last rule that a particular proposition does to a general one. The last rule treated of immoral books in general: the present rule speaks exclusively of the works of classic authors. Together with being a specification of the last rule, it is a kind of concession: the last rule was an absolute prohibition, the present rule is a conditional concession. It prescribes, that the immoral books of ancient or modern classical authors, are permitted to those whom duty as teachers or as superiors excuses—but to no others. On no account are they to be given to boys or read by them, unless they have been previously carefully expurgated.

This rule seems to be an exception to the general

¹ xxxi. *Moral*, cap. 17.

² St. Thomas devotes a whole article to tracing the connection between lust and the loss of faith. We shall explain the mind of the saint as therein expressed (ii.-ii., Ques. xv., Art. 3). The perfection of our intelligence consists in a certain capability of abstracting from the phantasms of material or sensible things. In proportion as a man can abstract from those phantasms, so we may judge him the more intelligent; the better also will he be able to classify the object of his cognition, since the power of analysis is a sign of intelligence. It is for this reason that Anaxagoras says that the intelligence must be pure in order to command, and for this same reason Aristotle says that the mind must domineer over matter in order to move it. After death, therefore, when we shall be freed from the bondage of matter, we shall be much more intelligent than what we are at present. Now, what is it that binds us to matter, and makes us slow to catch universal truths? It is our enslavement to matter. We all know that we quite easily give our attention to what pleases and gratifies us, while we find it hard to give our attention to what affords us no gratification. Gluttony and lust are the strongest of all corporal pleasures, and, accordingly, they drag us powerfully to matter. Our intelligence is, in consequence, much weakened. It is weakened, however, more by lust than by gluttony, inasmuch as the inclinations of lust are stronger than those of gluttony. Hence lust causes darkness of understanding, which excludes almost all knowledge of spiritual things; and gluttony blunts the keenness of sense, and thus makes us tardy to feel. The virtues of abstinence and chastity act opposite to gluttony and lust: abstinence

spirit of the present constitution. We have already stated, that the intention of the legislator in framing the present constitution was to render the rules more lenient and more liberal than the previous ones; we find, however, that the present rule is more severe and strict than the corresponding rule of the Council of Trent. This will be seen from a collation of the two :—

LEONINE RULE

(a) Libri auctorum sive antiquorum sive recentiorum quos classicos vocant, si hac ipsa turpitudinis labe infecti sunt, propter sermonis elegantiam et proprietatem, iis tantummodo permittuntur, quos officii et magisterii ratio excusat: (b) nulla tamen ratione pueris vel adolescentibus, nisi solerti cura espurgati. tradendi aut praelegendi erunt.

TRIDENTINE RULE

(a) Antiqui vero (libri res lascivas tractantes) ab ethnicis conscripti propter sermonis elegantiam et proprietatem permittuntur: (b) nulla tamen ratione pueris praelegendi erunt.

We will remark that the Tridentine rule is composed of two parts; the first part is an absolute permission: the second an absolute prohibition. On the other side, we see that the Leonine rule is also composed of two parts;

sharpens the edge of sense, and chastity brightens the intelligence. So we read (Dan. i.): 'Pueris his (scil.—continentibus et abstinentibus) dedit Deus scientiam et disciplinam in omni libro, et sapientia.'

Gluttony and lust are, therefore, two of the greatest obstacles to intellectual enlightenment, and especially to that humble and gentle enlightenment required for the virtue of faith. Gluttony blunts the acuteness of sense, as grass that gathers on the blade of a scythe blunts the edge thereof; and lust darkens the understanding, as the moisture that gathers on the glass of a lantern bedims the flickering light within. Whenever, therefore, we hear of anyone having lost the faith, we may generally suppose that it was either Bacchus or Venus that seduced him.

The French commentators, Père Desjardins and Can. Moreau, thus apply the present rule to modern French literature:—'The present regulation of the Index is tantamount to a formal condemnation of a great portion of our contemporary literature. It is no longer by mere accident that obscenity slips into modern books; and authors boast of trampling under foot all the laws of morality. They revel in the mire and delight in being called by the shameful name of licentious writers. But when the cup of their iniquity is full—as it is for Zola—the Church strikes them openly. And even before this solemn condemnation had they not been forbidden by the natural as well as by the positive law? Certainly they were. They had formerly been proscribed by the seventh rule of the Council of Trent, and they are now condemned by the ninth and tenth rules of the present Index.'—(*Études sur les lois de l'Index.*)

the first is merely a conditional permission—a restriction made on the Tridentine rule; the second is also a conditional permission—a favour granted beyond the Tridentine rule. Throwing one part against the other we cannot say that the present Leonine rule is a mitigation of the old Tridentine rule.

(2) There is one expression in the present rule that requires elucidation. *Quos officii et magisterii ratio excusat.* All those are excused, *ratione officii*, who by reason of their position as superiors must read and prevent the circulation of the books herein proscribed. Amongst them are included—pontifical nuncios, apostolic delegates, bishops with their vicars-general, administrators, rectors of universities, presidents, and deans of colleges and seminaries.¹ *Ratione Magisterii* are excused, all those who act as professors in such universities, colleges, or seminaries as follow the programme of studies prescribed by the public Board of Education. On the other hand, professors in colleges and seminaries which do not follow the programme of studies prescribed by the public Board of Education, but one selected and approved by the bishop under whose direction and jurisdiction the college is, have no permission to read such books. The reason for this is very simple: A university or the Public Board of Education may place such a book on its programme, and accordingly oblige the professors to teach it; but it is highly improbable that a bishop would select an immoral book for study in his seminary.

(3) What exactly is required on the part of the classic work that it be proscribed by the present rule? must it treat 'ex-professo de rebus lascivis'; or does it suffice that it touch on such matters merely incidentally—*obliter*? Amongst commentators who have heretofore written on the rules, there are two opinions. 1°. *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* holds that it suffices to treat 'obiter de rebus lascivis' to have the book proscribed: 'non si distingue fra

¹ We shall justify this assertion in our remarks on Rule 27.

libri che trattano *ex professo* e quelli che no, tutti seguono la stessa regola.¹ 2°. Pennacchi, however, holds that it is necessary that the classic work treat '*ex professo de rebus lascivis*,' in order that it be proscribed by the present rule, and this appears to us to be the more plausible and the more firmly established opinion :—

(a) In the introduction we stated that when two probable interpretations of any word or phrase presented themselves in the course of the present rules, we were to accept the more liberal and the more lenient, and that we should thus be acting in accordance with the primary wish of the legislator, whose wish it was to make the present rules so liberal and so lenient as to bring them within the reach of everybody of good dispositions. Now, is it probable that the Pontiff would exact more from a classic author than from an ordinary scribbler? It would appear not. But according to the last rule immoral books of ordinary worth are not proscribed unless they treat '*ex professo de rebus lascivis*': therefore neither is a classic work.

(b) Apart altogether from the indulgence that we naturally grant to those who express themselves in neat language, and represent their ideas under the garb of beautiful imagery, a strong reason arises from the grammatical structure of the present rule: '*Libri auctorum sive antiquorum sive recentiorum quos classicos vocant si hac ipsa turpitudinis labe infecti sunt*': Now, what is the antecedent of '*hac ipsa . . . labe*'? It is not to be found in the present rule; we must, therefore, go back to the preceding rule to discover it; but in the preceding rule we find—not '*obsenitas obiter tractata*,' but '*obsenitas ex professo tractata*'—'*qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant*.' Therefore the rule manifestly implies an '*ex professo*' treatment. Whichever of those two opinions be in theory the correct one, it would appear that in practice we must follow the opinion of Pennacchi, for as it has a solid foundation we cannot impose the opposite opinion on anyone.

Using, therefore, this second opinion, we may now make

¹ Page 34.

the following deductions: the *Aeneid* of Virgil, the *Gerusalemme Liberta* of Torquato Tasso, the *Faust* of Goëthe, the *Othello* of Shakespeare, and the *Paradise Lost* of Milton are not proscribed by the present rule; for although immodest pictures may be found scattered through those works, still they do not treat 'ex professo de rebus lascivis.' On the other hand, the books *De Arte Amandi* of Ovid, *Orlando Furioso* of Lodovico Ariosto, the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, the *Rape of Lucrece* of Shakespeare, and the *Don Juan* of Byron, seem to be all proscribed by the present rule, because their special design seems to be to treat of obscene subjects.

(4) A question of practical importance now presents itself for solution: what, if a classic work treating 'ex professo de rebus lascivis' be prescribed for examination by the public Board of Education? According to the second part of the rule, such a book would be forbidden to boys, because the required condition is not fulfilled—*nisi solerti cura*, &c.; but according to the first part of the rule masters and superiors would be permitted to read them 'ratione magisterii et officii.' Amid two apparently conflicting clauses, therefore, how are masters and professors to act?

In solution we should distinguish a two-fold case: (a) either the Board will have prescribed the immoral book and a particular edition of it, or (b) have prescribed, indeed, the book, but have left to the teachers the selection of the edition. If, then, the masters have the selection of the edition it would appear that they are bound to see that the condition of the second part of the rule is fulfilled—'*nisi solerti cura sint expurgati*.' If, however, the Board obliges them to use a particular edition, then we think that they might use the edition prescribed; because (1) they would otherwise suffer a *damnum gravissimum*; (2) the violation of the rule cannot be imputed to them but to the Board, as it is the Board that puts the books into the hands of the pupils; (3) because they may still fulfil the spirit of the law, by the manner in which they treat the exceptional passages, the modest and disapproving way in which they speak of the licentious ideas, and by the salutary admoni-

tions they give their pupils. If teachers of young boys should find themselves in such a position they would do well to keep before them the warning of an old poet, whose words, however, are perhaps better than his example :—¹

Nil dictu foedum, visuque haec limina tangat,
Intra quae puer est,

and endeavour to follow the counsel of St. Clement of Alexandria on a kindred subject ‘ab obscenitate sermonis non ipsi tantum, debemus abstinere, sed illos quoque qui ea utuntur, tum asperiore obtutu, tum vultus aversione tum etiam saniis, tum demum vehementiori sermone.’

To be continued,]

T. HURLEY.

ST. COLUMBA, METROPOLITAN OF CALEDONIA

‘Quomodo vero praedicabunt nisi mittantur.’—Rom. 10.

THE most beautiful sketch in Montalembert’s *Monks of the West* is that devoted to St. Columba.² He has utilized all the most recent researches, Catholic and Protestant; for Columba has been always popular in Scotland, under the fond illusion that ‘he knew not Rome or prelacy.’ Hence his footsteps have been diligently traced, and his foundations carefully identified, by the best Scottish antiquaries. Montalembert says :—

The most enlightened judges among Scottish Protestants agree in attributing to the teachings of Columba, to his foundations and disciples, all the primitive churches and the very ancient parochial division of Scotland.

Chambers, a good representative of present Scottish opinion, says ⁴ :—

From the particular position occupied by Columba towards his disciples in all parts, when the Culdee bishopricks were

¹ Juvenal, *Satire*, xiv.

² Vol. iii.

³ Ch. iii.

⁴ *Book of Days*, 1881.

established, all the bishops were considered as placed under the authority of the abbots of Iona, so that these abbots were virtually the metropolitans of the Scottish Church.

Long before these Bede says¹ :—‘ *Habet insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterum, cujus juri omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti.*’

St. Columba's position in Caledonia is, therefore, beyond all doubt. He was its apostle, the founder of its monasteries, churches, parishes, and episcopal sees, its acting metropolitan, though only in priest's orders; and he bequeathed all this power to his successors, the abbots of Iona. Whence did he derive this extensive jurisdiction? ‘How shall they preach unless they be sent?’² The old Protestant solution was very simple; but we need no longer trouble about it, as they have ceased to claim kinship with Columba. Catholics have always taken it for granted that whatever the saint did was rightly done. The only direct solution ever proposed is the alleged visit of Columba to Pope Gregory the Great; but this visit is very doubtful. Montalembert disbelieved it altogether; and were it ever so certain it would not solve our difficulty, for St. Gregory became Pope only in 590, and St. Columba died in 597, about thirty years after the commencement of his mission.³ There is no record of any express Roman commission like that given to St. Patrick, St. Augustine, St. Boniface, &c.; but we know that Columba had made serious preparations for his mission before sailing for Caledonia; that he had already founded some great monasteries; and that his monks loved to visit foreign shrines. May he not have secured his Roman commission through them? Quite possible, but only an unsupported conjecture.

Was jurisdiction considered necessary at all in those early times? Unfortunately for this solution, questions of jurisdiction are among the very earliest known in the

¹ *H. E.*, iii. 4.

² *Rom.* x. 15.

³ There is a story about envoys from St. Gregory to Iona, which may be dismissed in the same way

Church. No self-constituted or irregularly-constituted bishop was regarded as a true bishop; his acts were held to be null and void; and this even when his ordination was quite valid. This doctrine was already a truism in the Church when the Donatist schism began, in 311, and had been urged, long before that time, against the Montanists and the Novatians. It was, therefore, very old and very well known in St. Columba's time. But was it known to Columba? We have a sufficient answer to this in the fact that he was a pupil to St. Finian at the celebrated school of Clonard, and then sought to slake his thirst at every other fountain of knowledge in Erin. From the range of studies in these schools we can see that Columba could not have been ignorant of so fundamental a point of ecclesiastical knowledge.¹ The hierarchical order he established in Caledonia is another proof of this. Where, then, shall we find the solution of our difficulty? Most probably in the canonical usage, thus described by Thomassin² :—

With regard to the episcopal sees of new Christian colonies, the African Council decreed that a bishop three years in peaceable possession of churches brought over to Catholic unity by himself should continue to govern these churches . . . It is easy to infer from this that all bishops on the frontiers of the Church had a still more incontestable right to enlarge their episcopal or metropolitan sees by new conquests from barbarous or idolatrous nations. Thus St. Gregory protested³ to the kings of France, Theoderic and Theodobert, that he had sent missionaries and bishops to England only because the French bishops had neglected that rich harvest. 'Pervenit ad nos Anglorum gentem ad fidem Christianam, Deo miserante, desideranter velle converti, sed sacerdotes vestrose vicino negligere,' &c. Athanasius sent Frumentius as bishop to India [Abyssinia]; St. Chrysostom gave a bishop to the Goths; Juvenal of Jerusalem gave their first bishop to the Saracens . . . The Bishop of Alexandria sent a bishop to the Homerites of Arabia, who had been recently converted, with their king, Ellesbaan. In the course of ages the right to found new sees reverted to the popes; not that they had themselves reserved it to increase their power or diminish that of other bishops, but owing to the negligence of bishops, or their

¹ See Dr. Healy's *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*.

² *Discipline de l'Eglises*, p. 2, l. 1, ch. xi.

³ Ep. v. 58, 59.

deference to the Holy See, or the greater confidence of princes, or the more frequent recourse of the peoples to the successors of Peter, or the greater zeal of the popes.

According to this discipline, it was the right and the duty of the Bishop of Armagh, then our sole metropolitan, to give bishops and priests to Caledonia. The succession at Armagh was then quite regular, and its bishops distinguished for learning, piety, and zeal; Columba was the most distinguished priest in the province, and his zeal for the conversion of the heathen was well known; can we suppose the Primate, Feidlimid Fionn (551-578), to be so forgetful of his duty as to neglect such a rare opportunity? Such neglect would have richly deserved the strongest censure of St. Gregory.

St. Columba's mission to Caledonia was no casual afterthought; it had been planned and discussed with his most trusted advisers, long before he had seen Iona. One of the most certain items in his life is the fact that he left his country expressly to evangelize Caledonia. Bede says:—¹ 'Venit de Hybernia Britanniam predicaturus verbum Dei Provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum.' He was a well-informed churchman, and knew what was necessary for such a mission, and where to look for it. That he did look for it was taken for granted by his contemporaries and his successors, many of whom were well versed in canonical learning.

But on this supposition the abbots of Iona ought to have been regarded as canonically subject to Armagh? And so they were even down to the thirteenth century; for, at the date of 1203, *The Four Masters* tell us of a small Ulster Synod by which an abbot of Iona named Kellach was deposed, and, another named Amalgad elected in his place. Iona was always regarded as an Irish monastery, and the succession in the abbacy is as carefully recorded in our annals as that of our princes, bishops, and greater abbots.²

¹ *H. E.*, iii., 4.

² Montalembert is quite mistaken in attributing to the abbots of Iona a sort of primacy over our Irish bishops. Columba himself had no canonical authority in Ireland outside his own monasteries. His moral authority was always very great in Ireland, and was inherited to some extent by his successors.

Iona having been plundered by the Danes, in 986, the Columbian Order was thrown into confusion by the death of its Superior-General who perished with fifteen of the elders. The usurping family occupied the see of Armagh at the time, but the married intruders had not as yet appeared on the scene; the primate, Dubdalethe II. was a real bishop, and to him the Columbians now turned in preference to bishops and abbots of superior merit; they elected him in 989 Superior-General of all their monasteries in Scotland and Ireland. Would they have done so if he had not been already their recognised ecclesiastical superior? ¹

Some reader may feel surprised why no notice has been taken of the legend which attributes St. Columba's exile partly to a penance imposed on him for a great fault; but this fact, were it ever so true, could not affect our argument; that it is not true, is now admitted by every serious historian. Montalembert gives the legend in full, but ends by admitting that it has no support from Adamnan, who simply says:—'*De Scotis ad Britanniam pro christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit.*' Lanigan proves clearly that these words mean the very same thing as those already quoted from Bede. So that this legend has not the slightest support from our most reliable original authorities. Lanigan's dissertation finally disposes of the whole fable. The legend is, however, very beautiful, and contains many probable facts illustrative of the manners of the time, as Montalembert remarks.

Some lay reader may ask how Columba could be a metropolitan though only in priest's orders; but this was purely a matter of jurisdiction, which could be exercised by persons not even in minor orders. For functions requiring episcopal orders a bishop was generally retained at the monastery. Of course, the first bishops were ordained in Ireland.

There is another episode in our history which becomes quite intelligible in the light of this canonical usage; the jurisdiction exercised by the archbishops of Canterbury

¹ See Lanigan, vol. iii., ch. xxii.

² Vol ii., chap xi.

in three of our cities—Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. Our modern historians allude to this as a usurpation, although the mere names of Lanfranc and St. Anselm ought to have made such an imputation impossible. Our old writers never viewed it in this light, nor did our princes or bishops.¹

In the tenth century these three cities were completely Danish and pagan, and were governed by their own independent princes. After the battle of Clontarf, in 1014, they became vassals of our Irish princes, and began at last to embrace the Gospel. After some time they had to think of providing themselves with bishops. Armagh, which they had so often plundered, was still odious to them, and they instinctively turned to Canterbury. But, what right had Canterbury to interfere in a country which had an ancient hierarchy of its own? Neither Lanfranc nor St. Anselm pretended to have received for this any express commission from Rome; such a supposition is a modern invention which has been exposed to well-merited ridicule by Lanigan.² And yet they granted the petitions of the Danes without the slightest hesitation. What seems still more extraordinary, Irish princes and bishops joined in these petitions—a signal example of Irish tolerance. Thus, Turlogh O'Brien, in 1074, allowed his vassal Gothric, of Dublin, to have a bishop consecrated in England by Lanfranc; and in 1085, with some Irish bishops, joined the citizens of Dublin in their petition for the consecration of Donatus. In 1095, Murtogh O'Brien joined the clergy and people of Dublin in their petition to St. Anselm for the consecration of Samuel. In 1121, Turlogh O'Connor joined the citizens of Dublin, in their petition for the consecration of Gregory, to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1096, Murtogh O'Brien, and the Bishop of Cashel, with several other bishops, joined

¹ That the above *usage* was still in full force *de jure*, in the eleventh century, is quite clear from the nature of the war against *investitures* in the time of St. Gregory VII., 1073-1085. His avowed object was to defend the ancient rights of Metropolitans and Provincial Councils, against the encroachments of lay princes who had claimed the right to dispose of nearly all the dignities of the Church.

² Vol. iii., ch. xxiv

the citizens of Waterford in their petition to St. Anselm for the consecration of their first bishop Malchus. So that in those days no one had the slightest doubt about the right of the Danes to receive their bishops from either of the neighbouring metropolitans.

Not only were these bishops consecrated in England, but they signed at their consecration the formal documents usual on such occasions. Thomassin tells us¹ that every bishop owed obedience to the metropolitan who had consecrated him. We still possess some of the formal documents signed by these Danish bishops.² Donatus (1038-1074) is the first of these bishops of Dublin known to us. He must have been consecrated at Canterbury, for we find him writing to Lanfranc as his metropolitan. His successor, Patrick, consecrated at St. Paul's, in 1074, signed the following document:—

I, Patrick, having been elected bishop to preside over Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, do tender this instrument of my profession to you, most venerable father, Lanfranc, Primate of the Britains and Archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, and do promise to obey you and your successors in all things appertaining to the Christian religion.

His successor, Donatus, signed the following document, in 1085:—

I, Donatus, Bishop of the Church of Dublin, in Ireland, promise canonical obedience to you, Lanfranc, Archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, and to your successors.

Samuel in 1095, and Gregory in 1121, signed similar documents. Gregory died Archbishop of Dublin, in 1161,³ the palliums having been conferred on our four metropolitans by Cardinal Paparo at the Synod of Kells, in 1152; and thus ended the jurisdiction of Canterbury over Dublin.

¹ *Discipline de l'Eglise*, p. 1, l. ii., ch. 6.

² See Lanigan, vols. iii., iv., or Dalton's *Archbishops of Dublin*.

³ St. Laurence O'Toole, then Abbot of Glendalough, was unanimously elected his successor, and consecrated in Christ Church Cathedral by the Primate, Gilla Mac Liag (Gelasius), the worthy successor of St. Malachy.

Malchus, at his consecration, in 1096, signed the following document:—

I, Malchus, elected for the Church of Waterford, and to be consecrated bishop by thee, Reverend Father Anselm, Archbishop of the holy Church of Canterbury and Primate of All Britain, do promise to observe canonical obedience in all things to thee and all thy successors.

The see of Waterford was subjected to Cashel, in 1118, by the Papal Legate, Gillibert, in the Synod of Rathbresail. Limerick was also subjected to Cashel at this synod.

It may be said the Danes applied to Canterbury only because the right of Armagh was in abeyance, owing to the lay usurpation, which lasted until the election of Celsus, in 1105. Without touching the canonical questions involved in this usurpation, it is enough for us to know that the primacy was acknowledged and exercised¹ in the country all this time—in temporals by the lay usurpers, and in spirituals by ordained coadjutors, who were often very learned and distinguished men. Is it probable that the Danes were more scrupulous about jurisdiction than the Irish themselves? But the fact that they continued to apply to Canterbury after the election of Celsus (1105-1128) settles the matter.

Montalembert's sketch is wonderfully accurate for a foreigner; but he makes a serious mistake in asserting, that in Ireland and Scotland, 'dioceses and parishes were regularly constituted only in the twelfth century.' We have already seen how he had attributed to St. Columba and his disciples, 'all the primitive churches, and the very ancient parochial division of Scotland.' As regards Ireland, Dr. Todd, in his *Memoir of St. Patrick*, 1864, asserted that it had neither diocese nor archdiocese before the twelfth century; but Dr., now Monsignor Gargan, at once refuted

¹ Often too much exercised, according to St. Bernard (*Vita Malachio*. ch. x.): 'Sine ratione mutabantur et multiplicabantur Episcopi pro libitu metropolitani, ita ut unus Episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singuli pene Ecclesiae singulos haberent Episcopos.' This long-standing abuse explains why the Legates, Gillibert and Paparo, in the Synods of Kells and Rathbresail, had to reconstitute the dioceses, and diminish their number.

² Chap. viii

the arguments relied on for this extraordinary assertion.¹ The *Four Masters*, in recording the deaths of our bishops, used two very distinct formulas; one, N., *bishop of N.*, is constantly repeated for the old sees, Armagh, Ardagh, Ardstraw, Connor, Clones, Clonfert, Duleek, Dunshaughlin, Emly, Down, Ferns, Kildare, Louth, Moville, Monasterboice, Slane, Trim, Lismore, Clonard, Cork, Glendaloch, and a few others. The bishops of some of these, such as Emly and Kildare, had the honorary title of archbishop; others, as those of Clonard and Moville, were also abbots. Anyone who may take the trouble to read the entries in the *Four Masters*, down to the year 750, will be struck by the fewness of such sees compared to their number in the twelfth century. The other formula constantly used is N., *bishop*, died: these bishops had no sees, but were either *chorepiscopi*, or distinguished men on whom episcopal orders had been conferred out of regard for their special merit.

This dispute is a mere *logomachia*. The terms diocese, parish, &c., were not in use, but the thing itself existed as we see all through our history. The limits of provinces, sees, and missions were most exactly defined in Africa; and yet the terms diocese, archdiocese, parish, metropolitan were unknown, except that the bishop's territory was called his *parocia*. A writer like Dr. Todd could easily prove that there was no ecclesiastical organization in the African Church, and that St. Augustine was not bishop of Hippo.

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

¹ Dublin: Duffy, 1864.

THE CELTIC REVIVAL OF TO-DAY

AT a time of political unrest, when men's minds are in a ferment, when the clash and strife for power in the body politic surrounds us, there is a danger that our thoughts may be bent entirely to mere material ends. The spirit of change that has come with Local Government tends for the moment to close our eyes to higher things. The management of a nation's finance, the grasping of grave economic problems like the re-adjustment of land tenure, the financial trouble with England now looming portentously in the forefront of Irish politics, are, no doubt, questions of moment, and as such claim our consideration and sympathy. Yet they are not all that is necessary for a nation's welfare. Man has an emotional and spiritual nature, which the Celt, even in the busiest work-a-day life, never forgets. Side by side, therefore, with these material movements, there is daily growing in our midst an idea, if I may so call it, which is destined to leave no slight impress on the Celtic mind. I call it an idea, but it is a movement dominated by an idea. It is not a thing of to-day, nor of yesterday. Individual thinking Irish minds like Davis and Mangan and Ferguson held it ever before them as an ideal, and each in his own way did much to further it; but in the storm and stress of material and political effort it was ever fading from their grasp, dying for a while, coming to life again, but only fitfully. To-day, however, it seems to have come to stay. Men of the Gradgrind type call it emotional, sentimental, faddist; thoughtful men with hearts that beat in sympathy with noble ideas, see it in a something, having which a nation may be, without which it is dead. The movement is variously called 'the Celtic Revival,' 'the Gaelic Revival,' 'the Celtic Renaissance.'

Celtic Revival is not yet the topic of the market place. The Local Government Act, the Financial Relations, the United Irish League, and kindred things fill the mind of

the man of the street. Yet it is not unheard of, and is daily gaining greater prominence. The newspapers give it an occasional leader, sympathetic indeed, but tentative. The Reviews are opening their pages to it. In November it was *The Nineteenth Century*, with Lady Gregory's thoughtful article on some of the work that is doing; in January, Fiona M'Leod told much of a few men of the movement in *The Fortnightly*. We have all heard of Douglas Hyde and Father O'Growney, and W. B. Yeats and George Russell, and David Comyn and Father Nolan, and Nora Hopper and Standish O'Grady, and Edward Martyn and Katherine Tynan Hinkson, and Dr. Sigerson, to name but a few of the many; they are all of the movement; with divergent views, no doubt, yet of it. There is also the Gaelic League, with its earnest workers and brilliant Secretary Mr. M'Neill. There is the annual Oireachtas with the name unpronounceable of a Saxon tongue, but sweet to the Celtic ear; and *Fáinne an Láe*, harbinger of the sun that now nears the noonday. In another sphere the new Celtic Theatre, that has at length taken a tangible shape is a sign that the movement has well passed the initial stage since the drama is the culmination of literary art. Now, what is this something to which all these men and women and things stand in relation? What is it which is flooding so many master-minds, which is gradually seeking its way through the land in tiny rivulets, soon to join into a mighty river in which the men of Ireland are to bathe and arise with hearts and minds re-vivified?

It is the revival of the Celt. Not that the Celt ever died. In Ireland there was a continuous living Celtic literature, coming down from the misty days when Aengus Og went to sleep in Brough of Boyne to our own day. Nor were the dreams of the slumbering Celt unfelt in the literature of other nations. England owes much of what is best in her literature to Celtic tradition. From it Shakspeare evolved *Lear* and *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, and Tennyson set in immortal verse, in his Arthurian cycle, stories that, in early days, told of the adventures of Art, 'the lone man,' in Alba—stories which filtered through Welsh and Cornish to

Breton, to come again to England with the Normans; and, when mingled with *The Holy Grail* of the jongleurs of Provence, made a fabulous British Arthur of our Irish king. As Mr. Yeats so well says, the Celt has now been long enough dreaming the dreams of Europe for other nations to write; the time has now come for him to write his own dreams.

In speaking of Celtic literature, I shall confine myself to the Celts of Ireland, not because they are the only Celts, nor that the present movement is confined to Ireland, but because most of the literature of the Celt that has come down to us, whether it be known now as Gaelic of Scotland, Welsh, or Breton, may be traced back to the Celts of Ireland. Now, the revival of the Celt means different things for different people. For all it means the death of the Celt that English writers have set up in art and literature. Even English people are getting sick of the turf-and-whiskey Irishman, who has no existence save in the Cockney imagination. Celtic revival means, too, the de-Anglicizing of Ireland. We have become so steeped in the literature of England in those days, that the educated Irishman has become English even in his ideas and forms of thought. Reviving the Celt means also bringing back our heroic past. The present movement means, moreover, the emancipation of the Celt from foreign racial influence, and the building up of a new art and literature in Ireland, animated by the Celtic spirit, informed by everything that is good in Ireland's past, pagan and Christian—a literature and an art that will have no reservation but those which truth and beauty impose, which will be restricted to no creed or class, which will draw its materials from the *Sidhe*, from Fergus and Oisín, as well as from the literature of Christian times. Every race has its racial spirit and character—a something difficult to define, but easily perceived, which differentiates it from other races. It will be the aim of the new movement to foster and develop the Celtic spirit, and to make Irishmen feel and think as Irishmen ought. As this spirit externates itself in art, and literature, and music, the revival will be mainly in these. It aims at no mere slavish imitation of the past, but at the establishment of a new era, informed by

the spirit of the past in so far as that spirit is racial, and, as such, true for all time; but informed, too, by the hopes, and fears, and disappointments of the best that is in the Celtic mind of to-day.

The time is ripe for the advent of the Celt. Nations have their days of greatness and leadership in literature. The Greeks came and went, leaving behind them, no doubt, a literature that will have moving power as long as the world lasts. But as a living nation, capable of influencing the mind of the world, the Greeks are no more. So it was with Egypt and Rome. With all our modern advancement in science and the art of living, modern literatures are becoming weary and worn. To assert this of English literature in face of the immense daily output of the English Press, seems a daring paradox. But it is true. Materialism has killed English literature. At the present day it has none of the living force, the undying fire, the esoteric impulse, which alone gives life to letters. Purely national literature is dead in England, and a literature that is not national is decaying. This is most evident in the drama which should pulse the national life, whereas the English drama of to-day is a grotesque and sensational farce. English writers seem to be satisfied with the outside of things; they have little deepness of perception and no spiritual insight. The destinies of literatures, as of individuals, are under the direction of the divine mind. Environment, climatic influence, and a hundred other causes may combine to develop a national literature, but the divine hand is over all. I am but voicing the opinion of many observant men when I say that the time appointed for the leadership of the Celt in literature has come. No other spirit but the Celtic will give life to the materialism of the modern world.

Spirituality and faith are the two great needs of modern life and of modern letters; spirituality and faith are two of the essential characteristics of the Celtic spirit in literature as we read it down through the ages. The Celtic spirit is the antithesis of everything material and gross. Living faith has been its keynote even since pagan times. Far

back as we can go in Celtic time there was always a longing for the land of the blessed where men sought a higher life than that which came daily to their hands. Tairrngir and Hy Brazil came into being through the desire of another life wherein to find the solace denied in this. Our pagan fathers spiritualized everything, and nature herself was for them a living thing of love and beauty. They dreamt dreams and saw visions, and when St. Patrick came their fine spiritual natures received Christian truth with little difficulty. The earth was still beautiful to them, and they heard the sighing of the wind as if it were a living voice, and the waves that swept over Erin still brought them a message of love or of hate. But they saw now in all clearness, what some seemed to have reached already intuitively, that a great spiritual being was behind all nature, ordering it for men's use and pleasure, making the flowers and the winds and the sea speak with a new voice as the work of His divine hands.

Some years ago it was the fashion to scoff at Celtic literature, and even deny its existence. The fashion has changed somewhat since then; now Professor Mahaffy admits that there is a Celtic literature, and that it is of some value, at least philologically. Had the learned professor devoted but a tenth of the time he has spent in elucidating obscure parish disputes in Greece to the study of the literature of his native land, his critical mind would be amongst the first to class it as second to no existing literature, with the possible exception of his favourite Greek. There is a Celtic literature, with the characteristics I have mentioned, and others I shall notice afterwards. It has excited the admiration of continental scholars as well as those of our own race. Zeuss and Windisch, and Jubainville and Ebel, and Zimmer and Kuns Meyer, who know our literature better, perhaps, than any of our own countrymen, have paid it the highest tributes. It is astonishing, however, what ignorance prevails at home as regards everything in our past. Even among many of the learned Celtic literature is represented by a few books of annals which have been translated from time to time. The *Annals of the Four*

Masters, of *Tigernach*, and of *Lough Ce* are unquestionably most valuable in fixing our historic dates ; but in speaking of Celtic literature they are no more to be taken into account than would Hansard or Whittaker's Almanac in relation to English literature of our own day. Quite independently of these histories and annals we have a mass of literature, most of it manuscript, up to this, untranslated, such as no other nation in Europe possesses. It consists of history, legendary and real, narrative poems and ballads, prose historical tales, mythological, and other imaginative tales, lyric poetry, satire, religious literature, law, science, and various translations from other languages. This is not a mere assertion ; it is a sober statement of fact which anyone capable of judging may prove for oneself. An inspection of the Celtic manuscripts in the various public libraries in the British Islands and the Continent will prove the truth of the statement. The chief collections are in the libraries of the Royal Irish Academy, in Dublin ; Trinity College, Dublin ; the Bodleian, at Oxford ; the British Museum, Louvain, and the Vatican. Numbers of other manuscripts, some of them most important, are in various other continental and home libraries, as well as in private collections. Altogether the unprinted literature of Celtic Ireland would fill, according to Douglas Hyde, over 1,500 volumes octavo. The most important of the manuscripts are bound in volumes of vellum, among which are the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, or Book of the Dun Cow ; the *Book of Ballymote* ; the *Book of Lecan* ; the *Leabhar Breac*, or Speckled Book of Duniry ; and the *Book of Fermoy*, all of which may be seen in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Perhaps the most valuable of all the books of manuscripts, from a literary standpoint, is the twelfth century *Book of Leinster*, in the library of Trinity College.

Of course, the limits of a short article preclude my entering into any detailed or exhaustive analysis of this immense mass of literature. From an ethnological standpoint it is simply invaluable. It makes a social history of the Celts of North-West Europe, in Cæsar's time and before it, at length possible, by the light it throws on the manners and customs

of the pagans of these days. Important, however, as our literature is from this point of view, it is with its literary aspects alone I purpose to deal. Taken with this limitation, Celtic literature divides itself into romantic tales and lyric poetry. The romantic tales divide themselves into four groups—the mythological cycle, dealing with euhemerized gods and goddesses, whom our old chroniclers say lived in Eri about seventeen hundred years before Christ; the Red Branch cycle, centring around Cuchulain and Conor and their companions, at the time of Christ; the third has for its heroes Finn and his Fenians, Oisín and Oscar, and Diarmuid and Conan, and the rest. The fourth group consists of all the tales which cannot be classed under the other three heads, miscellaneous in theme and character, some of them—such as *The Storming of the Court of Da Darga*—among the most important of the sagas we have. Of the same class are *The Voyage of Maelduin*, from which Tennyson took his well-known poem of the same name; *The Elopement of Erc*, *The Triumph of Congal*. With these we may class the legends of the *Sidhe*, or fairyland—a subject of deep and intense interest to our fathers.

I shall not delay with the mythological cycle. There are two prose epics of this group of very great interest, dealing with the struggle for supremacy of Erin: first, between the Tuatha de Danaans and the Firbolgs, in which the De Danaans gained the victory; and, again, thirty years later, between the victors and the Fomorians, in which the conquerors in the battle of North Moytura repeated their victory in South Moytura, and settled down in easy possession of the land. To this cycle also belong *The Children of Lir*, one of the best known of our old tales; *The Voyage of Brana*, and *The Children of Tuireann*. When the new movement produces its epic poet, the tales of this period will give him material for the highest exercise of his art. The Dagda, and Manannan, and Balor of the Evil Eye, and Lugh the Long-handed, and the magnanimous Aengus Og, 'the King of Ireland's son' wrought deeds that may well be woven into the highest forms of poetry.

The two great Celtic epic cycles are the Red Branch, or heroic cycle, and the Fenian cycle. They come well within historic times. Conor, one of the heroes of the Red Branch, or Ultonian cycle, was, say the chroniclers, contemporaneous with our Divine Lord. The same authorities place the Fenians at a later date, during the reigns of Conn of the Battles and his descendants, Art ; Art, 'the Lone Man ;' Cormac, his son ; Cairboé of the Liffey, in whose reign the power of the Fenians was broken.

We may take this chronology as more or less correct, though grave doubt is thrown on it by Mr. Alfred Nutt, and a theory not at all according with it, but sufficiently probable, is put forward by Mr. Larminie. The question is not likely to be soon set at rest, nor has it anything to do with the literary value of the tales. The Red Branch Cycle consists of about thirty tales which need only the touch of genius to fuse them into the finest epic poem the world has ever seen. Though not written in metre, they are full of imaginative force ; free in their movement, they throb with the fire of passionate hearts ; they are magnificent in conception and execution. Cuchulain from the mystery of his birth to his death fighting the waves of the great sea, stands out clearly defined as the hero of heroes. The great event round which the tales centre is the long war between Connacht and Ulster at the time when Conor, the son of Nessa, reigned over the Ultonians, and Mève was queen of the west. The cause of the war was the slaying of the sons of Usnach. Though Mr. Douglas Hyde says, that in Trinity College some years ago when Déirdre was set as the subject for the Vice-Chancellor's prize in English verse, the students did not know who or what the word meant ; yet I think I am safe in saying that most Irishmen of the present day know her sad story. King Conor would have Déirdre for a wife, and that he might with more certainty fulfil his purpose, he reared her in a lone rath apart from men. Déirdre saw Naisi, and fell in love with him. To escape Conor's anger they fled with Ardan and Ainli, Naisi's brothers, to Glen Etive, in the west of Scotland. Here they lived for some years till Conor lured them back

to Erin on the plea that the knights of the Red Branch were pining for Naisi and his heroic brothers. To convince Naisi of his good faith Conor sent Fergus McRoy, who was king of the Ultonians before Conor, as a pledge of safe-conduct. When the party was approaching Emania, where Conor lived, the treacherous king separated Fergus from his charge, and basely slew Naisi and his brothers as well as the son of Fergus. Fergus, filled with anger at the treachery of Conor, gathered many of the heroes of the Red Branch under his standard, burnt down Conor's palace at Emen, and with sorrow in heart for parting with many who were still dear to him, left Ulla and joined his forces to those of the warrior queen of the Olnemacta at Croghan in Roscommon. With her he waged war on Conor for years, and it is with the incidents of this famous struggle that the heroic Cycle deals. The most important and poetic of the tales are *Déirdri*, *The Tain Quest*, or Cattle spoil of Cuailgne in Louth; *The Wooing of Emer*, *Bricriu's Banquet*, *The Intoxication of the Ultonians*. Mr. Standish O'Grady and Miss Eleanor Hull who have rendered the cycle in excellent English, claim for it a leading place on its merits as pure literature.

The Fenian cycle is distinctly the popular one with the people of Ireland. It lives in the popular mind far more than the tales of the Red Branch. This, perhaps, has led Mr. Larminie to suppose that the tales of the Red Branch are those of conquering chieftains, while the Fenian cycle of tales deals with the popular heroes of the conquered tribes. The two cycles certainly differ very much. The Fenian has not at all the same breadth and nobleness of conception that is characteristic of the older cycle. It is, also, less weird and more commonplace. Finn and his companions warred with the reigning powers, and the tales centre round this struggle. It began when Finn's father, Cool, waged war on Conn of the Hundred Battles, because he raised Crivhan of the Yellow Hair to the throne of Leinster, and ended years after at the battle of Gowra, with the death of Cairbré, and the total destruction of the Fenians. The chief tales are *The Battle of Cuncha*, where Conn of the Battles

was defeated and slain by Finn's famous Galway followers, Goll MacMorna; *The Battle of Moy Muchruime*; and *The Battle of Gowra*; and, perhaps the best of all, *Diarmuid and Grainne*.

In addition to these prose and semiprose romantic stories, we have in our literature, pagan and Christian, an enormous mass of poetry, some 50,000 lines, Father Keegan says. These poems deal mostly with Fenian legends; many of them being attributed to Oisín, the son of Finn, who is said to have lived on in Tir-na-nóg till St. Patrick came. They are written in irregular metres, and are assonantal and alliterative. They are characterized by that intense love of nature, which soothed the Fenian heroes in their unrest.

I have given this brief outline of some of our Celtic literature, lest, as may happen, some may think that in insisting on Celtic spirit in literature, I spoke of something that had no real existence. It was a great literature, and it is, and we wish to project the living spirit of it into the literature of our own day. Misconceptions will arise even amongst those who are of the Celtic movement as to what the Celtic spirit is essentially. Fiona Macleod seems to think that the dominant note in Celtic literature is naturalness begotten of its unformed state: it is but the literature of a half civilization. If this were true, when the civilized state is reached, we shall settle down to the deadly dulness of our Teutonic neighbours. May God forfend. Faith and spirituality underlie everything our fathers wrote, and will, I hope, characterize our literature for ever.

Besides these, there is running throughout the whole literature the broad life that springs from brotherhood. The pagans had it, and in Christian times it got new strength from the intense human love that is the beauty of the Divine Saviour's message to men. Love was so intense with the magnanimous Celts, that to some it is the chief note in our literature. All the old tales symbolize the heart, the centre of affection. There is no more beautiful tale in the language than 'The Fight at the Ford,' from the Cuchulain cycle. Queen Mève, by using many blandishments, and finally

promising him the hand of her daughter in marriage, persuaded Ferdia to fight his friend, Cuchulain. With sad hearts the heroes met in the death-struggle, for they loved with a love passing the love of women; and as the fight went on, as Ferguson beautifully puts it, 'the champions, in the pauses of the deadly combat, kissed.' The love of the old Celts was no mere selfish affection, but extended, in the best spirit of chivalry, to the doer of every noble deed. When Fergus MacRoy saw the Red Branch heroes advancing towards Mève's camp, to avenge her foray in Ulster, he described them to Mève and Fléas in words of generous admiration, as if they came as friends, not as foes:—

It is the children of Rury whom thou seest [he said], heroic champions who fear nought created. The gods of Eri are with them, and worthy of divine presence are these warriors, for they are such as have never yet been collected in Eri since the days of old, when, at Moytura, gods with giants contended for the sovereignty of Fail.

The love of Ainli and Ardan for their brother, Naisi, which led them to leave Eman Macha, and cross the sea to Glen Etive as exiles with Déirdre, forms one of the most touching episodes in the literature of any land. Love and honour, and chivalrous treatment of women, admiration of noble enemies, and, above all, love of truth, we find in all the Celtic poems and tales. Oisín sang with the confidence inspired of honesty of purpose:—

We, the Fianna of Erin, never lied;
Falsehood was never assigned to us.
By courage and the strength of our hands
We used to come out of every peril.

And when in the old poem, St. Patrick asked Caolte how it was that the Fianna prospered so greatly, 'because,' he answered, with the old pagan pride, 'we had strength in our hands, courage in our hearts, and discretion in our tongues.'

Perhaps the most evident characteristic of Celtic bardic literature is the deep appreciation of nature in all her moods. No English poet that I know, with the possible exception of

Wordsworth, and not even he with true Celtic inness, describes nature as we have it in the poems attributed to Oisín and Caolte. The English mind sees the reeds swaying in the wind, and the rainbow, and the mountain side flecked with cloud shadows, and admires them ; but the Celt, as it were, for the moment, rides on the wings of the wind, and is one with it. Having passed, as they say in the Highlands, under the pillars of Caershee, he is gifted with another sight, and the rainbow is for him no mere beautiful arrangement of colours, but 'God's seven spirits,' bringing a message of peace and love to his soul.

Besides this love of nature, there is about Celtic poetry a glamour that is indescribable in words ; it is felt by everyone who has a touch of the Celtic spirit ; it is the awakening, perhaps, in us of feelings generated by our fathers' belief for centuries in *the others*, for now and then even the most sensible of us go, in our dreams, to the land where the good people stray. And who can say but this glamour is a good thing in this working world of ours ? Our mother Eri is always young in her folk tales ; and when our hearts are heavy with the sorrow and fret of life, it is well that one's mind can go back to the days of the *Sidhe*, which Mr. Yeats tells us of, when the white limestone door in the sheer face of Benbulbin opened in the twilight, and the men and women of the *Sidhe* went forth to make the world young again until the morn.

These are some of the qualities of that literature which is having its second birth. It was a great literature fifteen hundred years ago ; but it is greater now, for its spirit has been intensified in faith and love. The 'mightier Druid' that Conall Carnach prayed for came, and his teaching softened some of the harder qualities of the Celtic nature. Fínn of *Diarmuid and Grainne*, whose feeling of revenge withstood the prayers of Oisín and Oscar, and the memory of all the good worked for him by Diarmuid would, in the light of Christ's gentler teaching, be no longer possible. Nor would the Christ love, in which Patrick moulded the hearts of the men of Erin, allow the implacable Lugh to be deaf to the prayers of Tuireann, or

give utterance to the fierce words of gratified vengeance wherewith he spurned the pleading of the ill-fated Brian.

I insist on this fact, for there are some among the leaders of the new movement who make little of Christian influence on Celtic literature. Where we are all working for a common end, everything that savours of controversy should be put aside; toleration and breadth of view should mark our efforts. It is apity that one who breathes the Celtic spirit, as few do, should, in more than one instance, have contrasted pagan and Catholic Ireland with not a little of the old *odiu n theologicum*. It is to be hoped that these differences will die their natural death. It would be futile for anyone with a knowledge of the literary history of Ireland from St. Patrick's time till now to assert that Christianity had a blighting effect on literature. That literary progress was checked, there is no doubt; but it was due to causes well known to students of Irish history.

There will be differences of opinion in all movements, and one of the most serious, because it is the most radical and far-reaching, in connection with the Celtic movement, arises from the too great eagerness on the part of what I shall call 'the language side' of the revival to push their views unduly. I yield to no one in my love for the old Celtic tongue, and I hope to hear it yet as common speech throughout the land. Yet my view of the spirit of the Celtic revival is such that I cannot assent to a statement made in a recent lecture by the learned Professor of Irish in Maynooth College, to the effect that 'the ideal state of things would be that we should all speak Irish whenever we possibly could, and English only when we should.' Ideally I do not think this view desirable: practically I do not think it possible; nor is the accomplishment of it, by any means, necessary for the new birth of the Celtic spirit. The spirit of a literature may rise superior to the expression of it in any fixed form of words. The qualities which I have mentioned as forming the peculiar Celtic element in literature fit themselves to any language, and especially to English, which has been moulded for centuries under a hundred Celtic influences. If Celtic at this day were a world-

language, as English is, then, perhaps, it would be better fitted to deliver the Celtic message to men; but since it has ceased largely to be written and spoken, whoever urges it as the only vehicle of Celtic thought, is doing much to mar a chance that comes seldom in a nation's history. The Celtic language revival has its place in the new movement, and it is a leading place. For it is a shame that the grand old tongue our fathers spoke should be let die without making the most vigorous effort to give it a new life. If we are only in earnest, if we unite heart and hand, if we do not strive after the impracticable, if we take the means that lie at our doors, if we have liberal views and try to attract rather than repel those who are not yet quite with us, we may well hope that before many years are sped every Irish child will read of Fínnuala and Hugh and Conn and Fíachra and the Holy Keelvog in the old Celtic. Then would be laid bare to us those treasures of the past which would form the minds of the youth of Ireland. Yet even then, instead of the literature of the new time being supplementary to the old Celtic literature, as Dr. Hickey would have it, the old literature will form a valuable foundation for the new. Any other view is based on an improper conception of the factors that go to make a literature. Men may be imbued with the Celtic spirit, and give utterance to purely Celtic thought in a tongue other than that in which Oisín sang. The magic and music of the old Celtic story do not depend on the dry bones of language. It is the genius behind the language that make a language live, and in our day the genius of some of our young Celtic writers has made the olden glory of the Celt live a new life in the English dress. This question is a vital one, and is, of course, open to much argument on both sides, which I have not time to touch on here. I state my view, but I do it in no contentious spirit; I am but grieved that any differences exist. The movement is wide, and there is room for divergency of view, but bitterness should be excluded. It is my own wish that everyone who is of the movement should know Celtic, and I know that many are working hard to acquire a thorough knowledge of it. Some who know the tongue are accused of ignorance of it

rather to their discomfiture. The other day a writer in the *Daily Express* accused Fiona Macleod of not knowing Gaelic, the truth being that it was the only tongue she spoke till her fourteenth year. What we should all aim at is a sinking of self and a widening of our sympathies. There are many roads to Creevroe and Emen, and provided we all get there, does the way of each matter much?

An important question is, Have we at the present day men and women of letters who are capable of delivering the new message, who can give it literary form, and make it live? Anyone who has studied the work of the younger writers of to-day must answer emphatically, Yes. There are to-day men of letters in Ireland thoroughly Celtic in sympathy and in work, who have already done much to vindicate the place of the Celt in national and world literature. Mr. Standish O'Grady has done much for the new movement. He wields a pen worthy of the best spirit of Cuchulain and his heroic companions. His bardic history, his tales of the heroic cycle, his *Finn and his Companions* make us live the past over again with the gallant knights of Creevroe, and Méve and Fleas as fellow-workers in the struggle for life. For witchery of language, for tenderness and pathos, for graphic descriptive power, for intuitive sympathy with his characters, for life and action, almost Titanesque in its movement, he is unsurpassed by any who have attempted the telling of the Bardic tales. His energy seems to be drawn from the heroes whose lives, and loves, and disappointments he tells in the beautiful and emotional prose of which he is a master. If his admiration lies too much with the old pagan heroes, and if the atmosphere in which his early years were spent, still obscures from his clear vision the true place Catholic Ireland should hold in a national revival we may well believe it is but for a moment, and as the mists are dissipated he will be among the first to widen the door that leads to unanimity of thought and word.

Mr. Douglas Hyde has the double advantage of being a thorough Irish scholar and a writer of distinction in prose and verse. His able connection with the Gaelic League,

and the language movement generally, is well known. His popular account of pre-Danish Gaelic literature, in his *Story of Early Gaelic Literature*, is informing, and has done good service. His folk-lore stories are taken from the lips of the peasantry, and cannot be lightly passed over by anyone wishing to grasp the inner meaning of Celtic life. In his *Love Songs of Connacht* he shows that even later Ireland, persecuted and trodden under foot, was instinct of a poetry full of passionate tenderness and beauty of imagery and form. These songs show that even the uncultured Irish mind has a perception of beauty unknown in any other land. The following lines do equal credit to the Connacht peasants, who appreciate them in the original Irish, and to Dr. Hyde, who reproduces the spirit of them in English :—

My grief on the sea,
How the waves of it roll !
For they heave between me
And the love of my soul.

Abandoned, forsaken
To grief and to care,
Will the sea ever waken
Relief from despair ?

In his rendering of *The Three Sorrows of Story-telling*, in which he tells the sad stories of 'Déirdre,' 'The Children of Lir,' and 'The Ill-fated Children of Tuireau,' but especially in the two latter, he speaks the old Celtic stories in a spirit to move our hearts to pity.

There are two of the poets of to-day who are full of the Celtic spirit—Mr. W. B. Yeats and Mr. George Russell, (A.E.) Mr. Yeats has given us several volumes of verse of surpassing beauty. There is a music in his poetry, like far-off melody heard in the summer twilight, when our sense of hearing is of most exquisite perception, that haunts us like the dream of the *fear sídhe* he so often sings of. Beauty is to him no abstraction, but a concrete reality that he shapes into words at will. His *Wanderings of Oisín* breathe on us from far back the glory of a golden past, and is instinct with keen appreciation of the beautiful in nature. The ragweed

in all its ugliness, as well as the lily, bosomed in the water, speaks to him of God; the wind among the reeds has for him a living voice, and the moaning of the sea brings grief to his heart. If he sometimes 'sits in dreams on the pale strand,' his telling of it has little of the vagueness, but all of the beauty of these imaginative moments. *The Land of Heart's Desire* is one of the most perfect little plays that has been written in modern verse. It is simple, yet of rare distinction and dignity; full of a pathos that never degenerates into sentiment. *The Countess Kathleen* has much feeling for the sorrows that lie heavy on the hearts of men. It has action too, and gives hope that the Celtic literary drama will do much for modern literature and modern life. For lyric grace and beauty *The Rose of the World* can scarcely be equalled. *The Ballad of Father Gilligan* is a most sympathetic rendering of a tradition among the people of Castleisland, Co. Kerry. For pure music the poem beginning, 'I will arise, and go now, and go to Innisfree,' is unsurpassable; while fairy glamour and rare descriptive power are mingled in *The Stolen Child*:—

Come away, O human child!
To the waters and the wild,
With a fairy-hand in hand,
For the world's more full of weeping
Than you can understand.

Mr. Yeats asks a place among the noble company 'who sang to sweeten Ireland's wrong.' We gladly give it to him, with Davis, and Mangan, and Ferguson, and the others whose love of Ireland is distinctive in their lives and in their works. Indeed, as a poet who has reached perfection of literary form, he even now ranks above them all. He has noble qualities of mind and heart. Mr. Yeats has a great future before him; his life-work is calling him to action, to project his Celtic dreaming into the soul of modern Celtic literature; it is no boy's work, but labour for the great brain and heart of a strong man, for it is the shaping of a nation's literary future. We can only say to him with Browning: 'Speed, fight on, fare ever.'

Much of what I have said of Mr. Yeats may be said with equal truth of his friend Mr. George Russell. Their ideals run mainly along the same path. Mr. Russell has been called a visionary : one of his visions is the literary supremacy of the Celt. He believes strongly in the fact, that the time has come when the Celt is to take his place as a leader in creative literature. He has published two volumes of verse that are destined to live: *Homeward Songs by the Way*, and *The Earth Breath*. His poems are of exquisite music, full of dreams, and aery fancies, deeply mystical in tone, with such a feeling for the beauty of God's handiwork that one would think that he dwelt for a time with his own 'opal-coloured men' in the heart of the eternal hills. Mr. Russell is at present engaged on a volume of Celtic verse, and his sympathetic nature, burning with all the true poet's enthusiasm, is so full of the old Celtic feeling of faith and brotherhood, and love of man, and of nature and her moods, that we may hope for one of the ablest contributions yet made to modern Celtic literature.

Space does not permit me to notice at length the other brilliant writers who have grasped the true Celtic spirit. I can only mention Nora Hopper, whose mixed prose and verse is attracting wide attention. Mrs. Tynan Hinkson has done excellent work for the new movement in her exquisite rendering of *Diarmuid and Grainne* of the Fenian cycle, as well as other detached pieces. Dr. Sigerson, in *The Poems of the Gael and the Gaill*, has done much to familiarize us with the wealth of our existing literature. I have not touched on the work of Fiona Macleod, or Edward Martyn, or Lionel Johnson, or Miss Norma Brothwick, or Miss Alice Milligan, and many others who are all labouring with equal earnestness to advance the Celtic idea.

Outside the band of literary workers there is a duty imposed on us all to help the movement. We may help it if we will. We can, each in his own sphere, revive an interest in the old Celtic story by trying to substitute the reading of books instinct with the Celtic spirit for the purrinent English literature that is to-day flooding the country.

We can encourage the language movement by getting up classes for the study of Irish in connection with the Gaelic League. These classes may afterwards be made the means of propagating the true national idea through the land. We can try to influence the press of Ireland to enter into the Celtic spirit, and, in its turn, influence national thought. We can all join with Mr. Yeats and Mr. Martyn, in making 'The Irish Literary Theatre' a success. If we do these things, if we lift ourselves out of the sordid surroundings of our every-day life, if we forget party and class differences, and join earnestly in the new movement, we may rest assured that we are doing our part in making the Celt a living force in the world of literature.

J. O'DONOVAN.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

PROTESTANT MARRIAGES IN IRELAND AND THE LAW OF CLANDESTINITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Might I ask your opinion on a practical case? Two Protestants were married (in Ireland) before their own clergyman in the usual manner. Was this marriage valid? . . . I find a passing reference to the matter in the I. E. RECORD, 1897, from which I would infer that the marriage in the Protestant Church was valid. On the other hand, some priests with whom I have spoken regarding the matter are of opinion that Protestant marriages are invalidated in Ireland by the Council of Trent. An answer to my difficulty in the I. E. RECORD will much oblige.

EXPECTANS.

A few preliminary remarks may be necessary, in order to bring out clearly the precise point, as we understand it, of our correspondent's difficulty.

Some writers have raised a doubt whether heretics are affected by those matrimonial impediments which are of ecclesiastical institution merely. But the generally received and certain teaching of theologians is, that these impediments, apart from special exemption, regard heretics as well as Catholics. If, therefore, the two Protestants of whom there is question were, *v.g.*, within the forbidden degrees of kindred, or if there existed between them any (even ecclesiastical) diriment impediment, their marriage, without a dispensation from competent authority, was, of course, invalid.

We gather, however, from our correspondent's statement, that his only difficulty arises from the impediment of clandestinity. Were these Protestants bound by the decree *Tametsi*, under pain of invalidity, to contract before the parish priest of one of them and two witnesses? If so, their marriage before the Protestant clergyman was invalid. If they were not bound by the decree *Tametsi*, the marriage

before the Protestant clergyman was valid. The answer to our correspondent, therefore, turns on this: Are Protestants in Ireland bound by the decree *Tametsi*?

In the I. E. RECORD, November, 1897, we have, in the discussion of a larger question, incidentally referred to this point. As our correspondent rightly says, we then stated that 'the Tridentine law of clandestinity does not, in Ireland, affect heretics marrying *inter se* . . .'¹ To prevent the possibility of mistake, we may add here, what we endeavoured to prove at length in the paper referred to, that this exemption from the law of clandestinity does not avail for Protestants who are domiciled in a place (France, *v.g.*) in which the decree *Tametsi* binds heretics, and who come to marry in Ireland *in fraudem legis*. The case is purely imaginary. But if we aim at accuracy, therefore, we shall say that a marriage contracted in Ireland between two Protestants is not affected by the decree *Tametsi*, if one (or both) of the contracting persons be (1) domiciled in Ireland, or (2) be a *vagus*, or (3) be domiciled in a place (Holland, *v.g.*) in which the decree *Tametsi* does not bind Protestants.² In the paper already referred to we had no opportunity of giving the grounds upon which we rest our opinion. Like our correspondent, we also have met persons who hesitated to accept our conclusion, and who seemed to think that it was novel and singular rather than sound. We have, however, seen no reason to change our opinion. It certainly is not novel or singular; we venture to think, moreover, that it is not unsound:—

1. The decree *Tametsi* of the Council of Trent *may*, as we have already conveyed, regard baptized *non-Catholics* as well as Catholics. This proposition was, indeed, disputed; but it is now so generally admitted, that we need not stop to prove it.

2. Non-Catholics may be bound by the decree *Tametsi* where the requisite conditions for valid promulgation have

¹ *Vid.* I. E. RECORD, November, 1897, p. 452.

² Some would add—(4) if one (or both) of the parties, though retaining a domicile *v.g.* in France, where the law binds Protestants, contract in Ireland *sine fraude legis clandestinitatis*. See, however, the paper already quoted, November, 1897.

been complied with. Sometimes, however, even apart from any special privilege or dispensation, they are not bound. When, then, are they included in the law, like their Catholic neighbours? When are they exempt? It is necessary to make some distinctions. At the time when the decree *Tametsi* was, in due form, promulgated in the various Catholic parishes, we may conceive (a) that the various parishes were wholly Catholic, and that it was only subsequent to the promulgation that non-Catholics came to live in the place; or (b) that at the time of promulgation a comparatively small number of non-Catholics were scattered about through the Catholic community, the non-Catholics, however, in this as in the previous case, not forming a distinct religious organization, with ministers of its own and places of worship; or (c) non-Catholics unorganized at the time of promulgation subsequently formed themselves into a distinct religious body; or, lastly, (d) that the non-Catholics already formed at the time of promulgation a distinct body, with its own recognised religious organization.

Now, in the last hypothesis, (d), the promulgation of the decree *Tametsi* will, according to theologians generally, affect Catholics *only*. Existing non-Catholic communities, and individuals who may subsequently come to join them, or form new communities, will be exempt from the operation of the law. If, for instance, the law of clandestinity were promulgated to-morrow in England or Scotland, Catholics only would come within the scope of the law.

In the first two hypotheses, (a) and (b), individual non-Catholics, living in the midst of a Catholic community at the time of promulgation, or joining that community subsequently, would fall within the operation of the law of clandestinity.

In the third case made above, (c), in which non-Catholics have, either by defections from the faith, for example, or by immigration, grown into a considerable religious organization in a place in which, at the time of the promulgation of the decree *Tametsi*, there were no non-Catholics, or, at all events, no distinct non-Catholic sect, it is impossible to lay down any general rule. The only safe course is to refer the

matter, in any case that turns up, to the Holy See. For, on the one hand, we cannot assert generally, that in the course of time the non-Catholics can prescribe against the law of Trent; and, on the other, we cannot assert that, in such circumstances, the non-Catholics will always continue to be bound by the law. The following response of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition will be of interest in this connection:—

Cum [alia], hac in dioecesi, adsint loca, in quibus decursu temporis Protestantes distinctam efformarunt civitatem, quodnam requiratur temporis intervallum, ut lex Tridentina censenda sit, hujusmodi in locis, quoad Protestantes per non observantiam in desuetudinem abiisse?

Feria IV., die 6 Julii 1892 Emi ac Rmi DD. Cardinales . . . responden mandarunt:—

In decisio Feria IV., die 5 Julii 1848, nempe; Recurrendum in casibus particularibus, et ad mentem. Meus autem est, nullum temporis spatium sufficere, ut lex Tridentinam vim obligandi amisisse censeatur aliquo in loco per simplicem inobservantiam hæreticorum.

While it is clear, then, according to this reply, that non-Catholics cannot, in the circumstances we are considering, by mere non-observance, abrogate in their own favour the law of clandestinity, it seems to be also conveyed that the mere fact that the organization of the non-Catholic community was subsequent to the valid promulgation of the decree *Tametsi*, in any place, is not indefeasible proof that non-Catholics in that place will ever after, in all circumstances, continue subject to that decree. They may or may not remain, before the Canon Law, part of that community for which the decree *Tametsi* has been promulgated. It is for the Holy See to decide. Hence, *recurrendum in casibus particularibus*.

The fact, therefore—even though we were bound to admit it—that at one time Protestants were bound by the law of clandestinity in Ireland, would not conclusively prove that they are bound by it at the present time.

3. The decrees of the Council of Trent were confirmed by Pius IV., in 1564. In that year, therefore, the decree *Tametsi* began to bind wherever the formalities of promulgation insisted on by the Council were duly observed.

At an early date the decree was published in many parts of the ecclesiastical provinces of Armagh and Tuam. Later on (1775) it was published throughout the whole province of Cashel; and it was only in the present century (1827) that the decree was published throughout the province of Dublin, and in certain parts (viz., Meath and Galway) of Armagh and Tuam, in which it had not been hitherto promulgated.

4. In 1795, while the decree was still unpublished in the province of Dublin, and in parts of Armagh and Tuam, Pius VI. issued a decree, expressly declaring *mixed* marriages, clandestinely contracted within places in which the decree *Tametsi* had been published, to be, in the absence of any other impediment, valid, though, of course, unlawful.

The following is the text of the decree, dated March, 1785:—

Sanctissimus auditis etc. decrevit matrimonia mixta in Hibernia contracta et contrahenda, non servata forma Conc. Trid. in iis locis in quibus decretum ejusdem Conc. fuit forsan promulgatum, alio non concurrente canonico impedimento quamvis illicita, habenda tamen esse uti valida.

5. It may be that, notwithstanding this decree, it was possible to raise a doubt regarding the validity of mixed marriages in these places in which the decree *Tametsi* was subsequently promulgated. At all events, we find that the matter was again referred to the Holy Office by the Archbishop of Dublin, in 1887. A reply similar to that of 1785 was given; so that, as far as mixed marriages are concerned, no doubt regarding their exemption in any part of Ireland can now be raised. We may note, in passing, that in both the replies just referred to the express and direct reference is to *mixed* marriages *only*. There is no express mention of the marriages of non-Catholics *inter se*.

Again, it is worthy of remark that in both replies the declaration of validity extends not merely to mixed marriages to be contracted in the future, but also to those already contracted—*contracta et contrahenda, sive contracta sive contrahenda*, are the words of the Congregation.

6. While the documents quoted leave no room for doubt about the validity of mixed marriages in Ireland, it is, of

course, possible to raise a difficulty about the marriages of Protestants *inter se*. The validity of such marriages in Ireland has not been authoritatively decided. For ourselves, however, we have no hesitation in maintaining that in Ireland the marriages of Protestants *inter se* are valid. As certain unbaptized non-Catholics, however, are often spoken of as Protestants, it is not altogether needless to remark that we shall suppose throughout that both the contracting parties are baptized. For if both are unbaptized, and, therefore, outside the jurisdiction of the Church, their marriage cannot be invalidated by the decree *Tametsi*; if one only is baptized, the marriage is invalidated by the diriment impediment of *disparitas cultus*.

Our reasons for holding the marriages of Protestants *inter se* to be valid in Ireland, may now be briefly stated. We are not, it must be remembered, in any degree, influenced by the opinion of those who are, or were, disposed to maintain the general proposition that the Church does not wish to urge the law of clandestinity—or, perhaps, ecclesiastical laws generally—against heretics. But, we contend that no good or valid reason can be advanced for holding that the Church intends to urge the law of clandestinity against heretics marrying *inter se*, in those places in which the same law does not affect mixed marriages. We recognise that something, perhaps, might be said for the contention of those who maintained that the validity of clandestine mixed marriages in any given place could not reasonably be inferred from the validity of clandestine marriages contracted by heretics *inter se*.¹ The Church might partially maintain this law of clandestinity, to mark her opposition to mixed marriages. And in recent times the Holy See has, we believe granted to Malta a dispensation, in virtue of which the clandestine marriages of heretics *inter se* are valid, while clandestine mixed marriages are invalid.² . . . But we utterly fail to see the reasonableness of supposing that the Church would deny to the marriages of heretics *inter se*, marriages which she can neither

¹ Conf. *Feije*, n. 315, 4 ed.

² *Vid. Acta S. Sedis*, xxv., p. 606.

hope nor desire to prevent,—a privilege which she extends to mixed marriages, which it is her settled policy to oppose. From the fact, then, that mixed marriages in Ireland are not invalidated by clandestinity, we infer that it is, in a high degree, improbable that the Church wishes to invalidate, in Ireland, the clandestine marriages of heretics *inter se*. It should be noted, moreover, that neither for Ireland nor for any other country about which a similar doubt may be raised, has it ever been authoritatively and expressly decided that heretics marrying *inter se* are bound by, while those contracting mixed marriages are exempt from, the law of clandestinity.

Now, when we turn to the decree of Pius VI. above given, what do we find? There is, indeed, no express reference to the marriages of heretics *inter se*, for these replies expressly deal only with matters formally submitted for decision; but, by implication, the exemption of heretics marrying *inter se* is, we think, clearly conveyed.

As we have already remarked, both replies above quoted declare clandestine mixed marriages valid, and that, in case of marriages already contracted, as well as in case of those to be contracted. Let us, then, take a case of a mixed marriage already contracted, in order to see more clearly the import of the decree of Pius VI. A mixed marriage, let us suppose, was contracted in the Archdiocese of Cashel, in the year 1784. The decree *Tametsi* was binding in Cashel since 1775. The question of the validity of this and such mixed marriages was submitted to Pope Pius VI. in 1785, and the answer was 'habenda esse uti valida.' The marriage was to be held valid. It was not merely stated that the parties might be allowed to remain in *bona fide*. No; that marriage, already contracted clandestinely, was declared to be valid in the same sense and in the identical terms in which the validity of future mixed marriages was affirmed. Now, there are just two possible ways in which the decree of Pius VI. can be explained in reference to such a marriage—(1) either the decree itself, by a *sanatio in radice*, validated what was until then an invalid marriage, or (2) the decree may be understood to declare authentically that the mixed

marriage in question was valid *ab initio*. But anyone who reads the decree above quoted¹ can see that there is not a shadow of ground for looking on it as a *sanatio in radice*. There is no hint or suggestion of a *sanatio*; and the words in which *future* marriages are *declared* valid are the *identical* words in which *past* marriages are spoken of—*habenda uti valida*.

This marriage, then, was valid antecedently to the decree of Pius VI. The decree merely declared its validity. How was it valid in face of the decree *Tametsi*? One of the parties must evidently have been exempt from the law of clandestinity. It was not the Catholic party. The Protestant party, then, must have been exempt, and so communicated exemption to the Catholic party. We have it, therefore, on the authority of Pius VI. that antecedently to his decree this Protestant was exempt from the law of Clandestinity. And let it not be said that the Protestant was declared exempt with a view to a *mixed* marriage only, and not in regard to a marriage with another Protestant. For, without insisting on what we have said above in reference to this teaching, it is sufficient to say that up to the date of the decree of Pius VI., at all events, there was not even a shadow of ground for supposing that mixed marriages were privileged in any way beyond the marriages of Protestants *inter se*.

We shall only add, that what has been said of the case we have been considering is now true of Protestant marriages all over Ireland. The decree *Tametsi* is everywhere observed. The decree of 1887 leaves us, at all events, in no doubt regarding the exemption of Protestants anywhere in Ireland marrying *inter se*. We prefer to leave it to others of more experience to say whether it has been the practice anywhere in Ireland to look for a renewal of matrimonial consent on the part of married converts on the ground that their marriage before conversion was invalidated by the law of clandestinity.

Now, a few words will suffice to show that we are justified in claiming the authority of the best writers in

¹See page 261.

support of our opinion. We can understand that it is, perhaps, possible to take on intrinsic grounds a view of this matter different from ours. But it is not so easy to accept the statement that anyone who has taken the trouble of examining the authorities on the matter could regard the opinion we adopt as either novel or unsupported. Feije,¹ Aertys,² Konings,³ Berardi,⁴ Haine,⁵ Becker,⁶ Gennicot,⁷ all lay down distinctly that the law of clandestinity in Ireland does not affect the marriages of heretics contracting *inter se*. We are sure that the catalogue might be lengthened, even from modern writers—and we have confined ourselves to these. But the authors we have mentioned are those that happen to be under our hands.

We shall give one or two quotations for the benefit of those who may not have the authors mentioned to refer to.⁸

Gennicot (*loc. cit.*) says:—

Viget [lex clandest.] quoad *sola* matrimonia Catholicorum *inter se* in . . . Hibernia.

Konings (*loc. cit.*) is equally explicit:—

Ex declaratione Benedicti XIV. . . ejusque extensione aut aliis Pontificiis actis valent matrimonia clandestina siva *hereticorum inter se*, sive mixta, non vero . . . Catholicorum *inter se* in 1° . . . 2° . . . 3° in Hibernia *universa*.

Let us hear one other authority:—

In Hibernia [writes Feije] (*loc. cit.*) *universa* valida sunt clandestina matrimonia *acatholicorum et mixta*, Catholici vero decreto Trid. ubique in Hibernia ligantur.

And further on (n. 327) he adds:—

Fateor . . . me non concipere *haeticorum inter se* matrimonia clandestina esse invalida ubi valent matrimonia mixta clandestina.

And in a footnote in the same place he says:—

. . . non agitur de dogmate nec de potestate, sed de praxi Ecclesia quae matrimonia clandestina *haeticorum inter se* consuevit habere pro validis ubi valida sunt matrimonia mixta clandestina.

¹ *Da Imped. et Disp. Mat.*, n. 325.

² *Theol. Mor.*, ii. 611.

³ *Theol. Mor.*, n. 1611.

⁴ *Praxis Confess.*, ii. 5, 200.

⁵ IV., p. 181, 3 ed.

⁶ *Theol. Mor.*, p. 628.

⁷ *De Sponsal. et Matrim.*, p. 121.

⁸ The italics in the following extracts are ours.

We stated in the beginning that the opinion exempting Protestants from clandestinity in this country is not a singular or new opinion. We have already amply justified that assertion. It may, however, interest our readers if, in conclusion, we cite a few more authorities who in their time were, no doubt, among the most learned theologians in the land, and whose testimony will tell us what was held and taught in Ireland when the question we have been discussing was for the first time raised.

We shall take two witnesses merely—Dr. James Butler, Archbishop of Cashel (+ 1791), and Dr. Troy, Bishop of Ossory, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin (+ 1823).

Soon after the promulgation of the decree *Tametsi* in Munster, and when there was question of publishing it in Leinster, a controversy arose regarding the validity of the clandestine marriages of heretics *inter se*, and with Catholics in those places in which the decree was, or might be, promulgated. To use the words of Dr. Troy, difficulties were raised about the validity of these marriages by the ‘speculative doubts of some prelates about the spirit and meaning of the Tridentine law;’ and the alleged invalidity of mixed and heretical marriages was advanced by some as a reason for not publishing the decree *Tametsi* in the province of Leinster. The matter was discussed at great length, and several letters of much interest, which passed between the Irish bishops and between the bishops and the Roman authorities, may be found in Renehan’s *Collections on Irish Church History*, vol. i.

In 1780 the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda consulted the Irish archbishops on the question. Dr. Butler, knowing, as we learn, that his suffragans were unanimously for the validity of the marriages in question, sent in reply (1780) a very remarkable letter to the Cardinal Prefect, from which we can quote only the following extracts:—

Ast plura incommoda praescio secutura si semel declaretur legem Trid. annullare omnia matrimonia, tum Protestantium *inter se* tum cum Catholicis si sine Parochi et duorum testium praesentia celebrentur.

And further on he says that while he was, for several

reasons desirous of receiving the decrees of the Council of Trent in his archdiocese, he would never have thought of receiving it if the marriages of heretics and mixed marriages were thereby to be invalidated.

Ipsius tamen Decreti [he writes] publicationem Episcopis provinciae *nunquam proposuisssem*, si unquam suspicari potuissem ipsius Decreti promulgatione *invalidari matrimonia Protestantium vel inter se vel cum Catholicis*. Ast longe abest, ut quid tale suspicarer, quin *e contra nihil magis pro explorato habui quam talia matrimonia valida etiam munere post receptionem ipsius Decreti*.

And towards the end of his letter the Archbishop gives the reason for the exemption of Protestants 'lex Trid. . . . cum non fuerit in Ecclesiis Protestantium promulgata *ipsum* [Protestantes] *obligare non potest*.'

It will be observed that Dr. Butler places the marriages of Protestants *inter se* on exactly the same footing as mixed marriages, and that he is quite clear that neither class of marriages was effected by the publication of the decree *Tametsi*.

One brief quotation from Dr. Troy must suffice. In a letter to Dr. Carpenter, in 1780, we find the following:—

I have frequently and seriously considered the subject in every point of view, and I have not discovered *any solid reason* for altering my opinion. *I will regard the marriages of Protestants with each other or with Catholics in any part of the kingdom as valid*.

As we have already seen, the opinion of the bishops was, as far as mixed marriages goes, expressly confirmed in 1785; their contention in regard to the marriages of Protestants *inter se* was likewise implicitly upheld. Nor can we doubt that an express declaration would have been forthcoming if such a declaration had been sought.

It is, of course, true that authorities—ancient and modern—can also be invoked against our opinion. They are influenced, no doubt, by the fact that there is no evidence of an *express* declaration of exemption for Protestants marrying *inter se*. But neither is there any evidence that a question was ever put calling for such an express declaration. We think, too, that the modern authors

cannot have closely examined the replies upon which we have above relied. At all events, neither the authorities nor the arguments we have seen have been able to change our opinion ; still less would they justify us in declaring the marriages of Protestants in this country invalid without a further declaration from the Holy See. If ever a further declaration is sought and obtained, reason and the invariable policy of the Holy See in this matter, convince us that that reply will declare the marriage of Protestants *inter se* to be, like mixed marriages, exempt from the law of clandestinity.

D. MANNIX.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH BISHOPS

AT a Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops, held at the Catholic University, Dublin, on Tuesday, January 31st, 1899, it was unanimously resolved, as follows :—

The Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops, under the presidency of His Eminence Cardinal Logue, in their own name, and in the name of their colleagues, beg to tender their heartfelt thanks to his Eminence, Cardinal Vaughan, and also the Catholic prelates, clergy, and people of England, for the invaluable assistance they have given, by their recent action, in forwarding to what we hope to be a successful issue the great cause of Catholic University Education in Ireland. We feel that the letters written and the meetings organized under their direction will give a strong impulse to the satisfactory settlement of our claims, and will also serve to draw still closer the bonds of union between the clergy and people of Catholic Ireland and their brethren in Great Britain.

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,	

At a Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops, held at the Catholic University, Dublin, on Tuesday, January 31st, 1899, it was unanimously resolved :—

That we, the members of the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops, in our own name and in the name of our colleagues, deem it our duty to make a strong remonstrance against the action of the Irish Executive in excluding from Industrial Schools, by their recent Circular, numbers of children who are eligible for admission under the terms of the Industrial

Schools (Ireland) Act, as universally understood and acted on up to the present.

That a copy of the Resolution be forwarded to the Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, <i>Chairman.</i>	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert,	
✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,	

**DECRETE OF THE HOLY OFFICE REGARDING THE SUCCESSION
OF FACULTIES AFTER A BISHOP'S DEATH**

DECRETUM SUPREMAE CONGREGATIONIS S. O. SUPER USU FACULTATUM, QUAE ORDINARIIS LOCORUM HABITUALITER. CONCEDI SOLENT, SEDE VACANTE

Feria IV, Novembris 1897

In Congr. Gen. S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis. habita ab Em̃is ac Rm̃is DD. Card. in rebus fidei et morum Gen. Inquisitoribus, iidem Em̃i Patres, rerum temporumque adiunctis mature perpensis, decernendum censuerunt: Supplicandum SS̃mo ut declarare seu statuere dignetur facultates omnes speciales habitualiter a S. Sede. Episcopis aliorumque locorum Ordinariis concessas non suspendi vel desinere ob eorum mortem vel a munere cessationem, sed ad successores Ordinarios transire ad formam et in terminis decreti a Sup. hac Cong. editi die 20 Februarii, 1888, quoad dispensationes matrimoniales.

Insequenti vero feria VI, die 26 Novembris, 1897, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SS̃mo D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, Sanctitas Sua Em̃orum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit, atque ita perpetuis futuris temporibus servandum mandavit, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. Not.

In citato autem Decreto diei 20 Februarii, 1888, S. eadem Congregatio declaraverat: 'Appellatione ORDINarii venire Episcopos, Administratores seu Vicarios Apostolicos, Praelatos seu Praefectos habentes iurisdictionem cum territorio separato, eorumque Officiales seu Vicarios in spiritualibus generales, et sede vacante Vicarium Capitularem et legitimum Administratorem.'

**SPANISH DEGREES IN THEOLOGY, CANON LAW, AND
PHILOSOPHY****STATUTA PRO FACULTATIBUS S. THEOLOGIAE, IURIS CANONICI ET
PHILOSOPHIAE IN SEMINARIO HISPALENSI ERECTIS****CAPUT I.****DE FACULTATUM ERECTIONE**

1. In Seminario Hispalensi tres eriguntur, auctoritate Apostolica, Facultates, nempe Sacrae Theologiae, Iuris Canonici et Philosophiae, cum privilegio gradus omnes conferendi clericis, qui earundem scholas rite frequentaverint.

2. Facultatum erectionis scopus est ut praestantioribus ingenio ac pietate iuvenibus, sive ex Dioecesi, sive ex Provincia Ecclesiastica electis, copia fiat studia omnia ecclesiastica altiori prorsus modo excolendi, strenuusque efformetur in dies virorum numerus, qui omni scientiae apparatu apprime instructi, contra innumeros Ecclesiae hostes vel ipsis scientiae armis invicti sese erigant fideique ac veritatis iura sarta tectaque tueantur.

3. Ceu patronos Facultates eligunt Sanctos Leandrum et Isidorum, qui Hispalensem Ecclesiam nobilitarunt, nec non Divum Thomam, cui omnes per orbem altioris eruditionis scholas dicari Leo XIII enixe commendavit.

CAPUT II.**DE MAGNO CANCELLARIO**

4. Facultatum regimen Magno Cancellario praecipue committitur, qui semper erit Archiepiscopus pro tempore Hispalensis.

5. Magni Cancellarii ius et munus erit Praefectum Studiorum et singulos Collegiorum Doctores, nec non auditis Collegiis. Professores eligere; eorum tamen nomina S. Stud Cogni significanda sunt, ut electiones pontificia confirmatione roborentur.

6. Omnia quae Facultatum munia, iura, ordinem et administrationem respiciunt suprema Magni Cancellarii auctoritate moderantur, attamen iuxta Statutorum praescripta, quae ut amussim observentur, sedulo curabit.

7. De omnibus et singulis Praefecto Studiorum, Doctoribus Collegiatis et Professoribus iuxta Statuta conceditis muneribus, Magni Cancellarii erit sedulo invigilare, ut omnes ea qua par est diligentia, alacritate et perseverantia proprio fungantur officio; item ad Facultatum incrementum et alumnorum profectum

opportunitis provisionibus pro viribus incumbere, ut iuxta SS. Pfcis. et S. St. Cognis propositum Sacrarum scientiarum studia reapse ampliori profundiorique excolantur ratione ac in caeteris Seminariis solet.

8. Cancellarius Collegia extraordinarie convocare poterit, eorumque comitiis interesse ordinariis et praeesse, examinibus, pro Doctoratu praesertim, praesidere cum privilegio duplex ferendi votum.

9. Ipse academicos gradus confert ex *auctoritate apostolica*, cuius mentio semper in diplomatibus facienda est.

10. Ad S. Studiorum Congregationem de iis, quae maioris momenti sunt referat semper oportet, eique quolibet triennio amplam relationem mittere curabit de Facultatatum statu et progressu, de gradibus collatis, de Doctorum et Professorum numero et titulis, de auctoribus explanatis et alumnorum profectu.

CAPUT III.

DE PRAEFECTO STUDIORUM

11. Vir scientia, prudentia ac pietate praestantissimus, Laurea in S. Theologia vel in Iure insignitus eligendus erit, cui munus committendum Praefecti Studiorum: hic alius sit oportet ac internae Seminarii disciplinae Rector.

12. Ipsius erit Magni Cancellarii vices supplere; (a) alumnos in matriculae libris inscribere; (b) programmata studiorum et examinum, quolibet anno a singulis Facultatibus exaranda, revissere et Cancellarii adprobationi subiicere; (c) de professorum assiduitate in lectionibus tradendis invigilare; (d) de auctorum textibus in singulis disciplinis per professores explanandis, auditis Collegiis, providere, ac sedulo curare ut catholicae amussim exponantur doctrinae ad mentem potissimum D. Thomae; (e) candidatorum examinibus adesse et votum ferre, et absente Magno Cancellario praeesse sine tamen duplicis voti privilegio.

13. Praefecti Studiorum electio a Summo Pontifice per S. Stud. Congnem est confirmanda. Quum vero Facultatatum decus et incrementum quam maxime pendat a Praefecti Studiorum alacritate, diligentia et studiosa voluntate in opus hoc nobilissimum ab ipso sedulo impendenda, necesse est, ut nedum de eius electione sollicitus sit Magnus Cancellarius sed de eiusdem etiam pro viribus consulat retributione et firmitate.

CAPUT IV

DE DOCTORUM COLLEGIIS

14. Pro unaquaque Facultate Doctorum Collegium constitutum est, qui non minus octo nec plures duodecim erunt. Eorum electio a Magno Cancellario hac prima vice fiet, a SSt. Congne confirmanda. Si quis in posterum in Collegia substitui debeat, per Doctorum Collegia terna eligendorum Magno Cancellario subiicietur, cui ius erit quem maluerit eligere: novi Doctoris electio semper a Sacra St. Congne confirmationem accipiat oportet; qua obtenta, novus Doctor solemniter in Collegium cooptabitur, emissa fidei professione.

15. Nemo poterit in Collegia adscisci nisi vitae et morum integritate commendetur, et in aliqua catholica Universitate Doctoris laurea fuerit donatus in Facultate ad cuius Collegium contendit. Regulares authenticas exhibento litteras a proprio Superiore subscriptas, ex quibus pateat integrum Studiorum curriculum confecisse et gradu vel Magistri ex Instituti sui regulis esse decoratos, aut in publica catholica Universitate doctoratum fuisse consequutos.

16. Unicuique Collegio suus erit Praeses, qui semper esto eiusdem Collegii Decanus, ultimum vero membrum Secretarii munere fungetur.

17. Collegiorum membra exinde amoveri non poterunt absque gravissima causa, quam audito Collegio, Magnus Cancellarius expenderit: attamen Doctoris remotio a S. St. Congregatione adprobari debet.

18. Scopus et officium Collegiorum esto examina habere et ferre suffragium in Professoribus eligendis, in collatione Laurearum aliorumque graduum academicorum, atque in discipulis premio decorandis exeunte anno scholastico.

Item programmata revisere a Professoribus quotannis confi-cienda sive studiorum sive examinum, de Facultatibus incremento et ordine diligenter invigilare, et Magni Cancellarii iudicio ea omnia proponere, quae magis idonea censuerint ad disciplinarum progressum et auditorum utilitatem promovendam.

19. Nonnulli ex Professoribus poterunt, ob Doctorum defectum, in Collegia adscisci, sed sedulo enitendum, ut maior pars ex praestantioribus cleri tum saecularis tum regularis eligantur viris, qui Professorum munere non fungantur: ne iisdem personis iudicis quasi et partis vices insimul cumulentur.

20. Pluries in anno Doctores convenient necesse est, ut de ordinariis et extraordinariis pertractent negotiis, quae Facultatem respiciunt, praeside uniuscuiusque Facultatis Decano.

Si qui erunt trium Collegiorum conventus habendi solemnes, Collegio Theologico primae sint partes, postea Iuris Canonici Collegio, inde Philosophicum subsequatur.

CAPUT V.

DE PROFESSORIBUS ET SUBSTITUTIS

21. Quum ex Professoribus potissimum pendeat solida ac exquisita alumnorum institutio, nobilissimum hoc docendi munus iis tantum est committendum qui praestantiores in Dioecesibus inveniuntur sive ex clero seculari sive ex regulari.

22. Professores omnes nedum doctoris gradu condecorentur oportet in ea, quam docent disciplina, sed reapse scientia praeclarissimi sint necesse est, sive per studia, magna cum laude in Universitatibus catholicis confecta, sive per diuturnum magistrarium, vel per edita opera noti et commendati. Eos Magnus Cancellarius eligit, sed audito Facultatis Collegio. Eorum electio erit S. Stud. Congni opportuno tempore significanda, ut confirmetur.

23. Sedulo cavendum, ne brevi temporis spatio obiter professores immutentur; ac suo precarie quasi fungantur officio, in spem adducti pinguiora adipiscendi dioecesana officia et beneficia. Quam maxime igitur refert, ut Professorum decori et firmitati per honestiorem dignioremque remunerationem consulatur.

24. Professores aderunt hora praefinita lectionibus habendis ex Calendario, quod singulis annis in scholarum instauratione publice adfigatur.

25. Ubi vel morbus urgeat vel aliud impedimentum intercedat, a Studiorum Praefecto aestimandum, Professor Substitutum admoneat, ut lectiones prosequatur.

26. Quilibet Professor utatur cursu typis impresso et per tres horae quadrantes in explicando insumet, tempus autem, quod superest, in exercendis et interrogandis auditoribus. Textus a Professoribus selecti debent a Collegio Facultatis adprobari, et de iisdem S. St. Congregatio certior fieri debet. Nil tamen Professoribus vetat ut additiones textibus interponant quas putent maiori alumnorum profectui futuras.

27. Quivis Professor diligenter auditores omnes in album

referat, eosque denotet, qui assiduitate et progressu caeteris antecellunt, necnon eos, qui vel scholas intermittunt, vel in studiis nequaquam proficiunt.

28. Nedum sanam ac catholicam amussim doctrinam Professores tradant necesse est, sed maiori qua fieri poterit soliditate, amplitudine et profunditate disciplinas, quas docent, explanare pro viribus debent, prouti Institutum decet Pontificium, privilegio auctum gradus academicos conferendi.

29. Plures sint Substituti, id est, Professores supernumerarii in qualibet Facultate, a Magno Cancellario, audito Collegio, eligendi: munus eorum esto vices gerere Professorum exercentium, quum vel infirmi fuerint vel impediti, ea omnia officia absolventes, ad quae Professores tenentur. Substitutis, caeteris paribus ius esto succedendi Cathedrae, quae prima vacaverit in disciplina quam supplent, iisdem tamen sub conditionibus quibus Professores eligi debent. Substituti tamen nequeunt in Collegia adscisci vel suffragium in examinibus ferre.

CAPUT VI.

DE STUDIORUM RATIONE

I. *De facultatibus generatim*

30. Quamvis unaquaeque Facultas quoad ea quae ipsi sunt propria sui iuris evadat, attamen Praefecti, et praecipue Cancellarii, auctoritate, quasi communi vinculo omnes nectentur.

31. Facultatis cuiuslibet studia nemini aggredi fas erit, quin prius linguae latinae atque humaniorum litterarum et rethoricae cursus plene absolverit.

32. Qui Facultatis S. Theologiae cursum peregerit, non ideo ad Ius Canonicum excolendum tenebitur: sed qui Iuri Canonico vacare velit, prius S. Theologiam rite ediscere debet. Ad neutram vero Facultatem admitti poterit qui prius Philosophiae cursum rite non perfecerit. Si quis vero in Philosophia maiores gradus non susceperit, ad Theologiae gradus contendere nequit, nisi prius districtum in philosophicis disciplinis superaverit examinis periculum.

33. Scholaris curriculum pro unaquaque Facultate novem mensium spatio quotannis absolvetur, scilicet a prima die mensis Octobris usque ad 30 mensis Iunii anni sequentis; mense Iulio habebuntur examina pro gradibus.

34. Inscriptio in matriculae libris prorsus necessaria est, ut studia pro quolibet curriculo peragenda academicum obtineant effectum,

II. *De S. Theologiae Facultate*

35. Studia Facultatis Theologiae quinque annis absolvenda erunt.

36. Theologiae disciplinae universae in duos ordines disper-
tiantur : in fundamentales nempe, et affines seu accessorias.

37. Fundamentales habendae sunt Theologia Dogmatica atque
Moralis, necnon S. Scriptura.

38. Accessoriae autem erunt Institutiones Canonicae, Historia
Ecclesiastica, et orientales linguae, praesertim hebraea, necnon
Patrologia, Liturgia et Archaeologia Sacra.

39. Theologiae Dogmaticae studium quinque annis est per-
ficiendum, ita tamen ut quotidiana lectio bis habeatur, ampliori
methodo et ratione ac in Seminariis fieri solet : altera quotidie
addenda est lectio de Theologia Morali atque de S. Scriptura ;
cuius studium in duas partes Professor dividet, theoreticam
nempe et practicam : 1^a. Amplectetur SS^m. Biblicorum Criticam
Hermeneuticam et Exegeticam ; 2^a. Introductionem in Scriptu-
ram Universam et Commentaria in nonnullos S. Scripturae libros.

40. Duo sint Professores Theologiae Dogmaticae, qui quotidie
lectiones habebunt ; collatis vero simul consiliis curabunt ut
omnes Sacrae Theologiae tractatus expleto quadriennio explanen-
tur. Quinto vero anno difficillimis universae Theologiae Dogma-
ticae affiniumque scientiarum quaestionibus, sub praestantissimi
Professoris ductu, incumbant ad gradus candidati, ut copia etiam
fiat sese in theologicis disciplinis perficiendi alienarum Dioecesium
alumnis, qui absoluto in Seminariis theologico cursu, per solidum
biennium studiis vacare apud Institutum debent, ut gradus
assequantur.

Textus in Theologia Dogmatica scholastica explanandus erit
Summa S. Thomae : in Dogmatico positiva vero illi praeferantur
textus, qui Bellarmini more ampla prorsus ac profundiori ratione
quaestiones omnes pertractaverint.

41. Historiae Ecclesiasticae et Institutionum Canonicarum
studio biennium assignatur, alternis lectionibus pro unaquaque
disciplina.

Orientales linguae, Patrologia, Liturgia, Archaeologia Sacra
et Sacra Eloquentia per tres annos lectionibus alternis tradendae
erunt.

III. *De Iuris Canonici Facultate.*

42. Nemo prout supra dictum est, ad Iuris Canonici studia
admittendis erit, nisi prius S. Theologiae cursum absolverit.

43. Iuris Canonici studium triennio perficitur; primo anno alumni Institutionibus vacabunt, binis quotidie lectionibus de iure canonice et de iure publico ecclesiastico, additis de iure civili et de iure gentium praecipuis notionibus; secundo et tertio anno *Libri Decretalium* exponendi sunt binis pariter quotidie praelectionibus per duos Professores habendis super ipsis iuris fontibus; compendia auctorum pro textu adhiberi vetantur.

44. Utroque curante textus Canonici Professore (si alius ad hoc non suppetat iuris civilis Doctor) praecipuae exponendae alumnis erunt quaestiones de iure Romano et Patrio, item de iure poenali et de praxi Tribunalium in iudiciis et processibus conficiendis.

IV. De Philosophiae Facultate

45. Nemo Philosophiae cursibus inscribatur, quin prius testimonium exhibeat de humaniorum litterarum et rethoricae expleto curriculo, nec non de sufficiente acquisita peritia in lingua latina, super qua districtum ab alumno subeundem erit examen, orale et scriptum, antequam philosophiae studium aggrediatur.

46. Philosophiae studia, quamvis verum ac propriam facultatem constituent, attamen velut praeparatio quaedam ad caeteras excolendas Facultates existimanda sunt. Tribus annis academicis totius Philosophiae studium perficietur; disciplinae vero quas complectitur erunt vel primariae vel subsidiariae. Primariae erunt: (a) Philosophia rationalis, amplectens Logicam, Ontologiam, Cosmologiam, Anthropologiam et Theodiceam; (b) Ius naturae et Ethica. Harum prior, id est, Philosophia proprie dicta, duobus primis annis erit tradenda lectione matutina et vespertina; altera, id est, Ius naturae et Ethica, tertio anno explicabitur binis pariter lectionibus per diem. Subsidiariae erunt; Mathesis, Physica, Chimia, Astronomia, necnon Historia Naturalis cum Biologia et Physiologia, in quibus toto triennio solide alumnis est comparanda institutio, diurnis vel alternis in hebdomada lectionibus, prout, auditis Collegio et Professoribus, a Praefecto Studiorum per programmata, quotannis exaranda, statutum fuerit. Rationalis Philosophiae Professores praeter textus in studiorum ratione designatos, semel saltem in hebdomada alumnis explanabunt Divi Thomae Summam Philosophicam eiusque quaestiones disputatas. Lectio praeterea saltem in hebdomada sit de historia philosophiae.

CAPUT VII.

DE LITTERARIIS EXERCITIIS

47. Duobus prioribus mensibus anni scholaris elapsis, Academiae scientificae, seu exercitationes scholasticae a Facultatibus habebuntur.

48. Ordinariae huiusmodi Academiae semel saltem in hebdomada fient pro unaquaque Facultate, solemniiores saepius in anno.

49. Ordo in Academicis celebrandis hic est : primum alumnus ad hoc deputatus praesignatam thesim sustinebit, eamque ab argumentis vindicabit, quae a duobus condiscipulis, antea pariter designatis, in medium afferantur, facta etiam potestate arguendi, si ita voluerint, caeteris eiusdem Facultatis alumnis, moderante semper uno vel altero Facultatis Professore.

50. Professor propriae Facultatis thesim designabit simulque alumnos eliget tum ad defendendum tum ad arguendum.

51. In argumentatione forma syllogistica latino sermone adhibebitur.

CAPUT VIII.

DE EXAMINIBUS

52. Duo erunt examen genera, ordinaria dum cursus ad finem vergit, et extraordinaria expleto vacationis aestivae tempore.

53. Examina fient coram tribunali coalescente tribus saltem Professoribus per proprium Doctorum Collegium designatis.

54. Alumni ad probationem cursus periculum subituri tribus quaestionibus respondebunt ex programme sorte depromptis, si de disciplinis fundamentalibus agatur ; duabus vero, si de subsidiariis vel affinibus.

55. Censurae in examinibus erunt : *Meritus* seu approbatus, *Benemeritus* seu proficiens, et *Meritissimus* seu excellens.

Si quis ex alumnis in examine valde excellat, poterit Tribunal eum hac censura notare : *Eminens inter Meritissimos* ; quae censura nonnisi unanimi Tribunalis suffragio adiudicabitur.

56. In examinibus extraordinariis alumni easdem censuras ac in ordinariis obtinere poterunt, sed qui in ordinariis probationem non meruerunt, severius sunt explorandi circa quatuor quaestiones ex programme sorte depromptas in disciplinis fundamentalibus, tres vero in affinibus.

CAPUT IX.

DE GRADUUM COLLATIONE

57. Pro unaquaque Facultate tres gradus conferentur, scilicet : Baccalaureatus, Licentiatuſ, et Doctoratuſ ; inferiori gradu non ſuperato, ſuperior prohibetur.

58. Baccalaureatuſ graduſ minor reputatur, et iuſ confert ad duoſ alioſ accipiendos ; qui propterea maiores ſunt appellandi.

Ad ea beneficia vel praeſbendas, quae gradum requirant maiorem, habilis redditur qui Licentiatum vel Doctoratum obtinuerit ; attamen, caeteriſ paribuſ, Doctoreſ praelationem obtinebunt et Profeſſorum munuſ nonniſi Doctoreſ obibunt.

59. Baccalaureatuſ graduſ conferetur expleto ſecundo S. Theologiae curriculo, et in Facultatibuſ Iuriſ Canonici et Philoſophiae, primo confecto : ad Licentiae graduſ in Theologia contendere poterit qui tertium vel quartum expleverit curſum : in Philoſophia vero et in Iure Canonico qui ſecundum. Doctoratuſ vero in tribuſ Facultatibuſ conferri tamum poterit poſt univerſa facultatiſ cuiuſlibet ſtudia abſoluta.

60. Pro Baccalaureatuſ examen per integram honoram ſubeundum eſt de diſciplinis academice digeſtiſ ; theſiſ quoque ſorte oblata ex programmata ad hoc confecto enucleanda eſt latino ſermone per ſemihoram ; argumentiſ demum ſyllogiſtica forma expoſitiſ per aliam ſemihoram candidatuſ ſatiſfaciat.

61. Ad Licentiam emerendam candidatuſ per examen uniuſ etiam horae explorabitur de diſciplinis ad propriam Facultatem ſpectantibuſ ; diſſeret etiam latine per idem temporis ſpatium circa theſim ſortitam ex programmata pro Licentiatuſ diſpoſitio ; denique per aliam integram horam theſim alteram ſuſtinebit ſorte pariter deſumptam, atque argumenta reſolvat propoſita a Doctoribuſ.

62. Ad Lauream aſſequendam in qualibet Facultate duplex erit ſubeundum examen a candidatiſ, ſcriptum ſcilicet et orale. Primum ex centum propoſitiſ difficilioribuſ theſibuſ unam ſortietur candidatuſ, ſuper qua ex tempore diſſertationem exarabit latino idiomate inter ſex horarum ſpatium, adſtante uno ex Collegio Doctorum, abſque ullo librorum ſubſidio praeter Sacram Scripturam, ſi de Laurea in S. Theologia agatur, vel Textum Decretalium et Concilium Tridentinum et Vaticanum, ſi de Laurea in Iure Canonico. Stata die candidatuſ leget diſſertationem, ac deinde experimentum orale ſubibit, ſolvendo difficultateſ a Doctoribuſ antea designatiſ propoſitaſ per uniuſ ſaltem horae ſpatium.

Haec examina haud remisse fieri debent; et vota sua Doctores secreto emittent, calculis albis asserentibus, nigris vero negantibus. Qui duas tertias partes votorum alborum retulerit is approbatus renuntiatur. Si quis fuerit reprobatus, post sex menses admitti potest denuo ad subeundum examen ex Cancellarii venia.

63. Tribunal ad gradus conferendos constituetur tribus Doctoribus ac Baccalaureatu, quatuor pro Licentia; pro Doctoratu vero quinque saltem adsint Facultatis Doctores, Praefecto Studiorum vel Magno Cancellario praeside. Toto temporis spatio, quo candidatus examen subit, Doctores abesse nequeunt; qui abfuerit suffragii iure vetatur, Unicuique ex Iudicibus licebit candidatum interrogare, eique argumenta proponere; Professoribus liceat quidem examinibus adesse, sed absque voto, nisi sint Collegii Doctores.

64. Nemini gradus academicus conferetur, nisi prius emiserit fidei professionem a Pio IV et Pio IX praescriptam.

CAPUT X.

DE ALUMNIS EX ALIENA DIOECESI

65. Si quis ex aliena Dioecesi Licentiae vel Doctoratus gradu insigniri velit, ex Summi Pontificis ordinatione solido biennio scholas celebrare tenetur Facultatis ad cuius gradus contendit; oportet tamen ut testimonio certo constet Philosophiae et Theologiae cursus in proprio Seminario rite explevisse. A biennii lege nonnisi a S. St. Congne in casibus extraordinariis dispensari potest.

66. Omnes alumni ex alienis Dioecesibus, qui Scholas Facultatum celebraverint ad gradus academicos assequendos, in Seminario degere debent, nisi Sacerdotes sint, vel dispensationem a Magno Cancellario receperint.

Datum Romae, die quarta Augusti 1897.

FR. CARD. SATOLLI, *Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secret.*

STATUTORUM APPROBATIO

DECRETUM

Quum S. Congregatio Studiorum maturo subiecerit examini Constitutiones ab Illmo ac Rmo Dno Marcello Spinola y Maestre Archiepiscopo Hispalensi in Hispania exhibitas, pro Facultatibus S. Theologiae, Iuris Canonici et Philosophiae in Seminario Hispa-

lensi rite et canonice erigendis. utendo facultatibus a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII benigne tributis, easdem Constitutiones apte revisas prouti in adnexo exemplari authentico continentur, adprobat atque sancit. Hinc decernit, ut Facultatis praedictae S. Theologiae, Iuris Canonici et Philosophiae uti possint et valeant per decennium iisdem constitutionibus, quarum exemplar in tabulario Nostro asservatur, ac proinde frui omnibus iuribus ac privilegiis, quae in ipsis continentur, dummodo religiose executioni in omnibus mandentur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romae, die 4 Augusti 1897.

FR. CARD. SATOLLI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

IOSEPH MAGNO, *a Secret.*

DISCIPLINAE SECUNDUM STUDIORUM RATIONEM PRO HISPALENSI
SEMINARIO A S. STUD. CONGREGATIONE OPPROBATAM IN
UNAQUAQUE FACULTATE TRADENDAE: TEXTUS EXPLANANDI:
LECTIONES PER HEBDOMADAM A SINGULIS PROFESSORIBUS
HABENDAE

ANNI	DISCIPLINAE	Lectiones in Hebdomada.	TEXTUS	PROFESSORES
FACULTAS SACRAE THEOLOGIAE				
I.	Theologia generalis -	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Castro cum illust. Pro- fess	{ Dr. D. Modestus Abin. Dr. D. Emman. Jimenez.
	Lingua Hebraea -	Trina - -	Mateos Gago	
	Archeologia Sacra -	Trina - -	Lopez de la Pena Ferreiro	{ Dr. D. Emman. de la Pena.
II. et III.	Theologia Dogmatica	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Summa S. Thomae -	{ Dr. D. Ioseph Roca. Ltus D. Antonius Lopez. Ltus. D. Maria- nus Gomez. Ltus. D. Caster Montoto.
	Theologia Moralis -	Quotidiana -	Gury - -	
	Historia Ecclesiastica	Trina - -	Rivas - -	
IV.	Theologia Dogmatica	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Summa S. Thomae -	{ Dr. D. Ioseph Roca. Ltus D. Antonius Lopez. Dr. D. Iosephus Lopez. Dr. D. Ioannes M. Alvarez.
	Sac. Script.: pars theoretica	Quotidiana -	Ubaldi - -	
	Institutiones Canonicae	Trina - -	Huguenin -	

ANNI	DISCIPLINAE	Lectiones in Hebdomada.	TEXTUS	PROFESSORES
V.	Quaestiones selectae ex universa Theologia affinibusque scientiis	Quotidiana-	Professoris explicationes	Dr. D. Ioseph. Roca.
	Sacra Script.: pars practica	Quotidiana-	Ubaldi - -	Dr. D. Iosephus Lopez.
	Institutiones Canonicae	Trina - -	Huguenin -	Dr. D. Ioannes M. Alvarez.
	Patrologia et Eloquentia Sacra	Trina - -	Gonz. Francés et Maruri	Dr. D. Ioannes Sanz.
	Die Dominica pro alumnis I. et III. curs. Academia Cantus ecclesiastici	- - - - -	- - - - -	D. Agapitus Insausti.
	Die Dominica pro alumnis IV. et V. curs. Academia Sacrae Liturgiae	- - - - -	- - - - -	Dr. D. Ioannes Vacas.

FACULTAS IURIS CANONICI

I.	Institut. Iuris Canonici publici et privati cum notionibus Iuris Civilis et gentium	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Cavagnis et Camillis	{ Dr. D. Emman de la Pena. Dr. D. Emman. Rodriguez.
II et III.	Decretales cum praecipuis quaestionibus de Iure Romano et Patrio, item de iure poenali et praxi tribunalium in iudiciis et pro cessibus conficiendis	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Professorum explicationes	

FACULTAS PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE

I.	Logica et Ontologia -	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Card. Gonzalez	{ Dr. D. Emmanuel Baena. Dr. D. Ioannes F. Sanchez. D. Sebastianus Andujar.
	Mathesis - - - -	Trina - -	Rodriguez -	
	Historia naturalis cum Biologia et Physiologia	Trina - -	Martinez Vigil	
II.	Cosmologia, Anthropologia et Theodicea	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Card. Gonzalez	{ Dr. D. Emmanuel Baena. Dr. D. Ioannes F. Sanchez. D. Sebastianus Andujar.
	Mathesis - - - -	Trina - -	Rodriguez -	
	Notiones Astronomicae	Bina - -	Professoris explicationes	
III.	Ethica et Ius naturae: Historia Philosophiae	Quotid. mane et vesp.	Card. Gonzalez	{ Dr. D. Thomas Sance. Dr. D. Iosephus Gonzalez. Ltus. D. Iosephus Munoz.
	Physica et Chimia -	Quotidiana -	Feliú - -	
	Die Dominica. Academia practica Dialecticae	- - -	- - -	

ANNI	DISCIPLINAE	Lectiones in Hebdomada.	TEXTUS	PROFESSORES
RATIO STUDIORUM PRO ALUMNIS HUMANIORUM LITTERARUM				
I.	Grammaticae latinae elementa, usque ad syntaxin: exercitia: Geographiae notiones	Quotid.mane et vesp.	Raymundus Miguel Fernandez -	{ D. Antonius Arrellano.
II.	Syntaxis, Prosodia et Orthographia lat- ina: versio AA. Classio.: Historae Universalis elementa	Quotid.mane et vesp.	Raymundus Miguel AA. Classio.- Diaz Car- mona	{ D. Agapitus Mar- tinez.
III.	Universae Gramma- ticae latinae re- lectio: versio AA, Classio.: compositio hispano - latina. — Rethorica. — His- toriae Hispaniae elementa	Quotid.mane et vesp.	R. Miguel.- AA. Clas. Merri	R. D. Franciscus Torres.
	Lingua Gallica - -	Quotidiana -	Novissim. Chantreau	Ltus D. Hier.mus Armario.
IV.	Linguae latinae per- fectio: versio Classio. Poesis lat- ina et hispana: artis metricae, com- positionis et loquun- tionis latinae exer- citia	Quotid.mane et vesp.	AA. Classio.	Dr. D. Ioannes F. Munoz.
	Lingua Graeca - -	Quotidiana -	Ortega - -	Dr. D. Iosephus Gonzalez.

Die Dominica, Academia Religionis et Historiae Sacrae.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DE ACTIBUS HUMANIS ONTOLOGICE ET PSYCHOLOGICE
CONSIDERATIS, SEU DISQUISITIONES PSYCHOLOGICAE-
THEOLOGICAE DE VOLUNTATE IN ORDINE AD MORES.
Auctore Victore Frius, S.J., Fribergi Brisgovia, Herder.
1897.

VIEWING the quantity of matter contained in this book (vii. and 441 pages large octavo), in conjunction with the limited scope indicated by the title, one is naturally curious to learn its *raison d'être*: which the author does not delay in giving. The Preface begins thus: 'Scripsi hunc librum hac potissimum intentione, ut quae veteres scholastici theologi accurate, profunde, subtiliter de actionibus humanis ontologiae et psychologiae consideratis seu de voluntate humanae in ordine ad mores recte formandos investigarunt quaeque in libris eorum amplissimis pro longe plurimis non adeo continentur quam habitant, ea iterum, idque modo hinc aetati magis accommodato, publici juris fiant.' Every student of theology will appreciate the reference to the *amplissimi libri* of the old scholastics where so many things are treated *accurate, profunde, subtiliter*; nor will he be surprised that Father Frius has found in them material, and on the whole useful material, for this pretty considerable volume.

The book is divided into three sections: the first dealing with *finis* and its causality in human acts; the second with *voluntarium*; and the third with human acts in *specie*, i.e., *actus elicit*, *actus imperati*, and *fruitio*. All the principal questions discussed by the scholastics which have a direct bearing on human acts, ontologically and psychologically viewed, are introduced in these different sections, and treated at great length. As we should expect, many controversies of the schools crop up, and the author is not shy of adopting and defending some view on almost every point, even the most obscure. But we have sought in vain in his pages for new light upon some old difficulties, and we have failed to perceive the utility in any connection of some few discussions introduced and the utility of some others in the present connection. Nor do we notice any modernization (such as seems to be promised in the extract quoted from the Preface) of the deep and

subtle products of scholasticism ; indeed, for anyone not previously trained in scholasticism the book might as well not have been written ; and even for students of the schools it will be far from easy reading. Whatever value, then, it has—and in our opinion it has very considerable value—is in its bringing together in fairly convenient compass the deeper investigations of the leading exponents of scholastic thought, and their ultimate findings on the fundamental questions dealt with.

The publisher announces that the author has another volume in preparation, 'De Actibus Humanis *Moraliter* Consideratis,' treating of morality in general, of moral goodness and badness, of the rules of morality—conscience and laws—and of sins. This will be much more tangible matter than that which occupies the present volume. P. J. T.

DE EXEMPLARISIMO DIVINO. Auctore, Ern. Dubois, C.SS.R.
Romæ : Desclee, Lefevre, & Soc. Pont. Edit.

THE learned author of this work has published two excellent treatises on Divine Exemplarism. The work in one volume, which we are in possession of, is a compendium, and serves as a specimen of the larger work in four volumes, which expands the many interesting truths about creatures' relations with God that are so scientifically explained in the present volume. Our Holy Father Leo XIII., soon after his elevation to the Papacy, gave a special blessing to the work which Fr. Dubois had then undertaken. Now, when that work has been completed, the Holy Father renews his apostolic benediction, and expresses great satisfaction at the masterly manner in which the author has accomplished his labour of love.

The purpose of the author is made manifest by his own statement in the preface, and by the work itself in all its parts. In these days of intellectual anarchy, when not only the truths of Revelation, but even the truths that reason itself held sacred through all the generations of the past, are cast aside for nought but the misty theories of clouded minds, the author thought it well to make an effort to bring before the world the real source of all truth. In doing this he shows that no science or art exists which must not trace its every perfection to the one Supreme God, who is the creator, ruler, and end of all beings outside Himself. God is the author and conserver of all things. He governs them through the unceasing changes of the world's life ;

He made them all for Himself, so unto Him they all tend as to their ultimate end. All this continual operation outside God has in the mind of God its ideal counterpart, for every artificer has in his mind an idea according to which he fashions the things that he makes. So God has in His mind ideas of all things, after which He fashions them. These ideas are the exemplars of things created, and 'Divine Exemplarism' expresses the relations which creatures have with the Divine Mind, which contains their exemplars. These relations are explained at great length. Not merely theology in its many forms, but also mere mundane arts and sciences, are explained in their relations to the Divine Mind. Mathematics, physics, metaphysics, music, architecture, sculpture, and painting are all shown to have their source and perfection in God. Those who, despising the first Author of all things, seek to divorce from Him all arts and sciences, are shown to act against the very foundation of every art and science. Those whose minds are not thus led away by error are directed more and more towards the Divine Trinity, in which they are taught to see reflected every truth of nature and grace. We recommend the work as a new and successful treatment of a subject old as the world itself.

J. M. H.

THE LIFE OF CESARE CARDINAL BARONIUS OF THE ROMAN ORATORY. By Lady Amabel Kerr. London: Art and Book Company.

WHEN one comes to reflect on it, the wonder is, that such a book as this has not appeared long before now. Very likely the reason is to be found in the fact, that the disciple loses, to a great extent, his individuality, owing to the close and almost life-long contact which existed between him and his great master, St. Philip Neri. All the same, Baronius is a subject worth studying for his own sake; and to Lady Kerr, who has given us an opportunity of doing so in English, we owe our very grateful thanks.

Had we the wish to be critical, and to point out the shortcomings we have met with in the book, we should group them as follows:—Solecisms, which intrude themselves not very frequently, to be sure, but oftener than is desirable; an occasional round of needless repetition; and, here and there, just the slightest suspicion of pedantry.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that these defects mar the excellence of the work as a whole. The contrary rather would be nearer the truth. Taking it all in all, the book is a finished, chatty, and exceedingly interesting presentation of a character whom not merely all Catholics, but all genuine lovers of truth have very much reason to venerate.

Lady Kerr has been fortunate in the selection of her publishers. This book alone would be a sufficient vindication of the appositeness of the dual title adopted by the Company.

D.D.

HYMN TO ST. CECILIA. For Treble Voices. Words by Eleanor Donnelly. Music by S. Myrescough, Mus. Bac., Oxon. London: Charles Vincent, 9, Berners-street, W.

THIS little composition deserves a hearty welcome. The pretty poem is set to music for two Treble voices, Soprano, and Alto, with Piano accompaniment. Only in the last ten bars each of the vocal parts is subdivided so as to produce four-part harmonies. In the last division there is a modulation somewhat hard to grasp (from D major to F major), and a few chromatic chords present some difficulty to correct intonation. But when the singers have heard the progressions a few times, and with the aid of the accompanying instrument, a blameless rendering will, probably, be secured. Otherwise the piece is quite easy to sing. The writing is musicianly, and the melodies are pleasing. The piece, no doubt, will find favour in girls' schools, especially those for higher education. Orchestral parts can be had on loan from the publisher.

H. B.

ELEANOR LESLIE. A Memoir. By J. M. Stone. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

THIS delightful volume derives its interest no less from the admirable character of the lady of whose life it treats, than from the circumstances of the time and scenes amidst which she lived and worked—the revival of Catholicism in Scotland. Born in 1800, within the Anglican Communion, Eleanor Leslie grew up to womanhood in the same faith. She married, in 1823, Mr. Archibald Leslie, the son of one of the old laird ministers in Scotland, and nephew, through his mother, of the Earl of Caithness. After many years' residence in London and

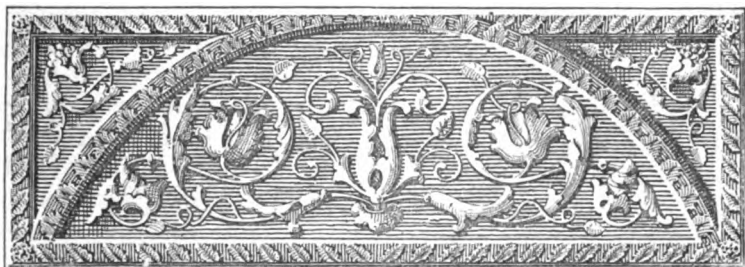
Wandsworth, during which dissenting church influences led her to more earnest inquiry and deeper sentiments of religion, she accompanied her husband to a new home in Edinburgh, where her yearnings for the truth were fully gratified, and she was received into the Church in 1844.

Her fidelity to grace under the many difficulties of conversion, the severance of family ties, and the estrangement of friends was rewarded by the happiness of seeing her children, one by one, and ultimately her husband, follow her into the fold. Nor did the Divine call to this favoured family end here. Her only son becomes Father Leslie, S.J., and of her three daughters one enters St. Margaret's Presentation Convent, Edinburgh, another joins the Nuns of the Sacred Heart.

But the influence for good of this estimable lady extended to a much wider sphere than that which the limits of her own household circumscribed. We may not here enumerate the many distinguished converts indebted in a greater or less degree to her assistance and advice. The noble families of Caithness and Buccleuch, the Monteiths, Palmers and Robertsons, are only a few of those whom her sound judgment, sincerity, and edifying example in their mutual social intercourse helped to reach the light. After an old age spent as her whole life in works of charity, her pious and beneficent career terminated in 1862, in St. Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh.

Were we to enter more minutely into the details of this very interesting life we should violate the author's prerogative. We have no difficulty in heartily recommending this book to convent and parochial libraries. The volume is splendidly printed and bound, and contains twelve full-page illustrations, some being portraits, the others reproductions of sketches by Mrs. Leslie.

C. M.



AMERICANISM

WE publish, in our present issue, the letter which His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. has addressed to Cardinal Gibbons on the subject of 'Americanism.' It is, in many respects, one of the most important pronouncements the Holy Father has made since he ascended the Chair of St. Peter. It has already been received by the Catholics of the United States with the respect that is due to the Vicar of Christ. That it will be obeyed in the letter and in the spirit by those to whom it is addressed, we have not the shadow of a doubt; and that this trial which they have gone safely through will bring American Catholics nearer than ever to the Holy See, and be to themselves the source of countless blessings, their brethren in all parts of the world have every reason to hope and to believe.

During the course of the past twelve months various writers were kind enough to send us articles in which the subject which has now been decided was rather warmly discussed. We thought it our duty, however, not to open our pages to a controversy which had but a very remote bearing on the actualities of life in these countries. We felt convinced that the meddling of outsiders does not conduce very much to the settlement of the affairs of other people. We were loth to assume even the indirect responsibility of an editor for views and opinions which, when propounded in our pages, could not fail to be irritating to the Catholics

of the United States, to whom we are bound by so many ties of kindred and friendship. And whilst we readily admit that discussion is often necessary for the clear elucidation of the truth, we felt that when polemical contests reach a certain degree of warmth and of bitterness, there is but one voice in the Church that can set them effectively to rest. That voice has now spoken. The controversy is at an end. All true Catholics must bow before the authority of the supreme teacher.

We should not even now think it wise or judicious to do more than place before our readers the splendid exposition of Catholic doctrine and the words of paternal direction addressed by the Pope to the American bishops and faithful, through his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, did this document not contain lessons of great value for the Catholics of the whole world, lessons too in which the Irish clergy must naturally take the deepest interest.

It will be noticed that the words employed by the Pope invest his pronouncement with unusual solemnity. He speaks—(1) in order to safeguard the integrity of the faith; (2) in virtue of his supreme apostolic office; (3) to secure the faithful against danger: ‘*Nos igitur, ut integritati fidei, pro supremo Apostolatus munere, prospiciamus et fidelium securitati caveamus, volumus de re universa fusiori sermone ad te scribere.*’

Then, as Cardinal Richard, in his letter to the clergy of Paris clearly points out,¹ the Pope lays great stress on the fact already defined by the Vatican Council—that the doctrine of faith, which God revealed, is not, like philosophy or any other human science, capable of being brought to fuller development or to greater perfection by the ingenuity of human intelligence, but a sacred deposit entrusted to the Church, as the Spouse of Christ, to be faithfully guarded and infallibly taught.

Nor is it right, declares the Papal letter, that through a

¹ Rien donc n'était plus nécessaire pour arrêter un mouvement d'opinion plein de danger pour l'Eglise que la lettre admirable de Léon XIII. Vous y remarquerez deux choses: 1° la fermeté avec laquelle le Saint-Père maintient et démontre l'intégrité de la doctrine gardée fidèlement par l'Eglise comme un dépôt sacré et non comme une science appelée à se développer par le génie humain; 2° la sainteté de la discipline; non que les lois disciplinaires ne puissent subir les modifications que demandent les intérêts des âmes dans le cours des siècles, mais ces modifications sont réservées à l'autorité suprême du Saint-Siège qui regit le monde entier.

desire of winning over to the Church those who remain outside her fold any of her doctrines should be obscured or kept out of sight ; for, one and all have the same author, ' the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father,' and they are suited to every age and to every race, as Christ intended that they should be, when He said : ' Going, therefore, teach all nations . . . teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you ; and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'¹

On the other hand, the Holy Father declares that in the spirit and traditions of the Church discipline has never been regarded as of a nature so rigid and immutable that it may not sometimes, and in some details, be modified to suit the exigencies of climate and of custom among peoples differing greatly in their ways and habits of life. The Divine Founder of the Church was too clement and too merciful to impose on all the same regulations of service and of observance. His spouse, like St. Paul, makes herself all things to all men in order to gain all to God. Any departure, however, from the constituted and acknowledged discipline of the Church must not be left to the initiative or the whims of private individuals, but must have upon it the authentic seal of the Church's authority. For, those who imagine that they are most capable of guiding the Church on new lines are often most easily drawn away and deceived by the specious attractions of novelty. Our readers can see for themselves how fully the Sovereign Pontiff insists on the rights and duties of ecclesiastical authority in all such matters, and proclaims that there is no less need now for its watchful exercise than there was before the definition of Papal Infallibility.

In face, then, of all the Holy Father has said, and said so recently and so solemnly on this subject, is it not unfortunate and disturbing to find Catholics on this side of the Atlantic, fresh from the perusal of the Papal letter, suggest that amongst certain peoples and certain races this idea of authority may safely be left in the background ? The development of individual character ; the giving of full scope to what they vaguely call ' personal initiative,' is, they tell

¹ Matt. xxvii. 19.

us, the system of Church government that would result amongst them in the best and richest harvest for the Church. But is not the fullest and most complete system of 'personal initiative' exactly that which is enjoyed by the people who are outside the Church, and whom the new movement is supposed to attract? From the 'personal initiative' of independent Catholics to the 'private judgment' of Protestants there is but a step, and a very narrow one. Is it not, moreover, one of the ugliest forms of pride, and one of the clearest evidences of spiritual blindness, that people should say: 'We are not like other men. We thank God that we possess virtues that are not given to the citizens of other nations. Authority is good for others, no doubt. They require it and they like it. But it should not be obtruded on those to whom the conquest of the world is a mere matter of time'?

What has the conquest of the world and what has commercial success got to do with the working of grace and with the triumphs of the faith? Of what avail were the commercial enterprise of Tyre, the wisdom of the Areopagus, or the learning of Alexandria in former days? The same power that set up the Roman Empire and took it down again to make way for the Church is not compelled to rely now any more than it did then on the human virtues of which we boast. Outsiders may not, perhaps, be as well able to judge of us as we are ourselves; but what if they were to say that this very objection to authority, this contention that it is calculated to repel rather than to attract some of the best elements in the human race, is one of the clearest proofs that its watchful supervision is most urgently needed in places where it is least welcome?

If this theory of authority were once admitted in regard to doctrine, it would, as a natural result, extend, in due course, to conduct as well; and if the principle were once admitted that acts of ecclesiastical government, in matters that are clearly within its domain, could be reviewed by those whose duty it is to obey them, and could be criticized in newspapers and reviews, whether controlled by ecclesiastics or by laymen, with the same freedom that is admitted in worldly and political disputes, the Church would very

soon be degraded to the level of a human institution, and be so disfigured in the eyes of the world that it would be impossible to recognise in her the 'Sponsa Christi,' whose household should be a shining example of dignity and of order to Jew and Gentile.

The more specific doctrines which the Pope condemns under the title of 'Americanism' are comprised under the following heads :—First, the action of the Holy Ghost in the modern world ; second, the classification of Christian virtues ; third, the vows of religious orders ; fourth, the methods of evangelization best suited to modern times.

THE ACTION OF THE HOLY GHOST

It has been said, writes the Pope, that the external *magisterium* of the Church is nowadays superfluous, if not useless, to those who study the ways of perfection, as the gifts of the Holy Spirit are infused into the minds of the faithful in fuller and richer measure than in the past, so as to influence men directly, without any medium, as if by some secret and mysterious instinct. Rash, indeed, would be the man, continues His Holiness, who would presume to limit the methods by which God communicates with men. 'The Spirit breathes where He wills.' But can anyone who remembers the history of the Apostles, the faith of the early Church, the struggles and the blood of the martyrs, the old centuries full of the holiest men and women, dare to compare past ages with the present, and to proclaim that they were less richly endowed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit? And even in those times, when the Holy Ghost poured out upon the Church in richest effusion the gifts that are so precious to mankind, He made use of the recognised ministry of the Church for their allotment and disposal. One of the most striking examples of this was seen on the road to Damascus, when St. Paul, stricken down in the presence of our Lord, gave utterance to the memorable words: 'Lord, what wilt Thou have me do?' and was then and there referred to the priest Ananias. And the Lord said to him: 'Arise, and go into the city, and there it shall be told thee what thou must do.'¹

¹ Acts Apos., ix.

Nor should it be forgotten that those who aspire to a more perfect life have greater need of guidance than others, since they may more easily go astray. This, as the Pope reminds us, is the life-long tradition of the Church, and of the necessity of no one rule of conduct were they more thoroughly convinced who flourished through the course of ages in virtue and sanctity. Those who follow the new opinions extol the natural virtues beyond all bounds, as if they were more aptly suited than any others to the ways and the needs of the present age, and calculated to make men more manly and vigorous in mind and body.

It is difficult to understand, writes Leo XIII., how people imbued with Christian wisdom could prefer natural to supernatural virtues. Is nature, then, weaker after the accession of grace than it was when it stood alone? Did those holy men, whom the Church honours and reveres, prove themselves weak-minded and foolish in the order of nature because they excelled in the Christian virtues?

It is lawful, no doubt, to admire acts of natural virtue. But how rare they are, and how limited in their scope and power! Even to observe the natural law in its full range some divine assistance is required. And single acts such as those we have mentioned often have the appearance of virtue rather than the reality. Granting, however, that such acts exist, what is their value for eternal life?

'Magnae vires,' says St. Augustine, 'et cursus celerissimus sed praeter viam.'

As the nature of man, fallen and vitiated, is strengthened and set up in new dignity by the power of grace, so natural virtues not only become fruitful of eternal life, but receive additional solidity and strength, when invested by that same heavenly power which the Holy Ghost diffuses in our hearts, and by which He unites us to Himself.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF VIRTUES

Some of the champions of 'Americanism' had put forward the theory that all Christian virtues might be divided into *passive* and *active*, and had expressed the opinion that the former were better suited to past ages, whilst the latter are

more needful and productive of good at the present day. This distinction of virtues the Holy Father repudiates and absolutely condemns. He shows that in reality there is no such thing as *passive* virtue; that all Christian virtues are suited to all times, to all races, and to all nations, as they all have the same author, Jesus Christ, who is the master and model of sanctity to the whole world, 'yesterday, to-day, and the same for ever.'¹ To all men, wherever they may be, the same lesson is addressed: 'Learn of Me, because I am meek and humble of heart;'² and the words of the Apostle are as true to-day as they were in any former age: 'They who are of Christ have crucified their flesh with its vices and concupiscences.'³ Well would it be for the modern world, says His Holiness, if it would cultivate these virtues, and emulate those who excelled in them in ages past—who, by their humility, their obedience, their mortification, were 'powerful in work and word,' and conferred immortal blessings on civil as well as on religious society.

THE VOWS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS

From the opinion, bordering on contempt, that was entertained of the evangelic virtues, wrongly called 'passive,' there was but a step to a similar estimate of the religious life. This was expressed chiefly in the language of depreciation which was used in speaking of the vows of religious orders. These were said to be unsuited to the present age, inasmuch as they restrict the exercise of human liberty. The world is no longer in its infancy, we were told; it has reached man's estate, and the leading-strings of former times are out of date and are no longer necessary. They may even still be suited to the weak minds of inferior races, but not to the manly, self-reliant citizens of progressive states. With unusual vehemence the Pope repudiates these doctrines. He shows how they are opposed to the spirit and practice of the Church. He says they are false and injurious; for those who embrace the religious life of their own free will, not satisfied with observing the precepts, undertake to

Heb. xiii. 8.

¹ Matt. xi. 29.

² Gal. v. 14.

follow the counsels of the Gospel, and, abandoning all earthly ties, become the brave and disciplined soldiers of Christ. 'Is this,' he says, 'the mark of weak minds? Is this useless or injurious to perfection? Those who bind themselves by the vows of religion, far from suffering the loss of liberty, enjoy, on the contrary, in fuller and nobler measure, the liberty "wherewith Christ has made us free."' And with apt and forcible illustration His Holiness reminds American Catholics of the debt they owe to those religious orders, who sowed in hardship and in tears the seeds of the rich harvest that spreads out to-day before their vision, and who, at the present time, do not restrict the efforts of their zeal to the pleasant places of the world, but with indomitable courage, carry the message of salvation to new shores, to barbarous races, '*per summam animi contentionem summaque pericula.*' If, therefore, there are some who prefer to live in community life, without binding themselves by vows, they are welcome to do so; but they should take care not to extol such a mode of life beyond that of the religious orders; for, on the contrary, the more the world is given to the pursuit of sensual pleasures, the more highly are they to be esteemed who, 'having relinquished all things, follow Christ.'

NEW METHODS OF EVANGELIZATION

Suggestions had been thrown out from various sources that in order to win back to unity the separated Churches, it might be well to reduce in the great centres of life where Protestants are numerous, the splendour of liturgical ceremonial, and curtail the length and frequency of the services. It was also thought that priests might, if invited, expound the principles of Catholicism not only in places of secular reunion, but even in the temples of dissentient sects. The Pope points out that it is not prudent to abandon the methods which antiquity has approved, and which the writings of the Apostles commend. He does not object to the clergy speaking to the members of dissident bodies in halls and other places of good repute. But it must not be done in temples, and it must not be done by way of dispute or

contention, but in a friendly colloquy. Moreover, it must only be attempted by those who are approved for the purpose by the authority of their bishops. Thus alone can the public have any guarantee that preachers are possessed of the knowledge and of the good character that are essential for such an apostolate.

Such, in brief, are the doctrines, to which some people have given the title of 'Americanism,' which the Pope now condemns. But, he adds, that if 'Americanism' is understood in the sense of loyalty to American institutions, of predilection for national customs and ways of life, of admiration for the scientific progress and for the habits of industry and of enterprise that distinguish the citizens of the United States, for all this he has no words of blame. On the contrary, many of the characteristics of the American people have long since commanded his interest and admiration. He is not surprised, in the least, at their devotion to their country; but in the new conditions of life beyond the Atlantic, in the struggles of races, of creeds, of material interests, it is of the first importance that the lines of doctrine and of discipline should be clearly traced by the highest authority.

That the words of the aged Pontiff, turning his face to the West, in the midst of his trials and infirmities, to 'confirm his brethren,' will have a long echo in the history of the United States, it is easy to foretell. That they will be received from New York to San Francisco as words of authority and of salvation, it would be unjust to American Catholics to doubt. Those amongst them who have spoken so far, and who are best entitled to speak with authority, all join in the same chorus of thanks and of satisfaction. The words to which Cardinal Satolli gave utterance, seven years ago, when he visited the City of St. Paul, Minnesota, seem to us more appropriate than ever to-day:—

When the external conditions, when the environment of the Church, seem to demand new adaptations, it is no wonder that differences of opinion should exist for a time. Such differences cannot impair the essential life and vigour of the Church, much as they seem to disturb the harmony of thought, and interrupt continuity of action. They set against those who hold to a past which they think should not change those who honestly think that

the signs of the present and of the future demand new readjustment, if the Church is to continue in harmony with the advancing race. Such differences, when the watchman on the tower of Sion has spoken, settle themselves into harmony once more, and the result of the passing disturbance has been a benefit to the Church and society, and an advance both forward and upward.¹

We are happy to notice that the few French priests of standing and repute who were fascinated by the new doctrines have expressed their unqualified adhesion to the teaching of the Holy See. In doing so, besides fulfilling a duty they could not neglect, they have followed the best traditions of the great Church to which they belong, the examples of Fénélon, of Lacordaire, of Bautain and of Gratry. Over sixty years ago Lamennais lectured his countrymen on their 'Indifference en Matière de Religion.' He wished to start a new crusade, to upset the 'concordat' and liberate the Church from the tyranny of the State. He thundered in the *Avenir* against all sorts of abuses. He lectured the bishops on their want of courage and the clergy on their apathy. He wanted no 'arm-chair Catholics,' but real, militant Christians who were conscious of their rights and knew how to defend them. He formed a Catholic association for the defence of Catholic interests and his most cherished object was to bring about the separation of Church and State. But his zeal outran his discretion. His principles and his methods were condemned by Gregory XVI. in the famous Encyclical *Mirari Vos*. The Pope who is the guardian of the Church's rights, the supreme judge of what is necessary and what is expedient, having weighed the advantages and disadvantages of the existing system, did not hesitate to pronounce that it should be maintained. Lamennais rebelled; but who will say that the decision of the Pope, apart from its character as an act of supreme authority, has not been justified by facts, and that the official recognition of the Church, with all its drawbacks, has not been worth the sacrifices that have been made for its maintenance?

About twenty years ago, Count Albert de Mun, whose name is known and honoured throughout the Catholic

¹ Loyalty to the Church and State, 134.

world, proposed to establish in France a 'Catholic Union,' whose object would be to organize the Catholic forces of the country on the lines of the 'Centre Party' in Germany; but again the wisdom of the Holy See made itself felt. Cardinal Lavigerie was commissioned to put a stop to a movement which appeared to many to be the only hope of salvation. Once again the French Catholics proved their loyalty to the Head of the Church. What, then, is the meaning of taunting them with their apathy, and of accusing them of sticking to their sacristies and their arm-chairs? They are on the spot; they know their own business and realize their own difficulties better than anybody else. Their bishops and their clergy, under the guidance of the Holy See, are the best judges of what is opportune and what is rash. They certainly are not less zealous, not less enlightened, and not less capable of judging what is for the good of the Church, than the people who are so ready to criticize them from outside. With bishops like Cardinals Richard, Langenieux, and Perraud, they have strong and steady hands at the helm. With all their difficulties, they have done more for the maintenance of the Holy See, for the Propagation of the Faith, for the great works of charity and mercy, than could possibly be achieved by a people so utterly enslaved as their critics would represent them. They have sent their teachers, their missionaries, and their sisterhoods to every country under the sun. They have shed their blood in profusion for the faith, in Africa, in India, in China, in Japan; and when put to the test at home, in Paris, they gave, without ostentation, but without flinching, the last testimony of life to the Master whom they served. And if, at the present day, the instinctive distrust of worldly devices in the cause of religion sets them on their guard against novelties, and makes them cautious about accepting the suggestions of 'personal initiative,' who can pronounce, from the depths of his private wisdom, that they are misguided and deceived?

We may be sure that, whatever ripples may appear on the surface from time to time, the Catholics of France will remain faithful to their traditions. We are equally certain

that traditions not less noble and worthy will be established amongst the Catholics of the United States. The present age is restless and proud of its achievements in the world of science; but we may rest assured that the old maxims of humility, of self-denial, of patience, and of discipline, will hold the field in the Christian life; and no matter how incapable we may be of illustrating them in our own conduct, they must ever remain the ideals towards which we should aspire, and the tests by which we must decide the merits of those who have a right to our esteem.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

THE CHURCH AND HUMAN PERPLEXITY

THE Catholic Church alone can satisfy the mind and heart of man. She alone has all the keys to all the puzzles and problems that perplex, and worry, and afflict, in every shape and form, the human race. There are very different kinds of answers to the various questions of the mind and heart, many capable of immediate apprehension and application; many, like the profound sayings of the wise, requiring much pondering and experience, that their full purport may be seen and felt. Experience makes us know that all men are much puzzled what to think, say, do, in, it may be said, all the relations of social and individual life, great and small, public and private. Some things are understood, many more are beyond our understanding; a vast amount has to be taken on faith. The mightiest human intellect, the most prudent and sagacious, are often as much puzzled at most things, of whatever kind, as ordinary men are. The state of things in which we find ourselves, the world as we know it, is a most bewildering and tangled maze of insoluble problems and perplexities, which were never so widely and deeply felt as at the present day, when so much is read, and said, and written about everything, and everyone, and everywhere. But, though the consciousness of the mysteries of life is more diffused and generally more intensely realized, it has always been a large part of the intellectual life of man.

The wisest of men, long ages ago, tells us of himself: 'I applied my heart to know wisdom, and to understand the distraction that is upon earth; for there are some that, day and night, take no sleep with their eyes. And I understood that man can find no reason of all those works of God that are done under the sun; and the more he shall labour to seek, so much the less shall he find; yea, though the wise man should say that he knoweth, he shall not be able to find.'¹

Perplexity, then—immense perplexity—is, and always has been, meeting man at every turn. What thought and 'spake of old the royal seer,' is universal experience. We long to know what it all means. What is the meaning of man, 'the glory, jest, and riddle of the world;' why is he here at all, and wherefore in the bewildering and awful state he actually is? These 'thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls' makes us cry out: 'Why is this? Wherefore? What shall we do?'

The Catholic Church, the Church of God and of humanity, gives the only adequate and soul-satisfying answer to these questions. She tells us that if we only listen to her, and act as becomes creatures in our state, our reason, our will, our heart and emotions will be satisfied in every way that the nature of things demands, both with regard to this life in all its bearings, and in that endless state which lies beyond. The first great lesson we have to learn is that, though reason and understanding will never attain to the answering of those questions which human nature is ever asking, nevertheless it is by reason and understanding we shall be led so as to reach what is above reason, and gives infinitely more absolute certitude, and conviction, and satisfaction of every kind than reason itself ever could supply. 'No man can understand the works of God under the sun' by reason alone. How, then, shall he attain to what will enlighten and guide him infinitely better than reason can?

We are quite sure of the truth of anything which a man whom we know to be wise and truthful, who is not deceived himself, and who would not deceive another, pledges his

¹ Eccles. viii. 16, 17.

word for. This is called faith, assent to the truth of a statement on the authority of another. It is according to our state and nature to take things on faith, and to be quite certain of their truth, and that most reasonably. If we would not believe, when the above conditions are fulfilled, we should act in a manner deserving condemnation. If this be true of believing and refusing to believe men, how much more are we called upon by our rational nature to believe God, if He has spoken, if He has pledged His word for the truth of anything; and much more do we deserve blame if, through our own fault, we ignore or refuse to submit to His revelation. Now, this is the infinitely important and peremptory claim of the Catholic Church: that she is the God-appointed possessor, guardian, and interpreter of the divine revelation, which supplies the answer to all those questions, why we are in the world, what we ought to do under all circumstances, what depends on how we regulate our conduct in this life. Nothing can be more important for us than this claim of the Church; nothing can be so worthy of our thought and study as examining it. It is no exaggeration to say that, supposing the claims of the Church to be valid, nothing else on earth approaches the importance and value of the message she has to deliver to us. It is a mystery of folly, or, at all events, of want of sense of some kind, how the world generally so much ignores those claims. However much they are ignored by the wise and prudent of this world, the Catholic Church is really the one thing in the world of incomparable worth, in comparison with which all things else are of little account, except in their relations to her, which, again, gives them a share in her supreme importance.

The Church does not demand blind or unreasoning submission of the human intellect to her teaching. She professes—and most certainly she makes good her professions—to prove to reason that submission to each and every doctrine is what alone is rightly reasonable. In all ages, and conspicuously during our own, men of the profoundest learning and greatest mental and moral qualities, men of all classes, races, states, public and private, have been absolutely convinced of the validity of the Church's claims and

professions. This proves that no objections are urged which do not admit of satisfactory answer. These men knew all that could be urged, and, nevertheless, their assent to Catholic truth was, and is, as unhesitating, as absolute, as that of the least learned of their fellow-Catholics.

Although we must use our reason to enter the Church, or, being in, to remain there—that is, our reason must always be convinced of the truth of what we assent to by faith—we are warned it is not by reason or any natural capability or effort of our own we are Catholics, but by the supernatural help of God enlightening our intellects and inclining our wills, and conferring on us the power to believe. We are warned, moreover, that it all depends on our own free choice, on the action of our own will, which may and ought to co-operate with the grace of God in believing, but which also may turn away, make a wrong choice, and refuse to believe. This does not necessarily imply that all who refuse to submit to the Catholic Church, after having examined her claims even, are therein morally culpable. It is a great misfortune; but it may be, in the case of any kind of man, inculpable. The wise and experienced know that prejudice, inherited tendencies, early training, surroundings, have often most blinding effects; consequently, however convincing the proofs are in themselves, they may be obscured and unbinding in individual cases, not only for the dull and uneducated, but also for very different persons.

The real greatness and dignity of man is his moral worth, how he uses his will, and through his will all his faculties and their objects. Morality consists in how we use things. Virtue is right use; vice, wrong. Use is essentially and primarily an act of the free-will, whereby anything is any way subjected to our power of choosing. This is our probation here; this is what we shall have to give an account of, how we choose. We are not praiseworthy or blameworthy, we cannot merit, properly speaking, reward or punishment for anything else. In this moral discipline, which is the supreme feature of human life, God never takes away our freedom of choice. He helps us by enlightening our minds and moving our wills in many ways, and helps us more and

more as we help ourselves, and pray to Him for help ; but our choice, in everything great and small, is always perfectly free : we can make a right or a wrong one. Happily, we are in the hands of One who knows everything : Who is absolutely just and good, and cannot err in the least degree as to what we deserve for our choosing. Being infinitely good and merciful, everything is taken into account, every excuse is considered, nothing is demanded unfairly ; but, when everything has been weighed and allowed for, the net result is merit or demerit, and it is essential to the nature of things that reward and punishment follow. While this life lasts, reason, experience, the Church declares our moral probation continues, we have it in our power to choose rightly and wrongly, to deteriorate morally and to improve ; nay, even, it is the most consoling teaching of the Church, that, no matter how fearfully we may have broken with God, we may, up to the last, set ourselves right with Him. In this life, it is never too late to mend.

The awful consequences of wrong choosing, which meet us everywhere in this life in the fate of individuals as well as of whole classes and nations, are, indeed, appalling. If such be the case in a world where good and evil of every kind are so mysteriously mingled, what shall be the final result, when good and evil shall be completely separated, and each, for ever, associated with its like ?

The answer to this question is the message the Church declares she has from God to man ; how we may attain to all good, that is, happiness ; how we may avoid all evil, that is, misery. She declares she knows and teaches her children what they must do to be saved, what they must shun to avoid misery, final and unutterable. This message can only be conveyed through faith, for so God has appointed ; and we can only retain and grow in faith, or acquire it, if we have it not, by our own right choice, by freely co-operating with God's grace, by using aright our reason and will ; by aiming at, and wishing and praying to do rightly, and reasonably in the matter of this supreme virtue of faith, the root and foundation of all our sanctification and salvation.

WILLIAM A. SUTTON, S.J.

REV. THOMAS EDWARD BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

THOMAS EDWARD BRIDGETT was born of non-Catholic parents, in Derby, on the 20th of January, 1829. When he had finished the ordinary public school course, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1848. He has, happily, in the Preface to his *Life of Blessed John Fisher* given us a glimpse of his taste, and the straightforwardness of his character:—

Using [he says] an author's privilege to say somewhat of himself, or at least of his motives and labours, in a Preface, I will now state how I have been led to write this life . . . When, just forty years since, I entered the refectory or hall of St. John's College, Cambridge, my attention was at once arrested by the portraits of the foundress, Lady Margaret, Mother of Henry VII., and of her confessor, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and the quaint rebus of a fish and an ear (of corn) in the coat-of-arms of the latter, in the chapel window, somewhat distracted my mind amid psalms and prayers. I wished at once to know something of those worthies, and as the senior tutor of my college, Dr. Hymers, had reprinted Fisher's funeral sermon of Lady Margaret, with notes, I was soon able not so much to satisfy as to excite still more my curiosity. It was certainly not the intention of the editor, a clergyman of the Protestant Church of England, that the perusal of his reprint should lead any student of St. John's College a step back to the Catholicity of Bishop Fisher. Yet such was the case. I soon purchased a copy of the first edition of Fisher's first treatise against Luther, printed in 1523; and, without entering very deeply into controversy, I received a deep impression of the violence and malice of the Reformers, and a gentle drawing towards the defenders of the old faith, which all subsequent studies increased. Though I read no more of Fisher's writings at that time, his spotless character and heroic death gave weight to other arguments, which made me refuse the oath of royal supremacy then required for a degree, and thus obliged me to leave Cambridge in 1850, and seek reconciliation with the Catholic Church.¹

We have it from Father Bridgett himself the part which a simple Irish exile played in his conversion. While at

¹ ix., x.

the University he accompanied a fellow-student to the poor Catholic chapel of the town. When leaving, they met a poor Irishman, and Mr. Bridgett's companion said to him: 'Pat, you think you have all religion down here in this corner.' 'Well, sir,' replied Pat, 'you are great men up at the College; but it seems you can't agree amongst yourselves.' These words made a profound impression on Mr. Bridgett, and became a powerful argument in favour of the Catholic Church.¹

Soon after his conversion Mr. Bridgett entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. He was sent to St. Trond in Belgium to make his novitiate. There he found a number of distinguished priests and students, who afterwards contributed so much to the propagation of the Congregation. He was admitted to profession on the 15th of October, 1851, and then sent by his superiors to Wittem for his theological course. In this really remarkable seat of learning T. E. Bridgett was one of the most distinguished students. He excelled in all branches of ecclesiastical science, but especially in Holy Scripture. He was ordained priest on the 4th of August, 1856, and soon after returned to England.

He laboured first at Clapham. In 1862 he was sent to the house of St. Alphonsus, Limerick, where he laboured as a simple father, as minister, and as rector (1862-1871). It was in January, 1868, at the request of Most Rev. Dr. Butler, that he organized and directed the never-to-be-forgotten mission to the men of Limerick. It was at the close of this mission that he established the Confraternity of the Holy Family, which is to-day the greatest of its kind in the Church.

We cannot dwell on this great work; but it is to be remembered, that it was while fully, it would seem to us, engaged at home, and on missions, and in giving retreats to priests and nuns, that he composed his first work, *In Spirit and in Truth*. His industry may be gathered from his

¹ See *History of Limerick Holy Family*, p. 23. We refer the reader to the *Ritual of the New Testament*, ch. xi., for the working of Father Bridgett's mind towards the Church.

having said one day to a fellow-priest, who complained that he could get no considerable time free for study: 'Oh!' said he, 'if I were to wait for some considerable free time I should never study at all: my study consists in utilizing the scraps of time I find between one occupation and another.' To the present writer he said, that he believed, that if he were to write the ways and means by which he compiled *Our Lady's Dowry* it would, indeed, be a curious book. While, therefore, discharging the duties of missionary, and superior, he was ever profiting of every moment of spare time to collect and arrange matter, which later he gave to the public in the books which we now possess, and which are a monument to his learning and industry.

And here we can give some extracts from letters written by Father Bridgett, from Limerick, to a confrere who took part in the first Redemptorist mission in that city. In 1865, he writes on the occasion of his being named rector as successor to Father Plunkett:—

VERY REV. AND DEAR FATHER DOUGLAS,—In the first place, many thanks for your kind wishes. On that evening, near fifteen years ago, when you accompanied Father Plunkett and myself to the London Bridge station, on our way to start for the novitiate, I little thought that I should be succeeding my travelling companion as rector of one of our houses, and still less that I should be writing to you about it, having just returned from giving a retreat to Irish priests.

I returned on Monday, as I say, from giving a retreat to the clergy of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora (in County Clare); and though they are the hottest of patriots on that west coast, they listened to a Saxon with the humility—I had almost said the docility—of children.

In a letter to the same father, in January, 1868, we find him sending a printed report of the men's retreat which he says is full and accurate. He adds:—

We had more than a thousand men at the opening [of the mission] last night, and this morning at the early instructions at half-past five o'clock, about five hundred. This promises well. For a long time the men have been growing cold in the frequentation of the sacraments. Most of them are either Fenians or sympathisers with Fenianism, and the opposition the clergy have

made to that movement has produced a dangerous estrangement between them and the people.

You know, of course, that public opinion in England condemns as infamous crime, deserving no mercy, in the Fenians, what it applauds as heroic virtue in Italian revolutionists. Men are hung here as felons, who are canonized as heroes and saints in Italy. Of course, this unfairness infuriates the people still more. I believe a revolution will come here, and that all the bishops and priests cannot stop it. Some of the heads of Fenianism may be imbued with the principles of continental infidels; but the vast majority look upon the movement as a holy war against the enemies of the Church.

This opinion of a most disinterested and fair-minded witness is worth preserving. He lived to see the ascendancy which religion held in the hearts of Irishmen, and which saved them from the revolution which, with good reason, he feared. Careful consideration of the circumstances of the men, together with prudence and patience in dealing with them, produced the happiest results in Limerick. And if the part which Cardinal Deschamps had taken in the foundation of the Holy Family in Liège, was his consolation when his end came, certainly the men of Limerick saved and sanctified by a like work founded for them by Father Bridgett, will have pleaded for him when the last hour sounded for their great benefactor.

Rev. Father Coffin, the immediate superior of Father Bridgett, soon recognised his great qualities. But although he was convinced of the power he was sure to exercise as a writer, he did not exempt him from his missionary duties. These, however, with time grew less, owing to Father Bridgett's bad health; his activity, however, never flagged. Hence as he advanced in years, and was allowed to remain more at home, his publications increased. We are able to give a list which he himself, at the request of the writer, made out a few months ago. We can add some others, and some details not generally known.

LIST OF WORKS WRITTEN OR EDITED BY FATHER BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

Ritual of the New Testament. (Now in 3rd ed. The 1st ed. was called *In Spirit and in Truth.*)

Discipline of Drink.

Our Lady's Dowry. (Now in 3rd ed.)

- History of the Holy Eucharist.* (2 vols.)
Life of Blessed John Fisher. (2nd ed.)
Life of Blessed Thomas More. (2nd ed.)
Wisdom and Wit of Blessed Thomas More.
Blunders and Forgeries. (2nd ed.) A Collection of Essays
 that had appeared in various periodicals.
Notes on Adare.
Defender of the Faith. Essay on Henry Eighth's title.
Lyra Hieratica. Poems on the Priesthood : many by Father
 Bridgett.
Sonnets and Epigrams.
Moriana. Collection in Latin.
Short Papers. C. T. Society.
Life of Rev. M. Thayer.
Rood of Boxley. Reprinted from *Dublin Review*.
Flag of Truce.
Reapers for the Harvest.
Christian Priesthood.
England, Our Lady's Dowry.
The Angelus.
Poems on Reunion. Collected.
Coronation Oath. Reprinted from *The Month*.
The Test Act. In *The Month*.
Hymn Writing. In *The Month*.
Cranmer : A Forgery. In *The Month*.

DUBLIN REVIEW

- Bristol Pulpit in time of Henry VIII.*
New Documents on the Immaculate Conception.
Life of S. Olaf.
Stories of French Exiles.
Can a Christian Smile Consistently ?
Early Catholic Witnesses on Anglican Orders.
Richard Rork's Work.
Cardinal Wiseman.
St. Hugh of Lincoln.

EDITED BY FATHER BRIDGETT.

- Souls Departed.* By Card. Allen.
Sermons on Sacraments. By Watson.
Suppliant of the Holy Ghost.

When Father Bridgett wrote the above he was very ill, and of his other contributions he only gives the names of periodicals in which they appeared : these are—*The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, *The Irish Monthly*, *The Tablet*, *Merry England*, *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, *Franciscan*

Annals, St. Peter's Magazine, Catholic Magazine, Notes and Queries, and the Contemporary. He was ever ready to help any good work. His admirable defence of Rev. Father Furniss' *Books for Children* first appeared in the I. E. RECORD. It was afterwards published in separate form under the title *Infamous Publications and who wrote them.*

There are, certainly, some omissions in the above list. When Father Bridgett returned to Limerick to be again rector, he preached the Annual Retreat to the men of the Holy Family. This was in 1882. Their number had then reached 4,418. The men were so charmed with that retreat that they begged him to have it printed. He consented, and it appeared the same year with the title : *Retreat for Men.*

It is not generally known that he was much interested in the publication of the Sacred Poems of Sister Mary Alphonsus Downing, and that the preface to *Voices from the Heart* was written by him. In 1880, he sent this work and the novenas written by the same authoress, to Father Douglas, then living in Rome.

We are able to give the letter which followed the gift, and in which he speaks of the Preface. He also speaks of the work he was then finishing, and of the state of religious in France. We will, therefore, give the whole letter :—

BISHOP ETON, LIVERPOOL,
July 14th, 1880.

Just before leaving Clapham for my new home (Bishop Eton), I sent your Reverence two little books, one of prose, the other of poetry. I had intended to write at the time, but was prevented. If you have had time to look through them, you will understand why I sent them; you will have seen the beautiful devotion that their writer entertained to our Holy Father, whose name she took. But you will not have guessed that I had anything to do with them. The truth is, then, that the nuns at Drogheda pressed so hard that I should write a preface to the poems, that, with Father Provincial's leave I did so anonymously.

He adds, in a side note :—

N.B.—The novena to our Lady of Perpetual Succour, and the apparition of St. Alphonsus at her death.

He continues :—

Our good Father Lans is delighted with the book, and it is his favourite companion. He finishes this evening his ten days' retreat, and has got through it wonderfully, without breaking down once ; though he seems very feeble, and hardly able to speak in the morning. He is quite a treasure in this house by his holy example.

We are in great anxiety about our French fathers ; but in this house we know nothing more about them than what we find in the papers. Maldonatus in his Commentary on St. Matthew, speaking of the Gerascens, who asked our Lord to leave them lest they should lose any more swine, compares them to the *politici* of his own day, who think more of swine than of God, and turn out religious to get their property. But things are even worse now. They do not covet our property, but hate us for our Lord's sake, and are recalling their communistic swine just when they are banishing our Lord. This is a sad condition for a Catholic country.

I was giving a retreat in Perth, a few weeks since, to the diocese of Aberdeen. One of the priests, Rev. Colin Grant, of Eskadale, who has translated the New Testament into Gaelic, was telling me that the people in his part have some old Gaelic verses which they repeat at Mass, or before the Blessed Sacrament. I asked him to get them for me,¹ and he took them down from the lips of an old man of 99 years of age, who learnt them eighty years ago from another old man of 70. So they go back to the middle of the last century, and as there were no Gaelic Catholic books, they must have come down by tradition, probably from pre-reformation times. Mr. Grant has sent the original and the translation, which is as follows :—

Hail to Thee, O Body of Christ !
Hail to Thee, O King of Hosts !
Hail to Thee, O gracious Godhead !
Hail to Thee, O true Manhood !

As Thou wert pleased, O Christ, to come
Under the cover of bread, Thy whole Body.
Heal my soul from every evil
That is upon me now.

Hail to Thee, Blood and Flesh !
Hail to Thee, food of grace !
Wash my sins in the Blood of Thy grace.
Hail to Thee, both man and God !

Guard me from him that goeth about,
May I receive Thee at the hour of my death,
O Trinity, without end, without beginning,
Neither let Thy anger be upon me.

Hail to Thee, true Body, born of Mary Virgin !
By Thy being pierced, shedding waves of blood.
Holy Trinity, grant us Thy sacraments
To-day and at the hour of our death.—Amen.

¹ In the letter it is, *for them* ; it seems to us it ought to be either, *for me* or *from them*.

I find that such verses and rhymes were in common use in the middle ages in England and France, and I have got many specimens of them for my book on the Blessed Sacrament, which is now rapidly coming to a conclusion, and will probably be printed in October. May I ask you to make a memento for me sometimes, that it may contribute to the glory of God, and be some reparation for so many blasphemies. I have been able to get a good deal about Scotland.

Every few months there comes some new book about Mary Queen of Scots. I send you two notices of some new papers lately published.

Your Rev.'s devoted Servant and Brother,

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

In sending a copy of *Our Lady's Dowry* to the same father, the author wrote :—

BISHOP ETON,

December 26th, 1874.

DEAR FATHER DOUGLAS,—Burns & Co. will have sent your Reverence a copy of *Our Lady's Dowry*. In compiling it, I have accomplished a wish I had long cherished. Every time I have read the *Glories of Mary* I have been struck with the proof there given, how entirely poor England has fallen out of Christendom. Our Holy Father professes to collect in that book the tradition of the Church about our Lady, and yet, with the exception of a few passages from St. Anselm (or rather from Eadmer, *De Excellentia B. V. M.*), he has not a single English authority. I have been working, therefore at this book in the thought that I was writing a supplement to the *Glories of Mary*. There are still in manuscript in English and continental libraries many works of old English writers, especially works purely theological; but since you left England very much has been done to edit whatever bears on history, whether national, provincial, or domestic. It was this that made my little work possible. I think you used to be very fond of these old memories: and I often wished I had been nearer to you when composing, that I might have consulted you on many points especially with regard to Scotland. The Spalding Club collection enabled me to give many details about Aberdeen.

I never could have attempted my collection of materials single-handed. A lady living in Clapham, Miss Lambert, did a great part of this work of hunting up and translating passages in old books in the British Museum.

In giving retreats too in St. Edmund's, Oscott, Ushaw, &c., I have profited by their large libraries.

But enough about my book.

Of course, our eyes and hearts are always turned to Rome in

expectation of new sorrows. The year on which we are soon to enter will probably be a very eventful one for you and for the Holy Father. But I am writing on the feast of St. Stephen, and cannot forget that while he fell beneath the stones of his persecutors on earth our Lord was looking down on him and holding a crown towards him from heaven. We are still in hopes that you will not fall beneath the stones of your enemies; yet we are still waiting in great anxiety. Though the Christians knew that St. Stephen had, by his martyrdom, won a great crown of glory, yet 'devout men made great mourning over him,' and it will be great mourning to us if we hear that the robbers succeed.

May I ask your Reverence, when you show my book to his Paternity, to explain what I have said about the *Glories of Mary*, and to ask his blessing for me on the new year.

Your most devoted Servant and Brother,

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.

These interesting letters have turned our attention from our search for other printed works of Father Bridgett not found in his list given above. To this, we have to add *The True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth*. This was the joint work of Rev. Fr. T. F. Knox, D.D., of the London Oratory, and Father Bridgett. Owing to the lamented death of Father Knox the principal part of the work fell to Father Bridgett. He tells us that although there was no preconceived plan, this *True Story* completes what he had written in his *Life of Blessed John Fisher* :—

The two books [he writes in the preface] illustrate one subject—the glad obedience paid by the true guardians of God's Church to civil power when acting within its divinely-appointed sphere, and their resistance, at any cost to themselves, to its encroachments and usurpations.

He does not mention his *Life of St. William of Perth*. This was reprinted from *The Month*, in Edinburgh. He composed a very useful *Manual of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour*, in 1869, which was afterwards replaced by a larger one. He also compiled *Five Series of the Way of the Cross*. These are taken from the works of St. Alphonsus. We cannot give a list of the sermons preached by him which were printed. Two, however, should be noted—one on

Pius IX. in 1878. This was preached at Nottingham, where he was engaged on mission when the Holy Father died. The other was on the Right Rev. Robert Aston Coffin, C.S.S.R., at Clapham, 1885. We may well be thankful that it fell to Father Bridgett to pay this tribute to his confrère :

Before I enter on this subject [he says in his introduction] may I be allowed to say that I count it as one of the special graces of my own life to have enjoyed the intimacy of Father Coffin—let me thus call him, since thus I knew him—for more than thirty-three years, and during the greater part of that time, while he was my father and guide, he made me the confidant of his innermost thoughts, and opened to me, thoroughly, a noble and generous heart. I shall have little to say that I have not heard from his lips or seen with my own eyes.

He calls the deceased bishop his *father* and his *guide* ; how well he discharged these offices is to be seen in the life and even still more in the death of Father Bridgett.

From a letter written to Father Douglas from Limerick, May 3, 1883, we learn that the article on 'The Redemptorists,' in *The Catholic Dictionary*, was contributed by Father Bridgett, at the request of Mr. Thomas Arnold.

All through his life he held in highest esteem the nuns of the Most Holy Redeemer, founded by St. Alphonsus. He frequently preached the annual ten days' retreat to the Sisters in Dublin. He preached at the opening, or rather 'closing,' of their new monastery in Clonliffe West. He did the same at Rectory Grove, Clapham, in 1897. At the request of the community he had the sermon printed, adding a notice on the Order of the Nuns of the Most Holy Redeemer.

The year 1898 brought us Father Bridgett's valuable contributions to the memory of Cardinal Wiseman—his 'Monuments,' in the *Dublin Review*, and his *Characteristics from the Writings of Cardinal Wiseman*. He hoped by these selections to 'promote a more general demand for a reprint of books now not easily procurable, and in danger of being forgotten, to the great loss both of literature and of Catholic interests.' He gives a long list of the Cardinal's published works, which, he says, is probably

incomplete. This same year brought us his *Sonnets and Epigrams*, already noticed. On August 17th he wrote to the present writer :—

I have had by me for a considerable time a paper I wrote to expose the villainous tracts circulated by Protestants against the Catholic Church, and in particular against our holy founder. I think the Catholic Truth Society would publish it, and Father Provincial and those to whom I submitted it think that it would do good.

He sent the MS. to me; but I never received it. Five weeks' search followed, without satisfactory result, and the MS. was given up as lost. It was, however, found in London, and returned to the author, who wrote, on the 10th of October :—‘I have never dared to trouble St. Antony about our earthly trifles; but your prayers to him and the result half convert me to believe that the practice is not displeasing to God.’ The MS. was soon in the hands of the printer, and what proved to be the last work of Father Bridgett soon appeared. It had for title *The Art of Lying*. On the 21st of November he had to use the hand of another to write : ‘Here is the long-lost pamphlet, which St. Antony recovered. It is a consolation to me that my last bit of work is the defence of our dear Lady and St. Alphonsus.’ This, then, was really Father Bridgett's last book. An article appeared in *The Tablet* on Blessed Thomas More, by which he corrects statements which may prove prejudicial to the cause of his canonization. His letter to Cardinal Vaughan, on the historical subjects for the decoration of the Lady Chapel at Westminster Cathedral, was published in *The Tablet* on the 18th of February, 1899, the day after the good father's death.

Father Bridgett had been a great sufferer for years; but he did not on that account cease to work. His intellectual activity was as great as ever during the first half of 1898. He was pushing on works that he had in hand, in order to be free to begin what he hoped would have crowned his labours, namely, a Life of St. Alphonsus. He had been collecting materials for years, and he was setting to the work of

writing when it pleased God to visit him with a mortal illness. On the 10th of October he wrote :—

I must tell you that I have been so ill for the last six weeks as to have been quite incapable of writing or thinking about St. Alphonsus or anything serious. The doctors say . . . that I am suffering from some tumour, or inflammation, or cancer, which leaves me very few hours out of the twenty-four in which I am free from agony, and none in which I am free from pain. I am quite prepared to think that this is the beginning of the end.

When it became evident that it was impossible to write a Life of St. Alphonsus, he proposed to write a series of essays on the more important things ; but even these became impossible. It soon became certain that he was suffering from cancer, and his agony was only surpassed by his patience, which was admirable to the end. A serious hemorrhage put his life in danger on the 14th of October. He then received the last sacraments with wonderful faith and piety. With the grace of the Extreme Unction he seemed to rally, and, to the surprise of everyone, he appeared in the pulpit of St. Mary's on Sunday, the 23rd of October, after the Gospel of the High Mass. It was the Feast of the Most Holy Redeemer, and the fathers had been fifty years at Clapham.

It was [writes one who was present] a beautiful sermon—a kind of retrospect of the work of the last fifty years for God by the fathers in Clapham. Many were in tears. He read it ; but so well, and with so clear and strong a voice, that but for seeing the MS. in his hand one would not have known that he was reading.

It was his last sermon, the last of a long series : it was his farewell.

All wished to save, if it were possible, so valuable a life ; but this could only be by a miracle. Many pressed the father to ask for a miraculous cure, and in the end he consented. A novena was commenced on the 9th of December. We may learn his sentiments from the words which he wrote on the occasion :—

This is not for my sake, for I would rather wish to die ; but for God's glory, and that of His holy martyrs. It is not for

alleviation of suffering, but for a cure ; so as to be evident. In beginning these devotions I shall, of course, promise God to be a more fervent religious, and also [in particular] to begin at once to write the Life of St. Alphonsus.

At the end of the novena he wrote by the hand of his 'most assiduous, cheerful, and affectionate nurse,' charging him 'not to change one word' of what he dictated. He refers to a letter received before the novena, and says :—

I am thanking you for your most interesting and consoling letter of the 8th, by the pen of Brother James. Father Provincial has brought me your letter of the 17th. I am very grateful to you, to his paternity, and to all confrères for their prayers and great charity. As yet it has not pleased God to grant the favour we have asked. Perhaps I am unworthy to be the instrument of the glorification of our martyrs ; or, perhaps, it may be that it is better for me to die soon. I have been much worse during the novena, so that I have never heard Holy Mass, and only once received Viaticum, and I am now quite unable to write myself. I need not enter into details.

On receiving the Holy Father's blessing, he wrote amongst other things :—

I have much peace and confidence, but temptations of many kinds may be before me ; so I trust very earnestly in your prayers. I wrote this morning to his paternity. Let me thank yourself for obtaining me the precious Apostolic blessing. Thank most earnestly all dear confrères. I am greatly touched by their charity.

And referring to a confrère who had just passed away at Limerick, he added :—

We have just heard that our dear patient, Father Healy, is at last arrived safe in port. God be praised. His sufferings were awful, but no doubt have done their work.

That Father Bridgett's own still more awful sufferings did their work, and that he had by his patience given proof of his more than ordinary holiness, may be gathered from the following, written by his superior on the 17th of February, 1899 :—

Father Bridgett is sinking fast. You may have a telegram from me at any time now. I never saw any of our dear confrères

die a more beautiful death. I think it the most beautiful I have ever seen. At any rate, it is more like the death I would chose than any other I have assisted at, because there is more of the spirit of penance and less exultation. Father Bridgett is full of sorrow for all his failings towards God, yet full of childlike confidence in his Father's mercy and love. His devotion to our Lady and St. Alphonsus is magnificent.

Early on the morning of the 18th the promised telegram arrived announcing the death of this truly good and great man; 'great in heart as in intellect, the kindest of the kind, and the humblest of the humble,' as one who knew him for years writes. We are sure that not only his brethren of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, but all the clergy of those countries for whom he had such a veneration, and for whom he laboured so faithfully, will pray for the eternal repose of his soul.

J. MAGNIER, C.S.S.R.

THE ETHICS OF SPIRITUALISM

THE nature of man requires some system of religious worship, and the human mind in the absence of true religion runs into various forms of superstition. The present century, remarkable for its intense, intellectual activity, bears abundant witness to the strength and number of these religious movements. Theosophy has gained victories among some of the most notable men of the day ; and enthusiastic efforts have been made to propagate the religion of Buddha among the nations of the west. But far beyond Theosophy or Buddhism the peculiar cult of spiritualism possesses a strange fascination for persons in many walks of life. Distinguished statesmen and men of science, bewildered by the agnosticism of Kant and Herbert Spencer have recourse to its exponents for light upon the ever-recurring problem of immortality. Nor are there wanting Catholics of a most sincere and earnest character who are often perplexed by its claims, and inquire anxiously into the significance of its moral teaching and phenomena. It may be interesting, then, to draw out in some detail the nature and phenomena of spiritualism, and especially the explanation and practical conclusions which are adopted by the most approved Catholic theologians.

Spiritualism (termed spiritism on the Continent) is commonly defined to be the name applied to a great and varied series of abnormal phenomena purporting to be for the most part caused by spiritual beings acting upon persons of special susceptibility called mediums at special sittings, or seances, together with the belief thence arising, that communication can be held with departed spirits. Amongst the phenomena, to which there is reference in this definition, attention must be called to the following :—Various objects, fruit, flowers, are brought from a distance into closed rooms, and these are sometimes of the particular kind desired by the persons present. Writing or drawing is performed on

papers placed in locked drawers or enclosed between slates screwed or tied together, and the matter to be written or drawn may be unknown beforehand to the medium. Another remarkable phenomenon is the act of neutralizing the action of gravitation: stones thrown into the air are brought suddenly to a standstill, and remain suspended in mid-air for one, two, or three hours: tables are moved violently, or inclined at an angle of nearly 45 degrees without the objects placed on them, such as lamps and glasses, falling off. Amongst other striking phenomena are the levitation and elongation of the human body; and also the carrying of red-hot coals in the naked hands without injury and under conditions which render imposture impossible. Then, again, there occurs the production of tangible, visible hands and faces and sometimes of entire figures. Finally, and most marvellous of all, spirits or spiritual forms are seen, their voices are heard, and a knowledge is sometimes obtained of future events or of circumstances occurring at a distance. Eloquent addresses are delivered, and elaborate essays written, quite beyond the normal powers of the medium; and it is principally this latter series of phenomena that determines the genuine character and philosophy of spiritualism.

In considering the important and difficult question of the explanation of these phenomena, the various opinions set forth by different writers may be reduced under three heads. The manifestations are regarded by many as wholly founded on imposture and delusion; others maintain that at least some are genuine, and must be explained on the theory of telepathy; whilst the ablest investigators contend that the higher or psychological phenomena will yield only to the assumption of a spiritual agency distinct from the performer.

1. That a large proportion of the alleged facts is capable of the easy explanation of fraud and deception, no one will deny who has paid close attention at the seances or observed the fantastic pretensions of some mediums and clairvoyants. In one of the leading daily papers of America, there is running at present an advertisement in which the medium modestly claims: 'to see all, tell all, and give instant peace and

happiness; get money, find lost articles, locate hidden treasure, and never fail.' This is but a type of many others, and requires no further comment.

Then, again, at many of the special sittings the supposed communications of many disembodied spirits are manifestly fraudulent. In the days of the old Roman Empire, the poet Lucian assailed the oracle Apollo with merciless ridicule for the difficulty he felt in composing his hexameters. And in our own day the spirits, or bogies as they are sometimes called, often talk bad grammar, and in London lose control over their *h's*. The clever author of *A Silver Domino*, gives an amusing account of an exposure in which he took a prominent part:—

At a certain seance [he says] a bogie appeared, who announced himself as Tomkins. Some one asked for his baptismal name, and he said 'George.' A devil of mischief prompted me to hazard the remark that I once knew a John Tomkins, but he was dead.

'That's me,' said the bogie, hurriedly.

'How do you come to be George?' I demanded.

'My second name was George,' replied the prompt bogie.

'That's odd' I said, 'I never knew it.'

'You can't expect to know everything,' remarked the bogie sententiously.

'No, I can't,' I agreed; and, what is more, I never knew a Tomkins at all, John or George, living or dead. You are a fraud, my friend!'

Confusion ensued, and I was promptly expelled as an unbeliever who disturbed the 'influences.'

Amongst other instances it may be mentioned that about two years ago Dr. Hodgson of the Society of Psychical Research brilliantly exposed the fraudulent pretensions of Madame Blavatsky and Eusapia Palladino, and yet the latter is just at present attracting enormous crowds in London. Exposures of this kind are of frequent occurrence, and convince many investigators that all the so-called phenomena are wanting in reality. They hold firmly to the opinion that that all these manifestations are to be explained away by ventriloquism, collusion, a knowledge of facts obtained by the spy system, mechanical devices, and other artifices familiar to the conjuring fraternity.

2. Others, again, and these, too, men of integrity and ability, have recourse to the hypothesis of telepathy as affording the readiest explanation of the higher phenomena of spiritualism. The doctrine of telepathy assumes that thought may be transmitted from one mind to another without the aid of the ordinary impressions of sense. The advocates of this theory maintain the existence of such a power, apart altogether from supernatural assistance. Many persons have at some time in their lives made more or less successful efforts at thought reading, and one or two gentlemen of high position might be named who have claimed a large measure of success in this direction. But the power of mind reading must be very widely stretched if it is to be adopted as an explanation of the manifestations of spiritualism; for the person seeking information sometimes receives messages about events unknown to him and occurring at a distance. Knowledge of this kind can only be obtained on the supposition that not only the thoughts of those present, but even of all distant and absent persons are open to the inspection of the medium. And it certainly seems an intolerable supposition that anyone could naturally be endowed with this faculty of clairvoyance.

3. Hence it is that writers of the greatest eminence, non-Catholic and Catholic, find the only satisfactory explanation of these phenomena in the hypothesis that the medium is in communication with the world of spirit. And this conclusion receives strong support from the extraordinary nature of the occurrences themselves, from the characteristics of the various mediums and the careful and elaborate investigations that have been made by men of recognised integrity and ability.

Amongst the well-known incidents that occur it will be sufficient to mention the neutralization of the action of fire, and the suspension of the law of gravitation. And, if we are not to yield to the most hopeless scepticism, it must be admitted that enough is known of the properties of bodies, of nature's laws and modes of action, to say with certainty that these are utterly opposed to the phenomena of spiritualism.

It is certainly remarkable that almost all the mediums give

evidence of their powers in childhood or early youth, and without any opportunity of becoming acquainted with the manifestations occurring with other mediums. And a further important consideration is, that every class of phenomena takes place with unpaid as well as professional mediums, and oftentimes in private houses where no apparatus whatever is provided.

The phenomena of spiritualism have been submitted to the most careful tests; and reference must be made to some of the most notable investigators. The Society for Psychical Research was established in 1882, for the express purpose of impartially investigating these phenomena. And in its latest report issued last year, and representing the work of Dr. Hodgson for ten years, this inquirer maintains that he has established the impossibility of fraud, and for the first time boldly advances the claim that he has given scientific proof of survival after death.

Again, the exhibitions of the Davenport Brothers were examined both in England and America by large numbers of eminent chemists and physicans. They were all unanimous in the verdict, that the phenomena were in no way due to conjuring, and Sir Richard Burton in a published letter says: 'I have read and listened to every explanation of the Davenport "tricks" hitherto placed before the public, and if anything would make me take that tremendous leap "from matter to spirit" it is the utter and complete unreason of the reasons by which the manifestations are explained.'

To those may be added the testimony of many other investigators of ability; most of whom commenced their inquiries under the impression that they would be able to expose a delusion. Amongst the Americans may be mentioned Judge Edmonds, Robert Dale Owen, and Dr. Hale of Philadelphia, Professor Zöllner of Leipzig gives his full adherence to the teaching, after the most careful and painstaking tests in the presence of competent witnesses. Finally, Sir William Crookes, one of the most distinguished of living chemists and physicists, having made a most careful investigation, extending over a period of twenty years, certifies in

the most positive manner the truth of the phenomena. In his recent inaugural address at the British Association he declares that, 'it is henceforth open to science to transcend all we now know of matter, and to gain new glimpses of a profounder scheme of Cosmic law.'

It seems beyond all reasonable doubt, then, that at least some of the phenomena of spiritualism are to be attributed to supernatural causes; and this is the view of the subject which is adopted by the most eminent Catholic theologians. But to arrive at practical conclusions for Catholic guidance the nature of the agency must be more accurately determined. Non-Catholic writers who adopt the spiritistic hypothesis hold that the spirits appearing are the souls of the departed. This opinion, however, appears to be at variance with the principles of revealed religion. For the physical phenomena are often trivial and degrading; and the whole tendency of this dangerous superstition is opposed to the teaching of Christianity. The answers, for example, elicited from the medium are very often subversive of Catholic doctrine, especially of the eternity of the punishment in hell, and all this points to diabolic agency. Lehmkühl,¹ referring to some of the phenomena above described says: '*Hæc et similia facta manifeste neque Deum neque bonos angelos sive animas sanctas pro auctoribus habere ullatenus possunt; ergo auctores habent spiritus malos ipsosque daemones.*' Then he proceeds to show that, except in very rare instances, the souls of the damned have no power of interfering in human affairs, and thus excludes all but the causality of the evil one. It follows, therefore, that spiritualism, in its latest development, must be regarded as a form of divination, a seeking after knowledge by the aid of the devil; and its ethics are to be regulated by the theological principles applicable to that superstition. These principles are quite clear, and expressly declare that it is grievously sinful to consult or seek information from evil spirits, or even without further participation to be present at such consultation. Furthermore, even if a person should mentally exclude all

¹ Vol. i., No. 363,

diabolical intervention such a disposition would not excuse from sin. For there is question of a thing intrinsically evil, and just as the intention of not killing himself cannot remove the guilt of suicide from him who deliberately casts himself down a deep precipice, so the mere internal act of the will excluding diabolic intercourse cannot render it lawful to enter into consultation with the powers of evil.¹

Thus far there can be no room for doubt, but as often happens in other departments of theology, though the principles here are quite evident, their application not infrequently presents features of considerable difficulty. How far it may be asked, is it lawful to assist at public entertainments in our cities and large towns in which the performers profess to add to their other accomplishments the gift of producing the phenomena peculiar to spiritualism? In reply it must be borne in mind that there is question of superstition fraught with danger to the faith. Lehmkuhl refers to it as a *putidissima superstitio*, and all possible care must be taken to instil into the Catholic mind a proper horror and detestation of its baneful practices. Occasionally a medium flits across the public stage whose powers are generally recognised as due to the influence of the spirit of evil. A widespread opinion of this kind is sometimes equivalent to moral certainty, and in such cases the exhibitions must be strictly avoided as grievously unlawful: moreover, the faithful should be instructed that it is always forbidden to hold intercourse, direct or indirect, with the author of evil. 'Neither let there be found among you anyone that . . . consulteth pythonic spirits or fortune-tellers, or that seeketh the truth from the dead. For the Lord abhorreth all such things.'¹

On the other hand, those who give these spiritualistic exhibitions have powerful motives for practising fraud and deception. They know that the marvellous possesses strong attraction for weak human nature, and they boldly declare not only that 'they can call spirits from the vasty deep;' but,

¹ Gury, n. 282, *Causa Conscientiae*, n. 277, *et seq.*

² Deuteronomy xviii. 10.

furthermore, that in obedience to this command they will come. And yet their claims have been shown again and again to be groundless and fraudulent, and the so-called super-normal manifestations are very frequently produced by the ordinary artifices of the conjuror. It would, therefore, be neither lawful nor prudent to forbid, on this ground, attendance at all these exhibitions; such a universal prohibition would, in all probability, be productive of more evil than good. Where so much uncertainty exists, one must guard against mistaken zeal and unwarrantable interference with human liberty. *'In dubio num effectus proveniat a causa naturali an a daemone tribui possunt viribus naturae; et proinde licitum est illos procurare quia non constat rem esse malam.'*¹

For the rest, the cult of spiritualism is of modern growth; it is yet scarcely fifty years old, and there is much about it that still remains obscure and mysterious. The faithful should be exhorted to absent themselves from curious and frivolous exhibitions of this kind, and they should be warned that the gratification of their vanity and curiosity might easily lead them into courses that would be injurious to the precious treasure of their faith, and detrimental to the just and proper homage due to Almighty God.

A word must be said in conclusion upon a very important aspect of this subject, the influence which it exercises upon those who are outside the pale of the Church, and more especially that large class who are imbued with the sceptical tendency of modern science. This influence will best be estimated from its evident analogy with the recognised effects of the Pagan prophecies. The deepest thinkers of antiquity, from Plato and Aristotle to Plotinus and Porphyry, were attracted by the utterances of the Pagan oracles; and in their attempted explanations had their minds directed to the most absorbing questions of the origin and destiny of man. These prophetic utterances were facts of every-day occurrence; facts which were a constant stimulant to inquiring minds, and paved the way in the early centuries to a consideration of the

¹ Gury, Ballerini, vol. i., n. 264: S. Lig., n. 20.

sublime doctrines of Christianity. This result was frequently acknowledged by the fathers of the Church. And the teaching which St. Augustine finally formulated concerning these ancient oracles, that their prophecies were due to the intervention of the bad angels, is now the accepted Catholic explanation of the genuine manifestations of spiritualism. These who devote themselves to this modern cult are for the most part neither Christian nor Catholic ; they are undiluted materialists, utterly devoid of faith in a world of spirits. And in America, in England, in the countries of the Continent, such men are to be counted by hundreds and thousands, agnostics, sceptics, men of the highest eminence in chemistry, and every branch of physical science. We must abhor this debasing superstition and anathematize it as a pernicious growth ; yet we cannot but admire the providence of the Almighty when we see these trivial and ridiculous phenomena become the means for the conversion of such minds to the fundamental truths of our faith. For the teaching and philosophy of spiritualism, as set forth by its ablest exponents implies that the individual spirit continues to exist through 'the momentary eclipse of death,' that the life on earth is a preparation of the soul for a future existence, and that the thoughts we think and the deeds we do in this world will determine the degree of our happiness and progress in the life to come. Glimmerings like these shed a faint light upon the erring footsteps of many inquirers, and by divine grace they are often brought on, step by step, till they come at length to the full splendour and effulgence of religious truth to be found only in the Catholic Church.

THOMAS F. MACKEN.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

AS the scope of Chapters II. and III. was to preserve the Sacred Scriptures, pure and integral, and of Chapter IV. to preserve the morals of the faithful free from corruption ; so the main scope of Chapter V. would appear to be to preserve respect for legitimate authority and order within lawful societies. All authority comes from God, and from Him descends to the Church, the family, and the state ; the individual is the simplest factor of these three societies. In the present chapter of rules we shall, therefore, find mention of the following classes of books :—

- (1) Those books that are wanting in respect to God, the Blessed Virgin, or the saints.
- (2) Those that pervert the notion of the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures, or restrict it too much.
- (3) Those that assail the Catholic Church, its discipline, the priesthood, or the religious life.
- (4) Those that are irreligious by excess.
- (5) Those that publish the miracles of the servants of God without ecclesiastical approval.
- (6) Those that strive to justify suicide.
- (7) Those that strive to justify divorce.
- (8) Those that strive to justify Freemasonry, or any other society subversive of ecclesiastical or civil order.

CAP. V.—*De quibusdam specialis argumenti libris*

REGULA II.—*Damnantur libri in quibus Deo, aut Beatae Virgini Mariae, vel Sanctis, aut Catholicae Ecclesiae ejusque cultui, vel sacramentis, aut Apostolicae sedi detrahitur. Eidem reprobationis judicio subjacent ea opera in quibus inspirationis Sacrae Scripturae conceptus pervertitur, aut ejus extensio nimis coarctatur. Prohibentur quoque libri, qui data opera Ecclesiasticam Hierarchiam, aut statum clericalem vel religiosum probis afficiunt.*

By the eleventh rule are proscribed three classes of books :

- (1) books that detract God, the Blessed Virgin, the saints, the Catholic Church and its worship, the sacraments,

or the Apostolic See; (2) books that pervert the notion of the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures, or that limit its extent too much; (3) books that intentionally assail the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or the clerical or religious state. We will treat of each class in a separate paragraph.

§ I.

Detrahitur.—Detraction is the characteristic mark of the first class of books. Though detraction has something common with contumely, still they are carefully to be distinguished one from the other. They differ in their *object*: for whereas contumely is directed against a person's honour, detraction is directed against a person's reputation; they differ in their *manner*: for while the calumniator is open and violent, the detractor is stealthy and deceitful. A person is said to be contumelious, because he swells and bursts from anger, as it were, in our face; and a person is said to be a detractor, because he subtracts or steals some of our titles to esteem.¹ As the burglar injures us by open robbery, so does the calumniator by open dishonour; and as the thief injures us by roguery, so does the detractor by secret slander. Accordingly, we find in Sacred Scripture the detractor compared to a vicious viper: 'Si mordeat serpens in silentio, nihil eo minus habet qui occulte detrahit';² and we find stupidity assigned as the cause of calumny: 'Omnes stulti miscentur calumniis.'³

Deo.—A book, then, detracts God, that denies any of His attributes: His omnipotence, His eternity, His supreme goodness, His mercy, His justice, His omniscience, or His providence; a book also detracts God, that denies the efficiency of the Redemption—from our persistent inclination to sin, the multitude of those that are still lost, and the numberless sufferings and ailments of mankind.

B.V.M.—A book detracts the Blessed Virgin that denies any of her titles to our respect and reverence: her Immaculate Conception, her perpetual virginity, her stainless sanctity of life, her divine maternity, or her Assumption.

¹ St. Thomas, *Summa*, ii.-ii 73.

² Eccles. x.

³ Proverbs xx.

Sanctis.—A book should detract the saints, that would attribute their zeal to fanaticism, their miracles to the credulity of the bystanders, or their visions and prophesies to mental hallucination.

Ecc. Cath.—A book should detract the Catholic Church, that would deny its divine institution, its sanctity, its unity, its catholicity, its apostolicity, or its infallibility.

Ejusque cultui.—The Latin word 'cultus' would seem to have a twofold meaning. In the first place, it means an acknowledgment of another's superiority, and our reverence and subjection to him in consequence thereof; and this we should call 'cultus religiosus.' Secondly, it means an arrangement of a number of suitable signs to express this reverence and subjection; and this we should call 'cultus liturgicus.' The one is dependent on the other; for we will not allow our ardent feelings of reverence to lie buried in our bosom without striving to express them in one way or an other; and so, according to the canon of Vincentius Lirinensis,—'lex credendi legem statuit supplicandi,'—the 'cultus liturgicus' has naturally grown from the 'cultus religiosus.'

We believe that 'cultus,' in the present instance, is to be taken in the first sense rather than in the second; and that, accordingly, it means the reverence and obedience that we owe the Church. We are led to this belief from the fact, that the second meaning of the word is implied in the term immediately following, 'sacramentis;' and how can we suppose that the same thing is expressed twice over? Hence a book should detract the 'cultus ecclesiae' that would strive to diminish our reverence and obedience to the Church—by placing it on a level with other societies, by denying its supernatural end and its divine institution; by asserting that its laws, its decrees, its traditions and definitions are founded on no authority; or by deriding it as the organ of Antichrist, the harlot of the seven hills, or the bilge of every sin and crime.

Sacramentis.—A book should detract the sacraments, that would assert that they are remnants of superstitions or imitations of magical rites; or that would deny their

divine institution or their inherent power to produce grace.

Sedi Apos.—It is to be remarked that the Apostolic See is here used in its *abstract*, and not in its *concrete* sense. Hence a book may assail any one or any number of the popes individually without falling under the present rule. A book, however, should detract the Apostolic See in its abstract sense that would deny its institution by Christ, its existence from the days of the Apostles, or its jurisdiction over other Churches; that would teach that the papal succession has been frequently entirely broken by false popes, or that the see of Rome has arrogated to itself universal jurisdiction either by bribery, forgery, or tyranny.

§ 2.

(1) The second part of the rule refers to those books that treat of the nature and extent of the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures; and it proscribes, in the first place, all books that teach an erroneous notion of Inspiration. But how can we know when the notion is erroneous, especially since there have been endless discussions on the nature of Inspiration amongst the most able and learned theologians? In order to do so we must go aside from the noise and tumult of conflicting schools, and consult some infallible standard, and be guided in our judgment thereby. We find an infallible pronouncement on the nature and extent of Inspiration made in the Vatican Council, cap. ii. *De Revelatione* :—

Qui quidem veteris et Novi Testamenti libri (scil. : libri recensiti a Con. Trid. Sess. IV. : De canone S. Scripturae) integri cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ejusdem concilii (i.e., Con. Trid.) decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod *sola humana industria* concinasti sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat quod revelationem sine errore contineant, *sed propterea quod spiritu sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem*, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae, traditi sunt.

Let us analyze this declaration, and see what are the elements or *causes* of Inspiration assigned by the Council. There are two efficient causes of Inspiration clearly

indicated by the Council: God, the *primary cause* ('sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem'); man, the *secondary cause* ('non ideo quod sola humana industria concinati'). The relation existing between those two causes is also clearly expressed—a *positive influx* ('Spiritu Sancto inspirante'). Any definition of Inspiration which excludes any one of these three elements is erroneous, and falls under the present rule.¹ Hence all books that teach that God is not author of the Scriptures, or that God is not equally author of the Old and New Testament, or that the Scriptures were first written by man alone ('sola humana industria'), and were afterwards received and approved by the Church, are proscribed. All books that deny the positive influx on the part of God ('Spiritu Sancto inspirante'), and would assert that man, in writing the Scriptures was merely preserved from error, are also proscribed.

(2) The second part of the present rule refers also to those books that *limit* too much the extent of divine Inspiration. In determining the boundaries of Inspiration we must likewise have recourse to an infallible standard. We have two declarations of the Church to guide us: (a) the Vatican Council, *De Revelatione*, Can. IV.: 'Si quis Sacrae Scripturae libros cum omnibus suis partibus prout illos Sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit pro sacris et canonicis non suscepit, aut eos divinitus esse inspiratos negaverit: A.S.' (b) The Council of Trent, Sess. IV.: 'Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur pro sacris et canonicis non suscepit; et traditiones praedictas sciens et prudens contempserit: A. S.'

¹ There are several standard definitions of inspiration given by approved authors. Perhaps the most popular are those of Card. Franzelin and Marchini. Franzelin thus defines inspiration: 'Est charisma gratis datum illustrationis et motionis quo veritates quas mens divina per scripturam Ecclesiae proponendas comprehendit, easdem mens hominum inspiratorum concipiebat ad scribendum, et voluntas ad eas omnes et solos scripto consignandos ferebatur sicutque elevatus homo tanquam causa instrumentalis sub actione causae principis consilium Dei exequabatur infallibile veracitate.'

Marchini: 'Inspiratio divina est singularis ea Spiritus Sancti moventis ad scribendum impulsio, directio ac praesentia, mentem animumque scriptoris gubernans, quae eum errare non sinit, efficitque ut scribat quae velit Deus.'

Those two declarations of the Church make known to us the boundaries of Inspiration, and by them we are to be led in pronouncing our judgment as to whether any book limits the extent of Divine Inspiration too much or not. The entire books of Sacred Scripture are inspired in all their parts. Hence those books that teach that the Sacred Scripture are inspired in some of their parts only, limit Inspiration too much; so likewise do those that would admit as inspired those parts only that have been cited and commended by Christ; and, finally, those that would confine Inspiration to the parts that contain dogmas or moral precepts.

Some writers wishing, it would appear, to bend somewhat the literal signification of the Vatican and Tridentine decrees on the extent of the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures, make a rather subtle distinction on the term *partibus* used by the holy councils. They would distinguish the parts of Sacred Scripture into 'dicta ex professo,' and 'obiter dicta.' The parts which they would call 'dicta ex professo,' or equivalently,¹ would deal with faith and morals; because, they say, according to the Council, the main drift of Sacred Scripture is faith and morals. The 'obiter dicta' they would appear to confine to purely secular matters; because, they say, it would appear unworthy of Divine Greatness, that the Almighty should in His revelation of Himself to us, undertake mere secular duties, and assume the office of a narrator, as such, of a historian, or a geographer, except so far as the secular matters bear directly on the revealed truth. The 'obiter dicta,' accordingly, would not fall under the decrees we have cited.

The practical question for us is, do writers who defend this distinction, restrict too much the extent of the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures? In answer, we should say, that we really find it hard to see how they do not. Although we can easily imagine how such a distinction of the 'obiter dicta,' and the 'dicta ex professo,' can hold,

¹ We say *equivalently*, because, 'obiter dicta' and 'dicta ex professo' divide the matter of a book, by way of opposition, just as 'actus et potentia,' or 'substantia et accidens,' divide their subject.

when there is question of a book of purely human composition; although we may imagine how such a distinction *could be possible* in other circumstances, even in the Bible, if it so pleased Almighty God; yet it is hard to see how such a distinction *can actually exist*, in the face of the Vatican and Tridentine decrees. For the words of the councils extend:—(a) to all the canonical books ('qui quidem libri,' i.e., 'libri recensiti a Con. Trid. tamquam canonici'); (b) to each and all their parts ('integri, cum omnibus suis partibus'). Hence it would appear, that according to the literal force of the decrees, such a distinction cannot exist.

And turning the question round, and looking at it from another side: even granted that the Holy Councils have left a loop-hole for such a distinction, where are we finally to stop in our subtraction of the so-called *obiter dicta*? Who can discover for us the various *obiter dicta* throughout the Bible? Who is going to take upon himself the responsibility of asserting that such or such a passage or phrase was never intended by Almighty God to bear directly or indirectly on faith and morals? If the so-called *obiter dicta* are not inspired, it is quite possible that some of them are erroneous; and if we once admit this, are we not led into the dubious quagmire so much dreaded by St. Augustine:—

Admisso enim in tantum auctoritatis fastigium officioso aliquo mendacio (quod possibile esset in hypothesi), nulla illorum librorum particula remanebit, quae non, ut cuique videbitur vel ad mores difficilis aut ad fidem incredibilis, eadem perniciosissima regula, ad mentientis auctoris consilium referatur.¹

Premises from which such inconvenient conclusions may be deduced must have a flaw in them somewhere. It would appear, then, that we must go back, and accept the Vatican and Tridentine decrees in all their literal force and meaning, and say that *all the books of Scripture, whole and entire, are inspired throughout in all their parts.*

Still there have been illustrious writers, of revered and

¹ *Epis. ad Hieronymum.*

cherished memory, who have held that this distinction does exist; its existence is even freely discussed in theological schools of very high standing and left an open question with the tacit permission of the Church. 'While the Church then is silent we should not dare to censure such views, but neither should we dare to hold them.'¹

Now, are books that defend such a distinction proscribed by the present rule? It would appear that they are not; for the existence of such a distinction is a free and open question, and the legislator seems to have carefully abstained throughout the present legislation from pronouncing judgment on such questions.

Although the Sacred Scriptures are inspired throughout in all their parts, still there are many *features* of them for which we need not claim Inspiration. By way of illustration: if we take the Bible, we may read it either in its original Hebrew or Greek form, or read it in the version of St. Jerome. We may dwell especially on the ideas or the matter of the various parts, or read it in much the same way as Hamlet says he reads his book—words, words; or, finally, we may attend to the style of the writer—the plain, pastoral style of some of the minor prophets, the poetic style of David, or the vehement and sublime style of Isaias. Now, no one will claim Inspiration for St. Jerome in making his translation, nor for the individual words—except where they have been necessary for the exact expression of some dogma or precept; nor for the style; but will attribute it to the particular training, character, or intention of the writer.

§ 3.

It is to be remarked that the ecclesiastical hierarchy, as well as the clerical and religious states, are here used in their *abstract*, and not in their *concrete* sense.

The abstract sense in which the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the religious state, and the priesthood are here used may be illustrated by a decree of the Council of Trent, which

¹ I. E. RECORD, March, 1884, art. by Most Rev. Dr. Healy.

contrasts the *state* of matrimony with that of virginity or celibacy:—

LEONINE RULE

Prohibentur, quoque libri, qui data opera *ecclesiasticam hierarchiam* aut *statum clericalem* vel *religiosum* probris afficiunt.

DECRETUM TRID.

Sess. xxiv., Can. 10.

Si quis dixerit *statum conjugalem* anteponendum esse, *statui virginitatis vel caelibatus*; vel non esse melius et beatius manere in virginitate aut caelibatu quam jungi matrimonio A.S.

With regard to this decree of the Council of Trent, it is to be remarked that it is the two *states* of celibacy and wedlock that are contrasted, and not the *persons* who may happen to belong thereto. The decree does not teach that a particular married person may not be more holy and virtuous than a particular priest or nun; or, again, that the majority of married persons may not be better than the members of a particular religious order; or, finally, that the married people, say, of the tenth century, were not more virtuous than the priests of that time. Accordingly, just as we may assert that a particular person bound in wedlock is more virtuous and holy than a particular religious bound by his vows, without incurring the censure of the Tridentine decree; so an author may assail any particular member of the hierarchy, or any particular priest or religious, without incurring the censure of the present rule. Again, as we may assert that the majority of married persons are more holy than the members of a particular religious community, without incurring the censure of the Tridentine decree; so also it would appear that an author might assail the morals and the domestic discipline of any religious community without falling under the proscription of the present rule. But as we should fall under the censure of the Tridentine decree were we to hold, with the Lutherans, that the state of matrimony is better and preferable to that of virginity or celibacy; so also an author should incur the censure of the present rule were he to assail, in the abstract, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or the priesthood, or the religious state.

As far as the religious state is concerned, we have an authentic interpretation of the clause under discussion in a recent letter of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. Treating of the religious state in this letter, the Pontiff refers to three points : first, to the vows¹ made at religious profession; and on this head he teaches us that we are not to despise or undervalue the religious state on account of the vows made at the religious profession, under the belief that they are not in keeping with the spirit of the age; or that they restrict too much human liberty; or that they are suited rather to weak-minded persons than to persons of strong character; or, finally, that, instead of leading us to Christian perfection, they are rather obstacles in the way that retard and impede us. If we were to hold any such opinion, we should have the usage and the doctrine of the Church against us. Second, the Pontiff refers to the two great branches of the religious state—the contemplative life and the active life; and on this head he teaches us that we are not to extol the active life beyond the contemplative life, but that we are to give them both praise alike.² Third, the Pontiff refers to those religious communities that do not bind their members with any special vows; and with regard to those he teaches us, that they are not new in the Church, and that they are not to be found fault with. We are to be careful, however, not to extol them beyond the religious orders; on the contrary, since the desire of self-gratification is greater nowadays than ever, those who have left everything and followed Christ deserve the greater respect and reward.³

¹ 'Atque id novarum opinionum fautoribus commune esse, conijcimus ex eorum sententiis quibusdam circa vota quae ordines religiosi nuncupant. Aiunt enim illa ab ingenio aetatis nostrae dissidere plurimum, utpote quae humanae libertatis fines coerceant; esseque ad infirmos animos magis quam ad fortes apta; nec admodum valere ad christianam perfectionem humanaeque consociationis bonum, quin potius utrique rei obstare atque officere--verum haec quam falso dicantur, ex usu doctrinaeque Ecclesiae facile patet, cui religiosum vivendi genus maxime semper probatum est.'—(Letter of his Holiness to Card. Gibbons, 22nd January, 1899.)

² 'Nec discrimen est laudis inter eos qui actuosum vitae genus sequuntur, atque illos, qui recessu delectati, orando afflictandoque corpori vacant: Quam hi etiam praeclare de hominum societate meruerint, mereant, ii norunt profecto qui, quid ad placendum conciliandumque Numen possit deprecatio iusti assidua (Jacob v. 16), minime ignorant, ea maxime quae cum afflictatione corporis conjuncta est.'

³ 'Si qui igitur hoc magis adamant, nullo votorum vinculo, in coetum unum

We would bring into relief, before the minds of our readers, the central ideas expressed in the Pontiff's remarks. The religious state and the religious orders have taken their name from the virtue of religion. We may remark that when any quality is common to a great many individuals, we attribute it antonomastically to that one to whom it belongs *par excellence*; and so, by way of illustration: although the virtue of fortitude is exercised in encountering any difficulty or danger whatsoever, yet we attribute it antonomastically to him who faces death, because that is the most trying. And, in like manner, although the virtue of temperance is exercised in keeping within just bounds all our desires, yet we invariably attribute it, by the same figure of speech, to moderation in drink, because that is the most difficult so to constrain. Now, applying this: although we are all obliged to be religious, or to be bound¹ in mind and heart to God, yet to those who profess to be so *par excellence* we attribute the term religious and religious orders. Those, then, who belong to religious orders are obliged, as St. Thomas says, in accordance with their profession, at least, to *tend*² to religious perfection.

Now, what is necessary in order to arrive at religious perfection? Since religious perfection consists in perfect union with God, we must sever the bonds that might keep us from Him; for no man can serve two masters. The first of those bonds is the love of worldly goods; and this is severed by the vow of poverty. The second is the desire of carnal pleasure; and this is severed by the vow of chastity. And the

coalescere, quod malint, faxint; nec novum id in Ecclesia, nec improbabile institutum. Caveant tamen ne illud prae religiosis ordinibus extollant; quin potius, cum modo ad fruendum voluptatibus proclivius, quam ante sit hominum genus, longe pluris ii sunt habendi, qui, relictis omnibus sequiti sunt Christum.'

¹ According to Cicero, the fundamental meaning of religion would be a *re-selection* of what had been abandoned: 'Religiosus, inquit a reselectione appellatus est, quia retractat, et tamquam relegit ea quae ad cultum divinum pertinent.' According to St. Augustine, however, religion means a *bond* between the human soul and God: 'Relegat nos religio uni omnipotenti Deo;' and it is in this sense that we shall use the word religion.—Cf. St. Thomas ii.-ii., ques. 81, art. 1.

² Cf. St. Thomas ii.-ii., ques. 186, art. 2: 'Et ideo ille qui statum religionis assumit, non tenetur habere perfectam charitatem; sed tenetur ad hoc tendere et operam dare, ut habeat charitatem perfectam.'

third is the desire of self-will ; and this is severed by the vow of obedience. There cannot be the perfect spirit of religion without the spirit of poverty ; for Christ said :¹ ' Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus, et veni sequere me.'¹ There cannot be religious perfection together with carnal pleasure ; for St. Paul says : ' Mundemus nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus, perficientes sanctificationem nostram in timore Dei';² and, again : ' Mulier innupta et virgo cogitat quae Domini sunt, ut sit sancta spiritu et corpore.'³ Finally, there cannot exist the perfect spirit of religion without obedience ; for Christ, who said, ' Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde,'⁴ is said by St. Paul to have been *obedient* unto death : ' Factus est obediens usque ad mortem.'⁵

Those three vows are, therefore, the groundwork of the religious state.⁶ They do not impede us in our advance in Christian perfection ; but, on the contrary, they are the very vehicles that bear us onward. They cannot be unsuited to the spirit of any age if we really wish to be imitators of Christ : for ' Magister et exemplar sanctitatis omnis est Christus . . . et haud mutatur Christus progredientibus saeculis, sed idem heri et hodie et in saecula.'⁷ Nor is it true that those vows restrict our free-will, or are better suited for weak-minded persons than for those of strong character : for, as St. Thomas says : ' free-will is related to the faculty of the will, as the process of reasoning is related to the power of understanding.'⁸ In other words : as the process of reasoning is nothing else than the *use* of the light of understanding, so free-will is nothing else than the *use* of the faculty of the will. Now, just as faith sheds an

¹ Matt. xix. 21.

² 2 Cor. v.

³ 1 Cor. vii.

⁴ Matt. xi. 29.

⁵ Phil. ii. 8.

⁶ Cf. St. Thomas ii.-ii., ques. 186, art. 7.

⁷ Letter of His Holiness to Cardinal Gibbons.

⁸ Pars i., ques. 83, art. 4. ' Unde manifestum est quod sicut se habet intellectus ad rationem, ita se habet voluntas ad vim electivam, idest ad liberum arbitrium.'

additional light on the pre-existing light of understanding, and thus enables us to reason better, so divine grace strengthens the faculty of the will, and enables us to make a better *choice*—in which free-will precisely consists; so that, as the Pontiff says, ‘qui ita se votorum religione obstringunt, adeo sunt a libertatis jactura remoti, ut multo pleniore ac nobiliore fruuntur, ea nempe qua Christus nos liberavit.’

Any book, therefore, that would assail any of those three vows should be erroneous in theology, and directly opposed to the clause of the present rule under discussion.

As regards the distinction between the active and the contemplative orders; the religious state has been instituted to lead men to religious perfection, which consists in perfect charity. Charity may be exercised in two ways: directly towards God, and mediately through our neighbour. The charity that we exercise towards our neighbour is the very same in nature as that which we exercise directly towards God, just as—to make use of the simile of St. Thomas,¹ it is the very same sense of sight that we use when looking at the sun, as when looking at the bodies that shine with its reflected light. The contemplative orders exercise their charity directly towards God; the active orders through the medium of their neighbour,

Both of those branches of the religious state have the same end—*union with God*; and they have the same motive,—the motive of *charity*. We might regard them, then, as two tendrils hanging from the same stem of charity; or, again, as two fountains fed from the same source of charity, and springing unto the same life eternal.

Authors would require to be very careful in instituting comparisons between the different branches of the religious state. If they would make a comparison between them, they should follow on the general lines laid down by St. Thomas.²

However, we are sometimes strongly tempted to place the active life on absolutely a higher level than the contemplative life. The utilitarian spirit of the age, the magnificent

¹ ii.-ii., ques. 25, art. 1.

² ii.-ii., ques. 182, art. i., and ques. 188, art. 6.

charitable institutions raised through the efforts of the orders of the active life, and the immense spread of the Catholic Church owing to their preaching and their instruction, may, perchance, unbalance our judgment, and lead us to such a conclusion. But this would be a very serious error, and would lead to a serious injury to religion, as the Pontiff warns us :—

For no one who is mindful of how the constant prayer of the just man—especially when joined with mortification—availeth with God, but knows how much human society has been indebted, and is still indebted, to the orders of the contemplative life in appeasing and conciliating the wrath of God.¹

Lastly, we must be careful when dealing with those religious associations that bind their members with no special vows. Such institutions are not new in the Church, and they are not to be depreciated ; but, at the same time, they are not to be put on the same level with the religious orders that bind their members with solemn vows ; nor are their members to be compared with those who have left everything, and followed Christ.

Summing up, then, our remarks on the clause under discussion : authors are carefully to abstain from assailing in the *abstract* the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the priesthood, or the religious state ; they are carefully to abstain from assailing the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, which are the life and the foundation of the religious life ; they are carefully to abstain from unduly extolling the orders of the active life beyond those of the contemplative life ; and, finally, in instituting comparisons between the different branches of the religious state they are to follow on the general lines laid down by St. Thomas.

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

¹ Quam hi etiam praeclare de hominum societate meruerint, mereant, ii norunt profecto, qui quid ad placandum conciliandumque Numen possit deprecatio iusti assidua, minime ignorant, ea maxime, quae cum afflictatione corporis conjuncta est.

WAS ST. AUGUSTINE AN EVOLUTIONIST?

SOME of the readers of *Loss and Gain* will, doubtless, remember that the two young students, Reding and Sheffield, while spending the long vacation in a country village overlooking the turrets and spires of Oxford, on one occasion discussed whether Nicias was a party man; and, having mentioned the matter to their tutor Carlton, were at once asked by him if they had defined their terms. This tutor was, evidently, of opinion that discussion and controversy arose in great part from misunderstanding, and would receive a ready and acceptable settlement if disputants had a clear perception of the points at issue.

In discussing the great problems of the genesis of being and of the origin of life in its various departments, strict definition will be very necessary. For, apart from the accuracy demanded by any form of inquiry, the native intricacy of the subject is much complicated by the different meanings of which the word 'evolution' is susceptible. One of the most frequent forms of misconception prevalent with regard to evolution is to identify it with some of the factors assumed in its process, to confuse it with some of the theories devised to explain its working. This method would find its analogy in the identification of the solar system with the law of gravitation; or, to enter a department with which ecclesiastics are supposed to be more familiar, in regarding as one and the same, the Divine grace diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, and the agencies by which it is supposed to operate, whether physical premotion, or *victrix delectatio*, or free co-operation, as expounded in the 'systems,' about which theological students exchange so many interesting reminiscences. In the *Nineteenth Century* for November, 1895, Herbert Spencer censured Lord Salisbury for being guilty of such a confusion of thought, for having, in an address before the British Association, assumed 'that the hypothesis of organic evolution must stand or fall with its

alleged causal agencies,' mainly, if not exclusively, natural selection. In the same review for March, 1897, the Duke of Argyll emphatically approved of this distinction; but, at the same time, reminded Mr. Spencer that his 'special version and understanding of organic evolution is quite separable from the general doctrine of development with which it is, nevertheless, habitually confounded.' Haeckel contemptuously scouts the Duke's conviction of a presiding mind, and reduces everything to bare mechanical necessity. Finally, Huxley, though a great admirer of Haeckel, confesses that his monism is not essential, for 'the transmutation hypothesis is perfectly consistent with the special creation of a primitive germ.'¹ And yet, notwithstanding this wide divergence in opinion, all the foregoing, with the exception of Lord Salisbury, have concurred in asserting, and have been grouped under the general category of advocates of transformism. The formula which will admit of men of such different habits of mind subscribing to it is so very comprehensive that we assuredly ought to be very cautious in asserting whom it excludes.

This want of agreement being compatible with acceptance of the general body of doctrines which are summed up under the title 'evolution,' shows that none of the peculiar theories of any of the above-mentioned exhausts the popular conception of evolution; but that each is a more or less fragmentary expression thereof, embodying with more or less fidelity some phase of the central idea towards which it approximates, and of which it is a modification; and that all, to some extent, communicate in its generic elements. By adopting the comparative method we may be able to disengage this common element from its accidental associations: this we may then regard as the nucleus of that vast literature which, beyond all precedent in the history of philosophy, has effected such a rapid and complete conquest of the world; and as the test by which we may definitely determine to which school does any claimant belong.

Roughly speaking, evolutionists may be divided into two

¹ *Darwiniana*, p. 54.

classes: those who avowedly or practically are materialists, and non-materialists. The doctrines of the former find their most perfect and most forcible expression in the monism of Haeckel. Among these must be counted Herbert Spencer, who, in the course of his article already alluded to, tells us that the theory 'which alleges evolution for the animate world, and assumes creation of the inanimate world, is absurd.' The latter maintain that no modification whatever of inorganic matter, that no possible combination of elements, can originate life. They admit an Intelligent Cause duly arranging and presiding over the development of what He has brought into being. From the evolutionary process so conducted, some of them would exempt man altogether; while others would extend it so as to embrace man's body, which, under the special care of a watchful providence, the slow travail of dark unnumbered centuries fitted as the tenement of an immortal soul. To one or other section of this school belong Wallace, Mivart, and Father Zahm.

But if we look for something more severely accurate, for something which will perfectly satisfy the strict law of definition, Huxley, with his wonted lucidity, tells us that 'evolution is employed in biology as the general name for the history of the steps by which any living being has acquired the morphological and physiological characters which distinguish it.' And again: 'The process of evolution consists in a succession of the changes of the form, structure, and functions of the germ by which it passes, step by step, from an extreme simplicity, or relative homogeneity, of visible structure, to a greater or less degree of complexity or heterogeneity.'¹ This latter reminds us of Herbert Spencer's famous definition: 'A progress from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity.' Darwin tells us that the fundamental doctrine of biological evolution is: 'That the innumerable species, genera and families of organic beings with which the world is peopled have all descended, each within its own class or group, from

¹ *Evolution in Biology.*

common parents, and have all been modified in the course of descent.'¹ And again in the concluding sentence of the *Origin of Species*: 'There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning, endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been, and are being, evolved.'

Now, what is the central idea, what is the fundamental conception, underlying all these definitions? It is, that life was first infused, somehow or other, into one or a few primordial forms, from which have been derived by descent with modification all subsequent organisms; that there has been a perpetual, uniform, and orderly progress from lower to higher, from simple to complicated forms of organization; that the first term of the series contained energy incapable of being exhausted by the mere processes of growth and reproduction, but over and above these admitted constant ascent in the scale of life. It is not synonymous with monism, the theory excogitated to banish God from His universe by resolving everything into a development of matter, acting under the sway of its blind, innate, immutable, and eternal forces. It does not necessarily imply that between the various planes of organic life there is direct causal connection; that sentient beings proceeded in such a fashion from lower vegetable forms, that were we to climb the genealogical tree of a Derby winner we should find among its remote ancestors, one or two degrees removed from the *stirps*, something like a gooseberry. It does not by any means exclude the Creator; nay, some would-be advanced Darwinians censure their master in this, that his view was in so far imperfect as to require a personal creation to produce his first organic being. While it may be restricted to organic life, it is capable of being extended so as to embrace the development of the entire universe, provided that in this primitive nebula were implicated such germs as would subsequently, by the

¹ *Origin of Species*, 1st ed., p. 467.

operation of the natural laws impressed coincidently with creation, 'each within its own class or group,' bring forth the innumerable tribes of organisms with which the world is peopled. So understood it would have for its contradictory the theory of special creation. Though this later theory is generally associated with the old traditional interpretation of the days of Genesis, it is, in my opinion, quite independent of it; its essence consisting not in the length of time over which extended the creative act, but in the peculiar nature of the product, which is supposed to be such a finished article as to be incapable of ascending to any higher grade, to any more perfect form. The cardinal difference between the two theories may be summed up by stating, that while in the one individual reproduction is accompanied by progressive development of the species through agencies of which we have but vague, unsatisfactory conceptions; in the other individual reproduction is directed exclusively to perpetuate the existing species, is not accompanied by development, admitting merely of minor changes inducing accidental variations.

Having thus settled one of our terms let us now see what was held by St. Augustine. Did he teach the doctrine of evolution, 'which, in addition to its truth, has the great merit of being in a position of irreconcilable antagonism to that vigorous enemy of the highest life of mankind—the Catholic Church,'¹ of which he is the greatest spokesman. It need not be said that with such an interpretation of evolution, that with the theory of Haeckel and his monistic brethren, in whose version of the 'great book of Nature,' God is superfluous, St. Augustine has neither connection nor sympathy. Through the varied stages of Augustine's life, in all the spiritual vicissitudes of his strange eventful history, to the idea of God, he with marvellous fidelity ever clung. The wild cry that rings through part of the *Confessions* bears witness that of God's existence he never doubted; that his keenest suffering, his most agonizing tortures, arose from his quest of better

¹ Huxley, *Darwiniana*, 147.

knowledge of the Ancient Beauty Who has made us for Himself, and in Whom alone we can find rest for our souls. But whether he taught the essential elements of the evolutionary hypothesis; whether, in common with those who wish to save the Sacred Text from the derision of the infidel, he would not, in the absence of authoritative definition, establish an indissoluble alliance between any passage and any conclusion however elaborate, or any conjecture, however venerable; whether he is to be regarded as the prototype of those who in times of anxiety and unrest, when mists of doubt obscure the landmarks by which men guided their steps long and reverently, would so harmonize apparent discords that faith and science accordingly well may make one music as before; whether he is to be accounted a representative of this spirit, is, at present, the subject of controversy.

Now, this question would receive its most satisfactory solution by immediate personal study of the saint's writings, upon which each would bring to bear the canons of interpretation which in the course of his reading he had found most accurate. Training, associations, temperament, may impart a certain bias which, even in passages not altogether ambiguous, will, more or less unconsciously, influence the mind to reject what is alien, and assimilate what is congenial. If after dispassionate and careful examination students are unable to arrive at the same conclusion, they had better agree to differ.

When dealing with this question in the February issue of the I. E. RECORD, Father Burton, to whose many highly valuable contributions all admirers of our saint are so much indebted, assumed a very decided attitude, asserting that, 'St. Augustine most certainly was a creationist, and that everyone acquainted with his writings knows that they are saturated with the same doctrine.' From those propositions I entirely dissent. Upon my mind the work *De Genesi ad Litteram* produced a very different impression. It appeared to enunciate doctrines which some would denounce strangely enough, as novel, not to say dangerous, and to directly oppose the views by which we are assured

his very voluminous writings are completely permeated. If his works are saturated by creationism, how is it that it could not be discovered in them by Suarez and St. Thomas. The Angel of the Schools, and the greatest master of Jesuit theology were certainly able to give a commentary on St. Augustine; they knew his writings, at least St. Thomas did, as well as most people, and none the less they deduced from them a conclusion exactly contradicting that of Father Burton. Almost all the fathers concur in affirming that literal interpretation of Genesis which is the basis of the traditional special creation theory; against them on this very point both by St. Thomas and Suarez is pitted St. Augustine. This is the more noteworthy, as Suarez was decidedly opposed to, and St. Thomas does not appear to have accepted the views of his Great Master. They would not have so understood St. Augustine were they not convinced that he thought differently from most other fathers, who were undoubtedly sound on special creation, a fact which we are not likely to be permitted to forget.

Those who are not accustomed *jurare in verbis magistri*, who wish to form their own judgments, can do so upon the following extracts from *De Genesi ad Literam*.

In the final chapter of the fourth book, which is devoted to an explanation of the days of Genesis, showing how all things were simultaneously created, and were, nevertheless, created in six days, he sums up thus:—‘*Dies ergo ille. . . presentatus est omnibus operibus Dei hoc ordine præsentiali, quo ordine scientiæ, qua et in verbo Dei facienda prænoscere, et in creatura facta cognoscere, non per intervallorum temporalium moras, sed prius et posterius habens in connexionem creaturarum, in efficacia vero Creatoris omnia simul.*’ This will be better understood by keeping in mind his theory of the morning and evening knowledge of the angels. Again in the first chapter of the fifth book, having quoted Gen. ii. 4, 6, he immediately proceeds: ‘*Nunc certe firmior fit illa sententia, qua intelligitur unum diem fecisse Deum, unde jam illi sex vel septem dies unius hujus repetitione numerari potuerint.*’ Having in lib. iv., cap. i., thrown out the suggestion, which he developed in the succeeding

chapters, that by 'day,' in this collocation, must be understood 'creature,' or bringing into being, so by the repetition of this day must likewise be understood successive generations, or, remembering his phrase in the first extract about *connexio creaturarum*, if we turn it into modern phraseology, different biological cycles.

Again explaining Gen. ii. 4, he says: 'Quid est hoc? Nonne quaerendum est ubi ea fecerit antequam essent super terram et antequam exorta sunt? Quis enim non proclivius crederet tunc ea Deum fecisse cum exorta sunt, non antequam exorta sunt, nisi admoneretur hoc divinio eloquio.' Having shown how this pre-existence cannot be that which they had in the Divine Mind, he proceeds:—'Ubi ergo? An in ipsa terra causaliter et rationaliter, sicut in seminibus jam sunt omnia antequam evolvant quodam modo et explicent incrementa et species suas per numeros temporum? Sed ista semina, quae videmus jam super terram sunt, jam exorta sunt. . . . Causaliter ergo tunc dictum est produxisse terram herbam et lignum, id est producendi accepisse virtutem.'¹ Father Burton quoted the foregoing passage in favour of special creation. It appears, however, to be quite the reverse, and is so understood by Suarez,² who, having explained St. Augustine in this sense, goes on: 'Nihilominus contraria sententia tenenda est, scilicet, produxisse Deum hoc die herbam, arbores, et alia vegetabilia actu in propria specie et natura.' Furthermore, Father Burton referred to this passage as verifying his statement that these *rationes causales* have no power to pass from the first creation to the second, except by the immediate action of the Creator. Such an interpretation is excluded by the concluding words of the chapter, 'Aqua conditione (creation) Deus requievit, movens deinde administransque per temporales cursus illa ipsa quae condidit, et a quibus conditis requievit, non solum tunc plantavit paradisum, sed etiam nunc omnia quae nascuntur. Quis enim alius etiam nunc ista creat nisi qui usque nunc operator?' St. Augustine, himself,³ gives a commentary, as it were, on this adminis-

¹Cap. 4 ² *Tract de opere sex dierum*, lib. ii., cap. vii. and viii. ³Lib. vi., c. iii.

tration: 'Non est dubium hoc quod homo de limo terrae finctus est . . . jam non ad conditionem, qua simul omnia facta sunt, pertinere, quibus perfectis requievit Deus; sed ad eam operationem, quae fit jam per volumina saeculorum, quae usque nunc operatur.'

Again:—

Quapropter cum primam conditionem creaturarum cogitamus, a quibus operibus suis Deus in die septimo requievit, nec illos dies sicut istos solares, nec ipsam operationem ita cogitare debemus quemadmodum nunc aliquid Deus operatur in tempore; sed quemadmodum operatus est unde inciperent tempora, quemadmodum operatus est omnia simul, praestans eis etiam ordinem, non intervallis temporum, sed connexionione causarum, ut ea quae simul facta sunt, senario quoque illius diei numero praesentato perficerentur. Non itaque temporali sed causali ordine prius facta est informis formabilisque materies . . . de qua fieret quod faciendum esset . . . Sexto terrestria similiter animalia tamquam exultimo elemento mundi ultima; nihilominus potentialiter quorum numeros tempus postea visibiliter explicaret.¹

Again:—

Jam nunc consideremus ea quae fecit Deus omnia simul, a quibus in die sexto consummatis requievit in septimo; postea consideraturi opera ejus, in quibus usque nunc operatur . . . Jam nunc erga discernamus opera Dei quae usque nunc operatur, ab illis operibus a quibus in die septimo requievit. . . . Sed plane si aliquam creaturam sic eum nunc instituere putaverimus, ut genus ejus prima illa conditione non inseruerit, aperte contradicimus Scripturae. . . . Secundum illa enim genera rerum, quae primum condidit, nova eum multa facere, quae tunc non fecit, manifestum est. Novum autem genus instituere credi recte non potest quoniam tunc omnia consummavit. Movet itaque occulta potentia universam creaturam suam, eoque motu illa versata, dum angeli jussa proficiunt, dum circumeunt sidera, dum alternant venti . . . dum vireta pullulant suaeque semina evolvunt . . . explicat saecula, quae illi cum primum conditi est tamquam plicata indiderat.

The evolution of the seminal ratios is evidently governed by the same Providence which traces the courses of the stars and the ways of the sounding storm, and does not require immediate intervention.²

Having explained in a passage of rare beauty, lucid,

¹ *Loc. cit.*, c. v.

² *Loc. cit.*, c. xvii. and xx.

vivid and picturesque, the development of a tree, with its spreading branches, its rustling foliage and delicious fruit, from the tiny seedling, he goes on :—

Sicut autem in ipso grano invisibiliter erant omnia simul, quae per tempora in arborem surgerent ; ita ipse mundus cogitandus est, cum Deus simul omnia creavit, habuisse simul omnia quae in illo et cum illo facta sunt quando factus est dies ; nonsolum coelum cum sole . . . sed etiam illa quae aqua et terra produxit potentialiter et causaliter, priusquam per temporum moras ita exorirentur, quomodo nobis jam nota sunt in eis operibus, quae Deus usque nunc operatus. . . . Unde nullam ulterius creaturam instituens, sed ea quae simul omnia fecit administratorio actu gubernans et movens, sine cessatione operatur. . . . Quorum operum ejus quae usque nunc operatur, per volumina temporum explicandorum, velut exordium narrandi sumens, ait Scriptura, etc.¹

From this it would appear that there was no distinction in time between the creation of the universe and the creation of whatever things are contained in it ; and that these things were created merely in germ, in primordial forms, and would, subsequently, in the course of ages, develop under the Divine administration, which resolves itself into secondary causes, the natural laws which God has instituted. As the first terms of the different series of created beings were not created in the enjoyment of their maximum of perfection, but in germs, *quasi in grano* ; these germs must not be looked at as destitute, 'both of internal activity and external reaction,' unless we are to predicate similar mortality of that with which they are compared, the embryo of the tree, a perfect centre of vital forces.

Again, speaking of the creation of man and paradise, 'Aliter ergo tunc, id est potentialiter atque causaliter, sicut illi operi competeat, quo creavit omnia simul, a quibus in die septimo requievit, aliter autem nunc, sicut ea videmus, quae per temporalia spatia creat, sicut usque nunc operatur.'²

And in the next chapter of the same book :—

In qua distributione operum Dei partim ad illos dies invisibiles pertinentium, in quibus creavit omnia simul, partim ad istos

¹ L. c. xxiii.

² Lib. vi., cap. v.

appositos, in quibus operatur quotidie quidquid illis tamquam involucris primordialibus in tempore evolvitur . . . cavendum est ne . . . putemur aliquid sentire ac dicere, quod scimus nos nec dicere nec sentire.

Though this passage has been quoted in favour of Creationism, in it St. Augustine would appear not merely to have inculcated the doctrine, but to have anticipated the terminology of the Evolutionists.

In the same chapter, continuing :—

Sed rursus si dixero non ita fuisse hominem in ille prima rerum conditione, qua creavit Deus omnia simul, sicuti est non tantum perfectae aetatis homo, sed ne infans quidem; nec tantum infans, sed ne puerperium quidem in utero matris: nec tantum hoc, sed nec semen quidem visibile hominis, putabit omnino non fuisse. Redeat ergo ad Scripturam, inveniet sexto die hominem factum ad imaginem Dei. . . . Tunc autem factus est homo, et masculus et femina, ergo et tunc et postea. Neque enim tunc et non postea, aut vero postea et non tunc; nec alii postea, sed iidem ipsi aliter tunc, aliter postea. Quaeret tunc quomodo. Respondebo postea visibiliter, sicut species humanae constitutionis nota nobis est; non tamen parentibus generantibus, sed ille de limo, illa de costa ejus. Quaeret tunc quo modo. Respondebo, invisibiliter, potentialiter, causaliter quomodo fiunt futura non facta. Hic forte non intelligit Datur quidem de seminibus ad hanc nam nonnulla similitudo, propter illa quae in eis futura conserta sunt: verum tamen ante omnia visibilia semina sunt illae causae.

When showing how the creation was finished on the sixth day, and is, nevertheless, still in progress, he says :—

Nunc autem quia jam et consummata quodam modo; et quodam modo inchoata sunt: ea ipsa quae consequentibus evolvenda temporibus primitus Deus simul omnia creavit, cum fecerat mundum; consummata quidem, quia nihil habent illa in naturis propriis, quibus suorum temporum cursus agunt, quod non in istis causaliter factum sit; inchoata vero, quoniam quaedam erant quasi semina futurorum, per saeculi tractum ex occulto in manifestum locis congruis exerenda. . . . Consummasse quippe ista intelligimus Deum, cum creavit omnia simul ita perfecte ut nihil ei adhuc in ordine temporum creandum esset, quod non hic ab eo jam in ordine causarum creatum esset. Inchoasset autem, ut quod hic praefixerat causis, post impleret effectis.¹

¹ Lib. vi., c. xi.

Our readers must be wearied by this long series of extracts, but they will kindly have patience for one more :—

Verumtamen sic factus homo, quemadmodum illæ primæ causæ habebant ut fieret primus homo . . . secundum causalem rationem in qua primitus factus erat. Nam si aliter factus est, non eum Deus in illorum sex dierum operibus fecerat . . . qui simul et consummaverat inchoata propter perfectionem causalium rationum et inchoaverat consummanda propter ordinem temporum. Si ergo in illis primis rerum causis, quas mundo primitus Creator inseruit, non tantum posuit quod de limo formaturus erat hominem sed etiam, etc.¹

These are some of the passages mainly relied on by evolutionists; some of them have, however, been quoted in favour of the other side. We, none the less, submit that their natural interpretation, and, consequently St. Augustine's meaning, is that 'God, simultaneously with the creation of the world,' created all living things, not in the perfect species now known to us, but in certain primordial forms, from which, in the course of ages, under the administration of Providence operating through secondary causes, all existing organisms are evolved.' That this proposition faithfully represents the mind of Augustine, will be evident by comparing its various clauses with the passages quoted; and by comparing it with, say, Darwin's definitions, it will likewise be seen to embody the essential elements of the evolutionary hypothesis.

In the course of his article, Father Burton says, that in the saint's writings, we look in vain for the essential elements of evolution, uncreated species, transformed species, mutable species. We certainly look in vain for uncreated species, but, then, Huxley has already told us that the transformism hypothesis is perfectly compatible with the special creation of a primitive germ. Mutability of species, in some sense or other, does undoubtedly belong to the theory; but it by no means follows that we are to admit indefinite variability as having a necessary connection with it. Nay, Darwin, though he insisted very strongly upon variability effected by natural selection as the main, if not exclusive,

¹ *Loc cit.*, c. xv.

factor, would appear to confine development within the limits of each class or group, to direct it along appropriate lines, predetermined by the peculiar nature of the original forms. At present scientific opinion appears to be tending towards 'stability' of species, having receded from absolute immobility on the one hand, and from indefinite variability on the other. 'Stability,' signifying development along definite lines, from a simple to a more highly organized mode of existence, would be quite consistent with the teaching of Augustine. Besides, we must remember that minute analysis and exhaustive discussion of biological problems were not common in the fourth and fifth centuries; that the mental habits of the time, formed in great part by Platonic influences, found their most appropriate sphere in enunciating general principles, in delineating the mean features of a type, and were utterly alien to the close, scrutinizing investigation of intermediate steps and subordinate agencies; and that these questions had not then assumed such a position in human consciousness as would admit of their being formulated in the technical and highly elaborate terminology of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer. *De Genesi ad Literam* is not the *Origin of Species* nor one of the volumes of *Synthetic Philosophy*: and to assert that St. Augustine did not hold some of the opinions maintained in these publications is just as unreasonable as to say he had nothing in common with Kant, because he did not employ the cumbersome jargon of the German philosopher.

Complaint was made in Father Burton's article about equivocal translation of the more important terms of St. Augustine, *rationes causales* being called germs, generations, evolution in its technical sense, and so on. Complaints of this nature are legitimate, and sometime very necessary, to prevent an author being misinterpreted. But it is the essence of translation to select language best fitted to convey the author's meaning. However, to prevent any undue influence of this sort the extracts are given in Latin.

Again it was stated . . . 'All these can be aptly expressed by the word evolution, never used by St. Augustine—in its ordinary (etymological) sense, but not in its technical sense.'

The word 'evolution' as a noun-substantive does not seem to have been used by St. Augustine in any sense; but as a verb or participle it is several times used in the quotations; but whether it be in a technical sense is left to the judgment of the reader.

The accuracy of this interpretation of St. Augustine is assured by its being adopted by Peter Lombard, St. Thomas, Suarez, Molina, and by the Augustinian School of Theology. This paper is already so burdened by quotation, that only very few references are admissible. These authors admit that the fathers are divided on the explanation of Genesis, that the majority of them hold the theory which is now called special creation, and that Augustine maintained the contradictory opinion.

Lombard says: 'Some of the holy fathers who have studied the words and secrets of God appear to have differed on this matter (creation). Some have held that all things were created at once, in matter and form, which Augustine seems to have taught.'¹

'With regard to the distribution of created things, Catholic commentators differ. Some say that things were created and distributed according to their species in the course of six days. Others, however, think that they were not created in intervals of time; but, being created simultaneously, sprang into existence, which Augustine in many ways attempts to prove.'²

St. Thomas: 'We must here distinguish between the exposition of Augustine and that of other saints. For Augustine does not place order of time in these works (of creation), but only of origin and nature.'³

'But about the production of plants, Augustine differed from others. Some expositors say that plants were produced actually (*actu*) in their species, as the letter of Scripture indicates. But Augustine holds that then the earth causally produced plant life.'⁴ He says the same with regards to the production of fishes and birds;⁵ and also

¹ Lib. ii., Dist. xii.

² *Loc. cit.*, xv.

³ *Quaest. lxxix.*, Art. i.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, Art. ii.

⁵ *Quaest. lxxi*

shows the distinction between Augustine and the other fathers in their respective commentaries on the question were all the seven days one day.

In addition to the quotation already made, Suarez says : ' We are therefore certain that these organisms (*animantia*) were created in the days in which they are said to have been made, not in principle (*virtute*) or in embryo, but actually and in themselves. Although Augustine, persisting in his opinion, appears to hold the contrary.'¹ Having attempted to refute St. Augustine, he sums up :—' Thirdly, it must be said that all these animals were produced in a perfect state, in single individuals or in their respective species, according to the nature of each. Therefore, all were created complete and perfect in all their members.' What can be the opinions of Augustine which have this conclusion for their contradictory?

Cardinal Noris, the glory of the Augustinian Schools in the seventeenth century, in his *Vindiciae Augustinianae*,² rejecting the reproaches and censures of modern theologians on St. Augustine's interpretation of *Genesis* says : ' Augustine, because he saw that the literal interpretation of the six days was beset with the gravest difficulty, excogitated an opinion subtle and well worthy of himself, mystically interpreting, &c.' Having explained the saint's meaning, he enumerates the principal authorities on both sides. Among those who censured the saint were Suarez, Molina, Cornelius à Lapide and Arriaga, who had no doubt but that the opinion of the saint, were it not for the saint's patronage, would be condemned as heretical. On the other side, he quotes Albertus-Magnus; 'without prejudice of a better opinion, we ought to agree with Augustine,' St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and from the Augustinian writers, Egidius Romanus, and Emmanuel Cerda, Professor of Coimbra.

Augustinian tradition finds eloquent expression in Berti, one of the ablest theologians of the eighteenth century : 'Molina, Arriaga, and a few others censure Augustine's

¹ Tract de opere sex dierum, cap. vii. and viii.

² Cap. iv., A. ii.

opinion of the six days as false, erroneous, and proximate heresy; and think the opposite opinion as more conformable to the letter, and as alone true and probable.' In his vindication of the exposition of his Holy Father he discusses the various meanings of the word 'day,' and having quoted the rendering in the Greek codex of this word, as it lies in Gen. ii. 4, he proceeds: 'What clearer language can be brought forward to demonstrate that the primitive forms (*stirpes*) and germs were created in the day in which God founded the heavens and earth, and accomplished all generations?' Upon Gen. ii. 5, he says: 'But every plant of the field, and every herb produced on the fourth day are nothing else than the earth created on the first day with the original (*semine*) 'of all primitive forms (*stirpes*) and germs. . . .' But what is the plant before it shoots up? What is the herb before it germinates, except the earth impregnated with primitive cells (*seminibus*)?'¹

Here, now, we find all these authorities concur in ascribing to St. Augustine a theory contradicting that commonly held by other fathers; namely, that there was a series of creative acts, separated by intervals of time, that the manifold forms of organic life were created, not in primitive germs antecedent to all visible seeds, which should in the course of time develop into the higher form, now known to us, but actually, perfect, complete in all their members. When we find an interpretation of an author admitted during many centuries by men widely differing in nationality, influence, and opinion, and having no conceivable motive to misinterpret; when we find this interpretation assailed by opponents as almost heretical, and admired by disciples who applaud its sublimity while they vindicate its orthodoxy, we must conclude that such is the natural meaning of the disputed passages. Consequently, in reply to the question: Was St. Augustine an evolutionist, we answer, emphatically, in the affirmative.

That St. Augustine could have been read in any other sense must be regarded as one of the unhappy results of

¹ Lib. xi., c. 2.

controversy. The teaching of the Church and the meaning of evolution were alike imperfectly understood, and in the stress of polemical exigency it was highly convenient to deprive evolutionists of the support which St. Augustine apparently afforded them. We have now entered the period of careful inquiry and calm judicious discussion; we are less influenced by preconceived notions, and the passionate assertions and recriminations of the earlier stages of the conflict are passing away. Evolutionists no longer recommend their theory for its religious hostility; and they are no longer asked, as one of them was by an Anglican Bishop at a meeting of the British Association, which was the monkey, their father or their grandfather. All which is yet another indication that the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns.

PATRICK F COAKLEY, O.S.A.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

QUESTIONS REGARDING ABSTINENCE: MARGARINE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR BUTTER

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. Would you kindly say if there is any justification for holding that the dispensation, on days of fast and abstinence, for the use of lard, extends also to the use of suet and dripping? Unless my memory be at fault, I was taught to believe that there was an express decision to the contrary.

2. Again, what is to be said of substituting margarine for butter on fasting days and days of abstinence?

GRATUS.

1. Our correspondent's memory is, probably, quite accurate. There were several express decisions to the effect that dispensations permitting *condimenta ex adipe* were to be interpreted as allowing the use of lard only. Of these decisions it will suffice to mention one, given by the Sacred Congregation of the Penitentiary:—

An in concessione condimentorum (vulgo *di grasso*) intelligatur concessus usus condimenti ex adipe cujuscumque animalis? Resp. *utendum tantum condimento suino*.

It is now, however, certain that the fat of *any* animal is included under the general form *condimenta ex adipe*, or any similar expression; for we find this clearly stated in a reply of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition, given May 1, 1889. This reply seems to have, for some time, escaped general notice. It was, however, referred to in a reply of the same Congregation published in 1895 (?):—

In risposta alla pregiata sua del 12 corrente diretta a Monsignor Commissario generale di questa Supremo partecipo a Vostra Signoria che nella feria IV., Maggio 1899, proposito il quesito se l'espressione *condimenti di grasso* usata negli indulti per la Quaresima e poi condimenti fra l'anno, dovesse intendersi del grasso di qualità animale, gli Emi. Signori Card. Inquisitori generali miei colleghi risposero; *affirmative*.

R. CARD. MONACO.

Whether we are to look upon this utterance of the Inquisition as a modification of the hitherto existing law, or as a change of interpretation merely, it is, at all events, manifest that the opinion formerly based on the older interpretation of the Congregation of the Penitentiary is no longer tenable.

Moreover, as far as this country is concerned, there never was any ground for restricting the dispensation to the use of lard. The faculties granted to the Irish bishops in 1877 expressly empowered them to permit the use, not only of lard (*laridum*), but also of other fats (*sagimen*). If our correspondent consults the *Acta et Decreta* of the Maynooth Synod,¹ he will find that, while the bishops asked for faculties to permit '*diebus jejunii, exceptis solemnioribus, usus laridi tanquam condimenti,*' faculties were expressly granted for the use *laridi et sagiminis*; or, as it is put in the faculties granted to the Archdiocese of Dublin in 1853, and extended to all the Irish bishops in 1877, '*condimenti ex adipe vel pinguedine animalium confecti.*' We may note, in passing, that whereas the bishops asked for powers to dispense on fast² days (*diebus jejunii*), the faculties of the Archbishop of Dublin, which were now extended to all the Irish bishops, were expressly available for days of abstinence merely as well as for fasting days (*diebus abstinentiae et jejunii*).

It is quite certain, therefore, that the Irish bishops can, in virtue of the faculties granted in 1877, permit the use of lard, dripping, or suet *per modum condimenti, exceptis solemnioribus*, on all days either of fast or abstinence throughout the year. The restriction *exceptis solemnioribus* is taken to mean that the use of lard cannot, in virtue of this particular faculty, be granted on days of strict fast—Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and, in certain dioceses, Spy Wednesday.

2. No Lenten indult that we have seen contains any express reference to the use of margarine as a substitute for butter; nor has there been, so far as we know, any authoritative decision on the matter from any quarter. If we may

¹ *Vid.* pp. 352, 353, 356.

² An expression which might leave some room for doubt whether it included days of abstinence merely.

venture an opinion, we think that, in the absence of such a decision, no difficulty should be made by our correspondent about permitting margarine whenever butter is allowed. The use of margarine is, we are informed, becoming so common, especially among the poor, and the difficulty—not to say impossibility—of distinguishing it from butter is so great, that to prohibit it, when butter is allowed, would be to place an additional burden on the poor, and to give persons of all classes an occasion for anxiety and scruples. Eventually, margarine is certain to be recognised as a lawful substitute for butter. Pending an express decision, or without any decision, we think that, all things considered, the use of margarine for butter may well be connived at.

In these dioceses in which lard is permitted *per modum condimenti* there is, of course, no difficulty about using margarine as a *condiment*; and, perhaps, it may be said that, in addition to the general considerations urged above, there is, in these dioceses, special reason to hold the use of margarine lawful, not only as a *condiment*, in the stricter acceptation of that word, but as a substitute for butter in all its various uses.

PARISH PRIESTS DISPENSING POWER IN LAWS OF FAST AND ABSTINENCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Can parish priests dispense in the laws of fast and abstinence? From the Lenten Indult of this diocese I infer that they cannot. The bishop delegates them to dispense, which would be unnecessary if they had the power already.

C. C.

Parish priests have, from custom, the power to dispense their parishioners, in individual cases, from the fast or abstinence. Without any delegation from his bishop, a parish priest, therefore, can, anywhere and at any time during the year, for sufficient cause, dispense one of his parishioners from the fast or abstinence, or from both. We think, therefore, that our correspondent probably misinterprets the indult of his bishop; at all events, the inference deduced is false. We have not seen the indult, and cannot, therefore, interpret it. It may be that the bishop merely desires to

draw attention, in the indult, to the fact that a parish priest can dispense his parishioners; or, it may be, that he extends the parish priest's power, so that he can dispense others than his own parishioners. If the bishop, indeed, merely desires to delegate his parish priests to dispense their own parishioners, the only result is that the parish priests have power to dispense from two sources. They lose nothing by addition. They can, in virtue of the bishop's delegation, give *jure extraordinario* dispensations, which *jure ordinario* they have already power to grant.

**CAN PERSONS DISPENSED FROM THE LAW OF FASTING
USE AT DISCRETION WHATEVER IS ALLOWED BY THE
LENTEN INDULT TO THE FAITHFUL GENERALLY AT
THE PRINCIPAL MEAL**

**DELEGATION FROM A PARISH PRIEST TO DISPENSE IN FAST
OR ABSTINENCE**

REV. DEAR SIR,—An answer to the two following practical questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD will much oblige :—

1. Can persons who are dispensed from the law of fasting, by a parish priest, *v.g.*, lawfully take as often as they wish, in any day, whatever is allowed at their principal meal to persons who are bound to fast?

2. May a curate be delegated by his parish priest to dispense in fast and abstinence?

T. H.

1. The first question put by our correspondent raises certain points that we have not seen discussed by the theologians. We give our view of the matter for what it is worth.

The following case will illustrate the question proposed. In a certain diocese, meat is allowed by the Lenten indult, at the principal meal, on the Mondays of Lent, to those who are bound to fast. A certain person in that diocese, for sufficient cause, obtains from his parish priest (or from the bishop or other competent authority) a dispensation in the fast, which removes, let us suppose, all limits regarding quantity. He can now, of course, take as many meals as he pleases, and he can take meat at one of them. But can

he take meat a second or a third time, and as often as he wishes? That is an illustration of the question raised by our correspondent.

At the outset, we may reply briefly, as follows. The privileges of a person *dispensed* from the fast are, outside the principal meal, which is regulated by the indult, and the collation and frustulum, which are sanctioned by custom, solely determined, in regard to the quantity and quality of food and the number of times at which certain kinds of food may be taken, *not by the general indult*, but by the *extent of his own dispensation* (from the parish priest, *v.g.*).

In the remarks we are about to make, it must be understood that by Lenten indults we mean throughout the ordinary general Lenten dispensations which bishops are authorized by the Holy See to grant. With certain extraordinary indults sometimes given in virtue of more special faculties we have no concern.

We shall endeavour to avoid the ambiguity arising from the use of the word *fast* in a two-fold sense. The law of fasting is sometimes taken to mean the law which imposes certain restrictions either on the *quantity* or *quality* of food that may be taken on certain days. In a stricter sense, the law of fasting is that which primarily regards the *quantity* of food that may be taken, and the *quality* only secondarily. The law of abstinence regards exclusively the *quality* of food.

We desire specially to emphasize the fact that while the fast, as opposed to the abstinence, *primarily* regards the quantity of food, it *secondarily* regards also the quality of food. For example, if the Lenten abstinence were to be totally removed, the obligation of fasting remaining intact, persons bound to fast would, of course, be restricted to one full meal with a collation and frustulum; but, moreover, at the collation and frustulum, they would be restricted, and by the law of fasting, to those kinds of food allowed by custom.

We may be permitted to make one further preliminary remark. The law of fasting, as distinct again from abstinence, imposes, as we have just seen, restrictions on quantity

and on quality. Now, either of these restrictions may, by dispensation, be removed, either wholly or in part, without affecting the other. Manifestly, restrictions on quality may be removed without touching restrictions on quantity; and just as custom has, as regards the collation, somewhat relaxed the law of fasting in so far as quantity is concerned, leaving intact certain restrictions on quality, so a dispensation may still further relax the law against quantity, without removing the restrictions on quality. It is sometimes said that the fast, as distinct from the abstinence, affects only quantity; so that, if all restrictions as to quantity were removed, all restrictions of quality, as far as they arise from the fast, would necessarily disappear also. But it will be sufficient to reply that, if that contention were just, a person fasting might make his collation of about eight ounces, and his frustulum also consist altogether of salmon, for example. For custom has relaxed the law against quantity, and the law of abstinence does not prohibit fish. To us, therefore, it seems manifest that the law of fasting may be entirely removed, as far as it regulates quantity, without being relaxed in so far as it regulates quality.

Let us take again, then, the general question formulated in our correspondent's letter: 'Can persons who are dispensed from the law of fasting by a parish priest, *v.g.*, lawfully take, as often as they wish, in any day, whatever is allowed at their principal meal to persons bound to fast?'

1. Persons dispensed from the fast—assuming that all restriction as to quantity is removed—can, of course, take, as often as they please, and in what quantity they please, fasting fare. By fasting fare in this connection we mean fare, the use of which custom has sanctioned, outside the *one* meal, for persons fasting.

2. Can they take, however, as often as they wish, non-fasting fare which is allowed, at *one* meal, by a general Lenten dispensation (in abstinence) to persons bound to fast? According to a general principle, now universally admitted, those who are, by reason of age, labour, or infirmity, exempt from the law of fasting may take, at discretion, whatever is allowed by a general indult to

those bound to fast, unless a restriction be expressly or implicitly imposed by the bishop. Are those who are *dispensed* to be placed on the same footing as those exempt for the causes just named? Two questions may be distinguished: (a) Can those *dispensed* from the fast use, at discretion, what is allowed, at the principal meal only, to persons bound to fast? (b) Whence does this particular privilege, if it exists, come? Does it come from the episcopal indult, or from the parish priest's (or bishop's) subsequent dispensation in the fast.

Let us assume, for a moment, that *dispensed* persons are, like persons exempt without a dispensation, free to take at discretion what is allowed to persons fasting at the principal meal; and let us take the second question (b) first. Does this privilege—supposing them to have the same privilege as persons exempt—come from the Lenten indult, or from the subsequent dispensation?

Now, at first sight, it might appear most natural that, once a man is *dispensed* from the fast by the parish priest, *v.g.*, he is, *eo ipso*, put into the category of those exempt by age, *v.g.*; and that, therefore, according to the general principle laid down above, the dispensations of the Lenten indult—presupposing that there is no restriction—would avail him, not at one meal only, but at discretion. In that view, he could take meat as often as he pleased on a fast day on which meat is allowed to the faithful generally at one meal. We cannot, however, accept that view, and for the following reasons.

1. While almost all (modern) theologians, following the decisions of the Congregations, are careful to note the above-mentioned privileges of those *exempt* by reason of age, labour, or infirmity, no theologian, no decision can be quoted for extending these same privileges to persons merely *dispensed*. We have consulted many Lenten indults also. Many of them give in detail the privileges of those exempt from fasting by reason of age, labour, or infirmity; but not one gives any indication that persons merely *dispensed* are to be treated like persons *exempt*. But we need not dwell on this negative evidence, for we have an express decision from

a former Prefect of the Propaganda, that dispensed persons are not to be treated like those exempt by reason of age or labour.

We cannot do better, perhaps, than reprint the document from the pages of the I. E. RECORD, for the benefit of those who may not otherwise have an opportunity of finding it. The learned editor¹ introduced the document with the following words, in which he explained the question, and gave the Card. Prefect's answer:—

The question proposed was whether persons who are merely *dispensed*² from the obligation of fasting are at liberty—like those who are *exempt ratione aetatis vel laboris*³—to eat, *toties quoties*, whatever is allowed by the diocesan regulations to the faithful generally at the principal meal. The answer is in the *negative*.

The following is the text of the letter:—⁴

ILLME. ET RME. DOMINE,—In epistola quam ad me dedita sub die 10 Julii nuper praeteriti dubium proponis circa jejunium quod sic habet. 'Utrum Fideles qui sive ab Episcopo, Apostolica auctoritate, sive ob aliam rationem a lege jejunii *dispensantur*, sint eo ipso a lege abstinentione ita dispensati, ut licite vesci possint carnibus pluries in die omnibus diebus quibus esus carniū conceditur jejunantibus?' Subdis autem quod non eadem sit hac de re Episcoporum sententia, cum nonnullis applicanda videatur dispensatis regula quae afficit fideles qui ratione aetatis vel laboris jejunare non tenentur, aliis vero non item.

Respondeo igitur absque ulla haesitatione quaesito a Te proposito, *Negative*. Alia est enim ratio *dispensatorum*, alia vero illorum qui legi jejunii non subjiciuntur. Primis enim indultum non suffragatur nisi pro unica comestione, quemadmodum docet Benedictus XIV. in nota Encyclica diei 10 Junii 1745, super jejunio, aliis vero (scilicet a lege exemptis) licet uti cibis ab indulto concessis, quoties in die utuntur jure quo pollent manducandi.

Precor Deum, &c.

Romae die 22 Augusti 1876.

A. Card. FRANCHI, *Praef.*

¹ Dr. Carr, now Archbishop of Melbourne.

² The italics throughout are in the original.

³ When this was written it was not yet clearly decided that persons exempt by reason of infirmity were to be treated like those exempt for the two causes named.

⁴ The letter was addressed to the Archbishop of Oregon.

It will be remarked—(1) that the Cardinal Prefect distinguishes, in relation to the point under discussion, between those *dispensed* from the fast, and those who, without dispensation, are already *exempt*; (2) that he distinctly states, that those two classes are *not* on the same footing; (3) that he lays down that those merely *dispensed* cannot, in virtue of the general indult, use *toties quoties* the dispensations in abstinence granted by the indult to persons fasting; (4) that he does not touch the question how far *dispensed* persons are liberated by their own dispensation as distinct from the general indult. The reason alleged for the negative answer shows that the Cardinal Prefect in his reply regarded the position of *dispensed* persons in so far as it was affected by the general indult only.

On grounds negative and positive, then, it would appear that the dispensations of the Lenten indult in abstinence are not available outside the principal meal for those merely *dispensed* from fasting. It follows, therefore—and this is the answer to the question we have proposed to ourselves—that *if* *dispensed* persons can use *toties quoties* the dispensations of the indult, their privilege must come, not from the Lenten indult, or any general rule affecting the interpretation of the indult, but from the dispensation in fasting.

The state of the case is this. The ordinary Lenten indult does not touch the law of fasting, but only the law of abstinence; in the case of those not exempt from the fast the dispensations of the indult, therefore, avail for one meal only. For, any relaxation—regarding either quantity or quality—outside the *one* meal is an infringement of the fast. A person seeking a dispensation for a just cause, is, the moment before he receives his dispensation, subject to two obligations—(1) in regard to quantity, he is restricted to one full meal, with collation, and frustulum; and (2) in regard to quality, he is restricted to those kinds of food allowed at his principal meal by the indult, and at the collation, &c., by custom.

Moreover, as we have shown from the reply of Cardinal Franchi, he has no hope of further relaxation through the Lenten indult. He may obtain a dispensation from the

parish priest. But, even then, the Lenten indult will affect his principal meal only.

Assuming, now, what we have already proved, that a person dispensed from the fast is not at liberty, in virtue of the general indult, to claim the same privileges as those who are exempt from the fast without a dispensation, it remains to answer the other question (*a*) put above: Are persons dispensed from the fast allowed, in virtue of their *own dispensation* to use, at discretion, whatever is allowed to the faithful at their principal meal? Presupposing in all cases a sufficient cause, the position of such persons depends altogether on the will of the person who dispenses. It is for the parish priest or other person granting the dispensation to say whether, and how far, he consents to remove the restrictions left intact by custom and by the general indult.

It is his duty to consider how far the cause alleged justifies him in removing the two restrictions above mentioned in regard to quantity and quality. He may relax one or both restrictions altogether or in greater or less measure. He may grant the same, or a greater or less, measure of freedom than that allowed in the Lenten indult to persons exempt by age. A few examples will illustrate our meaning. The parish priest may, for instance, merely relax the restriction in *quantity only*, allowing, say, at the collation, a few ounces more than the law allows of such fare as custom sanctions at the collation. If it be necessary, however, to allow a quantity which amounts to a substantial violation of the fast, then, of course, according to a probable opinion, the law restricting quantity ceases altogether, and the person so dispensed may take as many meals as he pleases. Again, for example, the parish priest may see reason to remove not only the restriction as to quantity, but also to relax more or less the restrictions regarding *quality*; he may allow lacticinia at discretion, or eggs or meat once outside the principal meal or at discretion. In one word, as regards the principal meal, the parish priest cannot curtail, though he may with cause enlarge, the dispensation granted by the Lenten indult for that meal; as for meals other than the principal meal, he can validly maintain

or, for a just cause, remove any or all of the restrictions—as to quantity or quality—which, in regard to those bound to fast, remain untouched by the episcopal indult.¹

If, therefore, the parish priest in granting the dispensation clearly *expresses* the conditions on which it is given, no difficulty can arise. But if, as usually happens, he simply says, 'I dispense you in the fast,' neither expressly placing or removing restrictions in detail, how is the dispensation to be interpreted? As to quantity, such a dispensation will be readily admitted to remove all restriction. As to quality, there may be room for some difference of opinion. We are inclined to think, that such a dispensation may be supposed to place the person dispensed in the same position, as that in which the episcopal indult places those exempt from the law of fasting by reason of age, labour, or sickness. In ordinary cases a person asking a dispensation desires and expects to be placed on an equality with those about him, who are exempt from the law of which he seeks the relaxation. If the dispensation is to cover more or less, there ought to be a distinct understanding to that effect. If our view be correct a person dispensed might, in the absence, as we suppose, of express or implied restriction, use the same liberty in regard to the quality of food outside his principal meal, as the Lenten indult allows to those exempt from the fast. When the person dispensing acts as the delegate of the bishop, there will be special reason to think that the dispensation follows the lines of the episcopal indult. But, even, in the case of those who, like parish priests, dispense in their own right, the same rule seems to us not unreasonable.

2. In answer to our correspondent's second question, we need only say that as the parish priest's power to dispense in fast and abstinence belongs to his ordinary jurisdiction, he can delegate that power to his curate or to any other priest.

D. MANNIX.

¹ It should always be noted, however, that an ordinary dispensation never removes the restriction forbidding fish and flesh at the same meal.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Almost every month we have Catechisms, revised and recommended in the different Catholic periodicals, and yet I cannot but think that just now a book of religious readings is much more necessary.

We have already quite a number of excellent catechisms from which accurate information can readily be obtained. Such catechisms as Power's, Gibson's, Keenan's, Frassinetti's, Deharbe's—sometimes called Fander's,—Mannock's, Collet's, Gaume's, not to speak of D'Hauterive, and the hand-books of Wilmer, Schouppe, &c., seem amply sufficient to supply the catechist with all the knowledge required for the proper discharge of his duty. But what is really wanted is, as I have said, a Book of Religious Readings, which could be used as an ordinary class-book by the advanced classes in the schools during the time set apart for religious instruction, and which, besides assisting the children to read with greater facility, would also enable them to acquire information which, in after years, would hardly ever be forgotten. This book might contain short lessons on—The Creation, Age of the World, Age of the Human Race; Deluge, most probable opinion, or even the three opinions, as to its extent; Church, not enemy to science; Ceremonies; Division, Catholic and Protestant, of Commandments; Blessed Virgin, Invocation of Saints, Images, Infallibility of Pope, Indulgences, Inquisition, Real Presence; Protestantism, cause and history of; Predestination, Prosperity of nations and peoples no proof of possession of true religion; Purgatory, Primacy of St. Peter, Sacred Scripture alone not sufficient guide and rule of faith, &c. In all, the book might contain seventy or eighty lessons on the foregoing, and on other subjects, a correct knowledge of which is necessary for the proper understanding of religion. The book could be brought out cheaply, so as to be within the reach of the poorer children; and, besides being of manifold service in the schools, would also provide the people generally with the means of refuting the objections that are so frequently and so persistently urged against their holy faith. There are many priests throughout the country in colleges, religious houses, and even on the

mission, to whom the compilation of such a work would be but a labour of love entailing very little trouble ; and hence it is to be hoped that before many months have elapsed we shall be in possession of a book that will prove a blessing to the old as well as to the young.

SACERDOS.

A PRACTICAL QUESTION

VERY REV. SIR,—Perhaps some of the readers of the I. E. RECORD would kindly say which of the following is the more correct—‘ Dear Rev. Sir ’ or ‘ Rev. Dear Sir.’ I am not, by any means, an authority on the matter, yet I have invariably preferred the former, and have always considered, perhaps erroneously, that there was a strong smack of Protestantism about the latter. The ‘ Rev.’ and ‘ Sir ’ appear to be inseparable ; to, in fact, constitute a *quid indivisibile*. This form, ‘ Dear Rev. Sir,’ is not, as far as I know, used outside the Catholic Church, whilst the ‘ Rev. Dear Sir ’ is employed regularly. ‘ Once a priest always a priest,’ finds no acceptance with non-Catholics as a body ; and hence, the form, ‘ Rev. Dear Sir ’ would, to them, naturally appear preferable.

INQUIRER.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO
CARDINAL GIBBONS ON AMERICANISM

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO

IACOBO TIT. SANCTAE MARIAE TRANS TIBERIM

S. R. E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI GIBBONS

ARCHIEPISCOPO BALTIMORENSI

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI NOSTER

SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Testem benevolentiae Nostrae hanc ad te epistolam mittimus, eius nempe benevolentiae, quam, diuturno Pontificatus Nostri cursu, tibi et Episcopis collegis tuis ac populo Americae universo profiteri nunquam destitimus, occasionem omnem libenter nacti sive ex felicibus Ecclesiae vestrae incrementis, sive ex utiliter a vobis recteque gestis ad catholicorum rationes tutandas et evehendas. Quin imo saepe etiam accidit egregiam in gente vestra indolem suspicere et admirari ad praeclara quaeque experrectam atque ad ea prosequenda quae humanitatem omnem iuvant splendoremque civitatis. Quamvis autem non eo nunc spectet epistola ut alias saepe tributas laudes confirmet, sed ut nonnulla potius cavenda et corrigenda significet; quia tamen eadem apostolica caritate conscripta est, qua vos et prosequuti semper et alloquuti saepe fuimus, iure expectamus, ut hanc pariter amoris Nostri argumentum censeatis; idque eo magis futurum confidimus quod apta nataque ea sit ad contentiones quasdam extinguendas, quae, exortae nuper in vobis, etsi non omnium, at multorum certe animos, haud mediocri pacis detrimento, perturbant.

Compertum tibi est, dilecte Fili Noster, librum de vita *Isaaci Thomae Hecker*, eorum praesertim opera, qui aliena lingua edendum vel interpretandum susceperunt, controversias excitasse non modicas ob invectas quasdam de ratione christiane vivendi opiniones. Nos igitur, ut integritati fidei, pro supremo Apostolatus munere, prospiciamus et fidelium securitati caveamus, volumus de re universa fusiori sermone ad te scribere.

Novarum igitur, quas diximus, opinionum id fere constituitur

fundamentum ; quo facilius qui dissident ad catholicam sapientiam traducantur, debere Ecclesiam ad adulti saeculi humanitatem aliquanto propius accedere, ac, veteri relaxata severitate, recens invecitis populorum placitis ac rationibus indulgere. Id autem non de vivendi solum disciplina, sed de doctrinis etiam quibus *fidei depositum* continetur, intelligendum esse multi arbitrantur. Opportunum enim esse contendunt, ad voluntates discordium alliciendas, si quaedam doctrinae capita, quasi levioris momenti, praemittantur, aut molliantur ita, ut non eundem retineant sensum quem constanter tenuit Ecclesia. Id porro, dilecte Fili Noster, quam improbando sit consilio excogitatum, haud longo sermone indiget ; si modo doctrinae ratio atque origo repetatur, quam tradit Ecclesia. Ad rem Vaticana Synodus : ' Neque enim fidei doctrina, quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tamquam divinum depositum Christi Sponsae tradita fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda . . . Is sensus sacrorum dogmatum perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel duclaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu altioris intelligentiae specie et nomine recedendum.'¹

Neque omnino vacare culpa censendum est silentium illud, quo catholicae doctrinae principia quaedam consulto praetereuntur ac veluti oblivione obscurantur. Veritatum namque omnium, quotquot christiana disciplina complectitur, unus atque idem auctor est et magister ' Unigenitus Filius qui est in sinu Patris.'² Easdem vero ad aetates quaslibet ac gentes accomodatas esse, perspicue ex verbis colligitur, quibus ipse Christus apostolos est alloquutus : ' Euntes docete omnes gentes . . . docentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis ; et ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem saeculi.'³ Quapropter idem Vaticanum Concilium : ' Fide divina, inquit, et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt, quae in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab Ecclesia, sive solemni iudicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio, tamquam divinitus revelata proponuntur.'⁴ Absit igitur ut de tradita divinitus doctrina quidpiam quis detrahat vel consilio quovis praetereat ; id enim qui faxit, potius catholicos seiungere ab Ecclesia, quam qui dissident ad Ecclesiam transferre volet. Redeant, nil enim Nobis optatius, redeant universi, quicumque ab ovilli Christi vagantur longius hoc illo tamen itinere, quam quod Christus ipse monstravit.

¹ Const. de Fid. cath., c. vi.

² Ioann. i. 18.

³ Matth. xxviii. 19 s.

⁴ Const. de Fid. cath., c. iii

Disciplina autem vivendi, quae catholicis hominibus datur, non eiusmodi est, quae, pro temporum et locorum varietate, temperationem omnem reiiciat. Habet profecto Ecclesia, inditum ab Auctore suo, clemens ingenium et misericors; quam ob causam, inde a sui exordio, id praestitit libens, quod Paulus Apostolus de se profitebatur: 'Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes facerem salvos.'¹ Aetatum vero praeteritarum omnium historia testis est, Sedem hanc Apostolicam, cui non magisterium modo, sed supremum etiam regimen totius Ecclesiae tributum est, constanter quidem 'in eodem dogmate, eodem sensu, eademque sententia'² haesisse; at vivendi disciplinam ita semper moderari consuevisse, ut, divino incolumi iure diversarum adeo gentium, quas amplectitur, mores et rationes numquam neglexerit. Idsi postulet animorum salus, nunc etiam facturam quis dubitet? Non hoc tamen privatorum hominum arbitrio definiendum, qui fere specie recte decipiuntur; sed Ecclesiae iudicium esse oportet in eoque acquiescere omnes necesse est, quicumque Pii VI. decessori Nostri reprehensionem cavere malunt. Qui quidem propositionem LXXVIII synodi Pistoriensis 'Ecclesia ac Spiritui Dei quo ipsa regitur iniuriosam *edixit*, quatenus examini subiiciat disciplinam ab Ecclesia constitutam ed probatam Ecclesia disciplinam constituere possit inutilem ed onerosiorem quam libertas christiana patiatur.'

In causa tamen de qua loquimur, dilecte Fili Noster, plus affert periculi estque magis catholicae doctrinae disciplinaeque infestum consilium illud, quo rerum novarum sectatores arbitrantur libertatem quamdam in Ecclesiam esse inducendam, ut, constricta quodammodo potestatis vi ac vigilantia, liceat fidelibus suo cuiusque ingenio actuose que virtuti largius aliquanto indulgere. Hoc nimirum requiri affirmant ad libertatis eius exemplum, quae, recentius invecta, civilis fere communitatis ius modo ac fundamentum est. De qua Nos fuse admodum loquuti sumus in iis Litteris, quas de civitatum constitutione ad Episcopos dedimus universos; ubi etiam ostendimus, quid inter Ecclesiam, quae iure divino est intersit ceterasque consociationes quae libera hominum voluntate vigent. Praesta igitur quamdam potius notare opinionem omnes, quae quasi argumentum affertur ad hanc catholicis libertatem suadendam. Aiunt enim, de Romani Pontificis infallibili magisterio, post solemne iudicium de ipso latum in Vaticana Synodo, nihil iam oportere esse sollicitos; quam ob rem, eo iam

¹ Cor. ix. 22.² Conc. Vatic. Ibid., c. iv.

in tuto collocato, posse nunc ampliorem cuivis ad cogitandum atque agendum patere campum. Praeposterum sane arguendi genus: si quid enim ex magisterio Ecclesiae infallibili suadet ratio hoc certe est, ut ab eo ne quis velit discedere, imo omnes eidem se penitus imbuendos ac moderandos dent, quo facilius a privato quovis errore servantur immunes. Accedit, ut ii, qui sic arguunt, a providentis Dei sapientia discedant admodum; quae quum Sedis Apostolicae auctoritatem et magisterium affirmata solemniori judicio voluit, ideo voluit maxime, ut pericula praesentium temporum animis catholicorum efficacius caveret. Licentia quae passim cum libertate confunditur; quidvis loquendi obloquendique libido; facultas denique quidlibet sentiendi litterarumque formis exprimendi, tenebras tam alte mentibus obfuderunt, ut maior nunc quam ante sit magisterii usus et necessitas, ne a conscientia quis officioque abstrahatur. Abest profecto a Nobis ut quaecumque horum temporum ingenium parit, omnia repudiemus; quin potius quidquid indagando veri aut enitendo boni attingitur, ad patrimonium doctrinae augendum publicaeque prosperitatis fines proferendos, libentibus sane Nobis, accedit. Id tamen omne, ne solidae utilitatis sit expers, esse ac vigere nequaquam debet, Ecclesiae auctoritate sapientiaque posthabita.

Sequitur ut ad ea veniamus quae ex his, quas attigimus, opinionibus consecraria veluti proferuntur; in quibus si mens, ut credimus, non mala, at certe res carere suspicione minime videntur. Principio enim externum magisterium omne ad iis, qui christianae perfectioni adipiscendae studere velint, tamquam superfluum, immo etiam minus utile, reicitur: ampliora, aiunt, atque uberiora nunc quam elapsis temporibus, in animos fidelium Spiritus Sanctus influit charismata, eosque, medio nemine, docet arcano quodam instinctu atque agit. Non levis profecto temeritatis est velle modum metiri, quo Deus cum hominibus communicet; id enim unice ex eius voluntate pendet, estque ipse munerum suorum liberrimus dispensator. 'Spiritus ubi vult spirat'¹ Uniquique autem nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi.'² Ecquis autem repetens Apostolorum historiam, exordientis Ecclesiae fidem, fortissimorum martyrum certamina et caedes, veteres denique plerasque aetates sanctissimorum hominum foecundissimas, audeat priora tempora praesentibus componere eaque affirmare minore Spiritus Sancti

¹ Ioan. iii. 8.

² Eph. iv. 7.

effusione donata? Sed, his omissis, Spiritum Sanctum secreto illapsu in animis justorum agere eosque admonitionibus et impulsione excitare, nullus est qui ambigat; id ni foret, externum quodvis praesidium et magisterium inane esset. 'Si quis . . . saluari, id est evangelicae praedicationi consentire posse confirmat, absque illuminatione Spiritus Sancti, qui dat omnibus suavitatem in consentiendo et credendo veritati, haeretico fallitur spiritu' ¹ Verum, quod etiam experiendo novimus, hae Sancti Spiritus admonitiones et impulsiones plerumque, non sine quodam externi magisterii adiumento ac veluti comparatione, persentuntur. 'Ipse, ad rem Augustinus, in bonis arboribus cooperatur fructum, qui et forinsecus rigat atque excolit per quemlibet ministrum, et per se dat intrinsicum incrementum.' ² Scilicet ad communem legem id pertinet, qua Deus providentissimus, uti homines plerumque fere per homines salvandos decrevit, ita illos, quos ad praestantiorum sanctimoniam gradum advocat, per homines eo perducendos constituit, ut nimirum, quemadmodum Chrysostomus ait, per homines a Deo discamus.' ³ Praeclarum eius rei exemplum, ipso Ecclesiae exordio, positum habemus: quamvis enim Saulus, 'spirans minarum et caedis,' ⁴ Christi ipsius vocem audivisset ab eoque quaesivisset: 'Domine, quid me vis facere;' Damascus tamen ad Ananiam missus est: 'Ingredere civitatem, et ibi dicetur tibi quid te oporteat facere.' Accedit praeterea, quod qui perfectiora sectantur, hoc ipso quod ineunt intentatam plerisque viam, sunt magis errori obnoxii, ideoque magis quam ceteri doctore ac duce indigent. Atque haec agendi ratio jugiter in Ecclesia obtinuit; hanc ad unum omnes doctrinam professi sunt, quotquot, decursu saeculorum, sapientia ac sanctitate floruerunt; quam qui respuant, temere profecto ac periculose respuant.

Rem tamen bene penitus consideranti, sublato etiam externo quovis moderatore, vix apparet in novatorum sententia quorsum pertinere debeat uberior ille Spiritus Sancti influxus, quem adeo extollunt. Profecto maxime in excolendis virtutibus Spiritus Sancti praesidio opus est omnino: verum qui nova sectari adamant, naturales virtutes praeter modum efferunt, quasi hae praesentis aetatis moribus ac necessitatibus respondeant aptius, iisque exornari praestet, quod hominem paratiorum ad agendum

¹ Conc. Arausiac ii., can. vii.

² De Grat. Christ., c. xix.

³ Hom. i., in Inscr. altar.

⁴ Act Ap., c. ix.

ac strenuiorem faciant. Difficile quidem intellectu est, eos, qui christiana sapientia imbuantur, posse naturales virtutes supernaturalibus anteferre, maioremque illis efficacitatem ac foecunditatem tribuere. Ergone natura, accedente gratia, infirmior erit, quam si suis ipsa viribus permittatur? Num vero homines sanctissimi, quos Ecclesia observat palamque colit, imbecillos se atque ineptos in naturae ordine probavere quod christians virtutibus excelluerunt? Atqui, etsi naturalium virtutum praeclaros quandoque actus mirari licet, quotus tamen quisque est inter homines qui naturalium virtutum habitu reapse polleat? Quis enim est, qui animi perturbationibus, isque vehementibus non incitetur? Quibus constanter superandis, sicut etiam universae legi in ipso naturae ordine servandae, divino quodam subsidio iuvare hominem necesse est. Singulares vero actus, quos supra innuimus, saepe, si intimius perspiciantur, speciem potius virtutis quam veritatem prae se ferunt. Sed demus tamen esse : *currere in vacuum* quis nolit aeternamque oblivisci beatitatem, cui nos benigne destinat Deus, ecquid naturales virtutes habent utilitatis, nisi divinae gratiae munus ac robur accedat? Apte quidem Augustinus : ‘Magnae vires et cursus celerrimus, sed praeter viam.’¹ Sicut enim praesidio gratiae natura hominum, quae, ob communem noxam, in vitium ac dedecus prolapsa erat, erigitur novaque nobilitate evehitur ac roboratur ; ita etiam virtutes, quae non solis naturae viribus, sed eiusdem ope gratiae exercentur, et foecundae fiunt beatitatis perpetuo mansurae et solidiores ac firmiores existunt.

Cum hac de naturalibus virtutibus sententia, alia cohaeret admodum, qua christianae virtutes universae in duo quasi genera dispertiuntur, in *passivas*, ut aiunt, atque *activas* ; adduntque, illas in elapsis aetatibus convenisse melius, has cum praesenti magis congruere. De qua quidem divisione virtutum quid sentient dum sit, res est in medio posita ; virtus enim, quae vere *passiva* sit, nec est nec esse potest. ‘Virtus, sic sanctus Thomas, nominat quandam potentiae perfectionem ; finis autem potentiae actus est ; et nihil est aliud actus virtutis, quam bonus usus liberi arbitrii ;’² adiuvante utique Dei gratia, si virtutis actus supernaturalis sit. Christianas autem virtutes, alias temporibus aliis accommodatas esse, is solum velit, qui Apostoli verba non meminerit : ‘Quos praescivit, hos et praedestinavit conformes fieri

¹ In Ps. xxxi. 4

² i., ii., a. 1.

imagini Filii sui.¹ Magister et exemplar sanctitatis omnis Christus est; ad cuius regulam aptari omnes necesse est, quotquot avent beatorum sedibus inseri. Iamvero, haud mutatur Christus progredientibus saeculis; sed 'idem heri et hodie et in saecula.'² Ad omnium igitur aetatum homines pertinet illud; 'Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde';³ nulloque non tempore Christus se nobis exhibet 'factum obedientem usque ad mortem';⁴ valetque quavis aetate Apostoli sententia: 'Qui sunt Christi carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis.'⁵ Quas utinam virtutes multo nunc plures sic colerent, ut homines sanctissim, praeteritorum temporum! Qui demissione animi, obedientia, abstinencia 'potentes' fuerunt 'opere et sermone,' emolumento maximo nedum religiosae rei sed publicae ac civilis.

Ex quo virtutum evangelicarum velut contemptu, quae perperam *passivae* appellantur, primum erat sequi; ut religiosae etiam vitae despectus sensim per animos pervaderet. Atque id novarum opinionum fautoribus commune esse, coniecit ex eorum sententiis quibusdam circa vota quae Ordines religiosi nuncupant. Aiunt enim, illa ad ingenio aetatis nostrae dissidere plurimum utpote quae humanae libertatis fimes coerceant; esseque ad infirmos animos magis quam ad fortes apta; nec admodum valere ad christianam perfectionem humanaeque consociationis bonum, quin potius utrique rei obstare atque officere. Verum haec quam falso dicantur, ex usu doctrinaeque Ecclesia facile patet, cui religiosum vivendi genus maxime semper probatum est. Nec sane immerito: nam qui, a Deo vocati, illud sponte sua amplectantur, non contenti communibus praeceptorum officiis, in evangelica euntes consilia, Christo se milites strenuos paratosque ostendunt. Hocne debilius esse animorum putabimus? aut noxium? Uni ita se votorum religione obstringunt, adeo sunt a libertatis iactura remoti, ut multo pleniori ac nobiliore fruantur, ea nemque *qua Christus nos liberavit*.

Quod autem addunt, religiosam vivendi rationem aut non omnino aut parum Ecclesiae iuvandae esse, praeterquamquod religiosis Ordinibus invidiosum est, nemo unus certe sentiet, qui Ecclesiae annales evolverit. Ipsae vestrae foederatae civitates num non ab alumnis religiosarum familiarum fidei pariter atque humanitatis initia habuerunt? quorum uni nuper, quod plane

¹ Rom. viii. 29.² Heb. xiii. 8.³ Matth. xi. 29.⁴ Phil. ii. 8.⁵ Galat. v. 24.⁶ Galat. iv. 31.

vobis laudi fuit, statuam publice ponendam decrevistis. Nunc vero, hoc ipso tempore, quam alacrem, quam frugiferam catholicae rei religiosi coetus, ubicumque ii sunt, navant operam! Quam pergunt multi novas oras Evangelio imbuere et humanitatis fines propagare; idque per summam animi contentionem summaque pericula! Ex ipsis, haud minus quam e clero cetero, plebs christiana verbi Dei praecones conscientiaeque moderatores, iuventus institutores habet, Ecclesia denique omnis sanctitatis exempla. Nec discrimen est laudis inter eos qui actuosum vitae genus sequuntur, atque illos, qui, recessu delectati, orando afflictandoque corpori vacant. Quam hi etiam praeclare de hominum societate meruerint, mereant, ii norunt profecto qui, quid ad placandum conciliandumque Numen possit *deprecatio iusti assidua*,¹ minime ignorant, ea maxime quae cum afflictatione corporis conjuncta est.

Si qui igitur hoc magis adamant, nullo votorum vinculo, in coetum unum coalescere, quod malint, faxint; nec novum id in Ecclesia nec improbabile institutum. Caveant tamen ne illud prae religiosis Ordinibus extollant; quin potius, cum modo ad fruendum voluptatibus proclivius, quam ante, sit hominum genus, longe pluris ii sunt habendi qui, *relictis omnibus sequuti sunt Christum*.

Postremo ne nimiis moremur, via quoque et ratio, qua catholici adhuc sunt usi ad dissidentes revocandos, deserenda edicatur aliaque in posterum adhibenda. Qua in re hoc sufficit advertisse, non prudenter, dilecte Fili Noster, id negligi quod diu experiendo antiquitas comprobavit, apostolicis etiam documentis erudita. Ex Dei verbo habemus,² omnium officium esse proximorum saluti iuvandae operam dare, ordine graduque quem quisque obtinet. Fideles quidem hoc sibi a Deo assignatum munus utillime exequuntur morum integritate christianae caritatis operibus, instante ad Deum ipsum assiduaeque prece. At qui e clero sunt idipsum praestent oportet sapienti Evangelii praedicatione, sacrorum gravitate et splendore, praecipue autem eam in se formam doctrinae exprimentes, quam Tito ac Timotheo Apostolus tradidit. Quod si, e diversis rationibus verbi Dei eloquendi, ea quandoque praeferenda videatur, qua ad dissidentes non in templis dicant sed privato quovis honesto loco, nec ut qui disputent sed ut qui amice colloquantur; res quidem reprehensione caret: modo tamen ad id muneris auctoritate Episco-

¹ Iac. v. 16.² Ecol. vii. 4.

porum ii destinentur, qui scientiam integritatemque suam antea ipsis probaverint. Nam plurimos apud vos arbitramur esse, qui ignoratione magis quam voluntate a catholicis dissident; quos ad unum Christi ovile facilius forte adducet qui veritatem illis proponat amico quodam familiarique sermone.

Ex his igitur, quae huc usque disseruimus, patet, dilecte Fili Noster, non posse Nobis opiniones illas probari, quarum summam *Americanismi* nomine nonnulli indicant. Quo si quidem nomine peculiaria animi ornamenta, quae, sicut alia nationes alias, Americae populos decorant, significare velint; item si statum vestrarum civitatum, si leges moresque quibus utimini, non est profecto cur ipsum reiiciendum censeamus. At si illud usurpandum ideo est, ut doctrinae superius allatae, non indicentur modo, immo vero etiam cohonestentur; quodnam est dubium, quin Venerabiles Fratres Nostri Episcopi Americae, ante ceteros, repudiaturi ac damnaturi sint utpote ipsis totique eorum genti quam maxime iniuriosum? Suspicionem enim id iniicit esse apud vos, qui Ecclesiam in America aliam effingant et velint, quam quae in universis regionibus est. Una, unitate doctrinae sicut unitate regiminis, eaque catholica est Ecclesia: cuius quoniam Deus in Cathedra Beati Petri centrum ac fundamentum esse statuit, iure Romana dicitur *ubi enim Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*.¹ Quam ob rem quicumque catholico nomine censi vult, is verba Hieronymi ad Damasum Pontificem usurpare ex veritate debet: 'Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum, sequens, beatitudini tuae, idest Cathedrae Petri communione consocior: super illam petram aedificatam Ecclesiam scio; quicumque tecum non collegit sparagit.'

Haec, dilecte Fili Noster, quae, singularibus litteris, officio muneris ad te damus, ceteris etiam foederatarum civitatum Episcopis communicanda curabimus; caritatem iterum testantes, qua gentem vestram universam complectimur; quae sicut elapsis temporibus multa pro religione gessit, maiora etiam in posterum, Deo feliciter opitulante, praestituram portendit. Tibi autem et fidelibus. Americae omnibus Apostolicam benedictionem, divino-rum subsidiorum auspicem amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxii mensis Ianuarii MDCCCXCIX, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ S. Ambr. in Ps. xi, 57.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE EMMET FAMILY : WITH SOME INCIDENTS RELATING TO IRISH HISTORY. By Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D., LL.D. Privately printed. Large 4to. New York, 1898.

LATELY has been issued in New York a most interesting and valuable work on the subject of Irish biography and history. This comes from the pen of an Irish-American gentleman, well-known in the United States for his exalted public position, career, and character, as also for his active zeal and practical sympathy with every movement having for its object the welfare of our people, both in the great Republic and in Ireland. The author is grandson, and, moreover, a full namesake, to the celebrated Thomas Addis Emmet connected with the insurrection of 1798, who took such a prominent part in its proceedings, and who afterwards, as a forced exile from his native country, received such deserved honour and respect in the land of his adoption. The opening chapters of the magnificent work that here claims our notice deal with the documentary and traditional history of the Emmet Family, of whom no less than four distinct branches, in Waterford, in Limerick, in Tipperary, and in Kildare, are known to have been settled in Ireland, during the reign of King Charles I. The author's immediate ancestors were his great-grandfather, Dr. Robert Emmet, who became an eminent physician in Dublin, and who was the father of seventeen children, only four of whom lived beyond childhood, viz., Christopher Temple, Thomas Addis, Maryanne, and Robert. Although Dr. Richard Robert Madden, in his *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*, has given us pretty complete details of the Emmet family, with whom, many years ago, he became intimate in New York and in other places throughout the United States; yet it remained for his dear friend, our author, who has already attained his seventieth year, to supplement that valuable record, with various interesting particulars and original documents, which serve to illustrate most thoroughly the whole history of his race. It is quite needless for us to dwell at length on these memorials of the dead and living Emmets; because it should prove an impossible task, even within the strictest limit of condensation, to delineate

the characters and acts of the different talented persons passing under our review. The uncommon labour and research bestowed on his work are manifest throughout the author's grand volume, containing no fewer than 411 large 4to pages, including a copious Index, besides a Preface, and a fac-simile of his handwriting as an inscription :—

‘ With my love I dedicate this volume to my children, and do so with the hope that they may realize a just pride in the record of those who, in the past, have so honestly filled their places in life. A sentiment which, if properly appreciated, must needs bear good fruit from the example thus set forth for emulation.—Thomas Addis Emmett, M.D.’

Not the least important additions to the pages are no fewer than 165 full-sized and most beautiful lithographs and photo-gravures, with arms of the Emott, Emmott, Emmett, Emmett, and Emmet families—as the name has been found diversely written—while the heraldic devices are in gold and colours. These illustrations comprise numbers of family portraits, taken at different ages, and under a variety of aspects, genealogies, and pedigrees, *fac-similes* of interesting historic documents, monuments and tombs, with Irish and American homesteads, many having since disappeared, and of which no other sketches or traces remain. Among these may be mentioned Casino, near Miltown, and Newgate Prison, Dublin. Probably one of the most interesting of the *fac-similes* is that issued by the British Government, after the trial of Robert Emmett, on the 19th of September, 1803. It was headed: ‘ The Trial and Dying Behaviour of Mr. R. Emmett, who was Executed, September 20th, for High Treason.—Together with his Solemn Exhortation to his Countrymen to reject the proffered Friendship and Assistance of Despotic, Cruel and Perfidious France.’ This base forgery was circulated *gratis* among the citizens of Dublin through the Castle agency; and it was intended to serve the double purpose of lowering Robert Emmet in the people's affections, and of causing them to distrust the sympathy of France towards Ireland, after the shameful and disastrous measure of Union with England had been carried.

The coloured paper and the worn type of the street hand-bill have their own special interest.

No public library in Ireland, or elsewhere, can be complete without Dr. Emmet's great biographical and historical work; of all his other works and essays, valuable as they are, it is destined to become that through which his fame as a writer

shall best be perpetuated; and yet we regret exceedingly that it has been issued for family and private circulation solely, with some few of our public Libraries receiving presentation copies. It should be a loss to the general body of readers if this resolution of having it a scarce work from the start be persevered in; for, sooner or later, a second edition shall be required from some of the New York or American great publishing firms. The compliment conferred on the Maynooth Library is indeed great, when this sumptuous volume, elegant in all the requirements of printing, illustration, and binding, is reserved for deposit there; and it shall be perused by generations of professors and *alumni* of Ireland's grand Ecclesiastical College with feelings of delight and gratitude for the author's rare gift. It abounds in reading which is quite original, both in the subjects and text; it is compiled with the care and industry employed as a labour of love; it is arranged with an order, and executed throughout with a judicious treatment, and in a clear narrative that enhance the interest and information conveyed in each chapter; while it closes with an account of the children and descendants of Thomas Addis and Jane Patten Emmet, who settled in New York 1804. How well these have filled their respective stations in society, and as Irish-American citizens of the great Republic, the work of Dr. Emmet furnishes an imperishable record down to this closing year of the present century.

J. C. O'H.

LIFE OF THE HON. MRS. EDWARD PETRE. In Religion Sister Mary of St. Francis, of the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. By A. M. Clarke. With a Preface by the Right Hon. Lord Clifford. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co. 1899. 5s. 6d. net.

THIS most interesting and edifying biography is a welcome addition to the Catholic literature of recent times. It presents to us a personage who deserves attention, not only on account of her noble origin and saintly life in the world, but, particularly on account of her fervent piety and the example of religious zeal and self-sacrifice which she displayed in the cloister, when once she had resolved to devote herself exclusively to the service of God. There is a touch of romance, as well as of heroism, in the history of many of the old Catholic families of England, who braved the storms of persecution, and, in spite of penalties and

threats, clung nobly to the old faith throughout the long nights and the dark days when the hand of the world was against them, and the hand of a loving Providence, unseen but ever present, guided them through so many perils. It must be said that they are reaping richly the rewards of their fidelity, not only in the universal esteem and respect in which they are held at the present time, but in the rich treasures of grace which God seems to bestow so abundantly upon them, thus continuing in prosperity what He vouchsafed in adversity. On none of them have these favours been so richly bestowed as on the family of Lord Stafford, the Jerninghams of former days, with which this biography deals ; and few have yielded more willingly to the influences of grace, or more generously co-operated with them, than the members of the household of Coctessey, to whom we are introduced by Miss Clarke.

The life of the Hon. Laura Jerningham is interesting at every stage—in the schoolroom, in the family circle, in charge of a large and involved estate, which she had to set in order when she married the Hon. Edward Petre. But as Lord Clifford, in his interesting preface to the present volume, remarks, she will always be best remembered for her zeal and piety as a nun, and particularly ‘ for the large share she had in founding the English houses of the Order of Notre Dame.’ Some time ago, in reviewing the *Life of the Venerable Julie Billiart*, founder of this order, we called attention to these important educational establishments. To their success in England Lord Clifford bears the strongest testimony :—

How much [he writes] these houses have done for the Catholic poor schools of this country, especially in the work of training teachers for them, is the common knowledge of all who take the slightest interest in the subject. How useful her fortune was in the inception of this great work, and how opportunely its assistance came, it is difficult now to realise.

The work is splendidly brought out by the Art and Book Co., and is illustrated by no less than twenty handsome plates, representing personages and places mentioned in the memoir. We heartily recommend the work for all convents and religious libraries.

J. F. H.



DR. RUSSELL'S 'LIFE OF MEZZOFANTI:'

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN

IN the beginning of March, the parish priest of St. Catherine, in Bologna, wrote to me as the representative of Dr. C. W. Russell, the biographer of that chief glory of Bologna, Cardinal Mezzofanti. For it is remarkable that the work of an Irishman has been accepted by Italy herself as the adequate, final, and authoritative biography of her great polyglot cardinal. The Abate Fantelli wrote in the hope that I might have some documents, or other relics of the illustrious linguist, capable of being utilized by the committee who have at last undertaken the duty of erecting a suitable memorial to his honour in his native city. This application has led me to examine a collection of letters which I had grouped together as bearing upon what I believe to be one of the finest pieces of literature ever yet published by any Irish priest. Dr. Russell had, evidently, considered these letters worth preserving; for he was by no means one of those who let epistolary rubbish accumulate indefinitely. He seems to have destroyed at once what he did not wish to preserve. For instance, in rummaging through his papers, I have never once been startled by the ghost of any old letter of my own.

The linguistic biography in question, Dr. Russell's most finished work, was, like many another, begun almost (as we say) by accident. Southey's best book, *The Life of Nelson*,

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. V.—MAY, 1899.

2 B

grew out of an article contributed to *The Quarterly Review* ; the *Life of Mezzofanti* grew out of an article in the great rival quarterly, *The Edinburgh Review*. The editor at that time, soon after the middle of the century which has now only a year and a half to run, was Sir George Cornwall Lewis, whom Gladstone, as Dr. Russell mentioned to me, once paired with Lord Acton, then a commoner ; these two being, he said, the only really learned men in the House of Commons. I wonder did he secretly bracket himself with them as a good third. *The Edinburgh Review* was then in its zenith, for the brilliant but rather bumptious essays of Macaulay were supposed to be the consummate and perfect flower of periodical literature. The honour of admission into the Blue-and-Yellow would have been a sufficient reward for researches the most laborious, even apart from the very liberal *honorarium* that was sure to follow ; and I can readily imagine that Dr. Russell, who had already been for several years the real editor of *The Dublin Review*, was never more deeply gratified than when the editor of *The Edinburgh Review* signified his acceptance of an article embodying the result of months of study and inquiry about Mezzofanti, and his most famous rivals in the knowledge of many languages. Those fifty pages of print formed, indeed, in themselves a solid treatise on this subject. Whatever Sir G. C. Lewis may have said at the time, a few years later he gave expression to the feelings with which he had received the Maynooth Professor's contribution. He had, meanwhile, succeeded to his father's baronetcy, and ceased to be editor ; and, indeed, the number in which Dr. Russell made his *début* as an Edinburgh reviewer was, probably, the last edited by him. At least in that year, 1855, he resigned after a short term of three years ; whereas his successor, Mr. Henry Reeve, the editor of *The Greville Memoirs*, reigned from 1855 till his death, in 1896. When Sir G. C. Lewis wrote the letter we are about to quote, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Palmerston's Government ; and a successful one in a very difficult time. All this makes it the more extraordinary that *The Edinburgh Review* itself should make so gross a blunder as it falls into in its obituary

of Mr Reeve, in January, 1896 : 'It was in 1855, upon the death of Sir George Cornwall Lewis, that he assumed the editorship of the *Review*;' the fact being, that Mr. Reeve's predecessor survived till April, 1863, and played, meanwhile, a prominent part in public life. Probably the writer of the notice was Mr. Reeve's newly-appointed successor, who in his first fervour looked upon the editorial chair of *The Edinburgh* as a throne of bliss and glory, from which the happy occupant could not willingly be ousted by any less formidable agency than death.

KENT HOUSE, KNIGHTSBRIDGE,

May 6th, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter, and also the volume which you have had the kindness to send me, for which I beg you to accept my best thanks.

I had much satisfaction in accepting your interesting article ; and I trust that this preliminary publication of your biographical sketch was the means of inviting communications which you might not otherwise have received, and of thus giving greater completeness and value to your present work.

I remain,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

G. C. LEWIS.

Rev. Dr. RUSSELL,
&c., &c.

The Mezzofanti article immediately attracted great attention. It was at once translated into French as well as into the Italian Cardinal's native language ; and Dr. Russell received, through the editor of the *Review*, very many letters from strangers, urging him to complete the biography, and promising additional materials. I have not found any of these letters among Dr. Russell's papers. No doubt he destroyed them after having turned them to good account in preparing his book. They, probably, resembled the following, which reached after the book had appeared, and which was, therefore, preserved to be employed in a new edition. Does it not bear very minute and authentic witness

to Mezzofanti's wonderful proficiency in a language so alien to southern organs of speech as Welsh?

ABERAYRON, CARDIGANSHIRE,
April 19th, 1860.

REV. SIR,—I have just finished reading your *Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti*. I did not know till lately that you had published such a work, otherwise I would have written to inform you that I had two interviews with him in the winter of 1840-1. It was at his own special request that the second interview took place. Being myself a Welshman, and having heard that the Cardinal was conversant with my native language, I was very glad to have the opportunity of putting him to the test. I soon discovered that he knew the language well, and that he could read it perfectly well, and that, although he could not speak it fluently, still that he could pronounce the words as well as I could myself. This, as it appeared to me, was most extraordinary. He could pronounce the *ch* and the double *l* as distinctly and as accurately as any native of Wales. The sound of the *ll* is peculiar, I believe, to the Welsh language. And I have not heard that any Englishman or any foreigner is able properly to pronounce the *ll*.

I saw several Welsh books in his possession, such as Welsh dictionaries and grammars. You mention in your book, that Mr. Harford heard His Eminence speaking Welsh. I am almost certain that Mr. Harford knew nothing of Welsh; so you had better, I think, bar him out as one of the witnesses. You are quite at liberty to make any use you please of this note.

I remain, Rev. Sir,
Yours very respectfully,

EVAN JONES.

My address is as follows :—

REV. EVAN JONES, B.D.,
Incumbent of St. Alban's,
Aberayron,
Cardiganshire,
South Wales.

The Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D.

ABERAYRON, CARDIGANSHIRE,
April 28th, 1860.

REV. SIR,—What I meant to say was, that I had never known or heard of any Englishman or foreigner who could pronounce properly such Welsh words as the following :—*Llaw* (Hand), *Cyllell* (knife), *Hollallnog* (Almighty). As far as my information goes, the sound of the diphthong *ll* in Welsh is peculiar to that language. I am not aware that a similar sound occurs in any other language in the world.

The guttural *ch* many people by a little practice can manage to pronounce very well. To my ear the two letters *ch* have the same sound as they have in the German word *Nach*. Possibly the Welsh sound is harsher and more guttural.

I can fully corroborate what you say in your interesting work of the urbanity and amiability of Cardinal Mezzofanti. In fact, he was humility and simplicity itself.

I remain,

Very respectfully yours,

EVAN JONES.

The Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D.

During the years 1856 and 1857, Dr. Russell prosecuted his researches, which involved a tedious and very extensive correspondence over all parts of the world, often with missionaries outside the range of ordinary postal communication. An immense amount of labour and out-of-the-way reading was exacted also by the 'introductory Memoir of eminent linguists, ancient and modern,' which was prefixed to the account of Mezzofanti, in order—as the municipality of Bologna said in returning thanks for a volume which 'had illustrated the life of one of the principal and most renowned of their fellow-citizens'—'in order that by comparison with these the prodigy and marvel of the Bolognese polyglot might stand out and shine forth the more.'

The volume was printed in Dublin, and published in London. The publishers were naturally the publishers of the Review in which the original sketch had appeared—the great firm of Longmans. The printers were Goodwin and Nethercott, of 79, Marlborough-street, Dublin, a firm which no longer exists. Miss Maria Nethercott, who died a most holy and happy death a few months ago, told me that she well remembered how her father used to speak of the urbanity of their Maynooth client. This may have been one of the influences used by God to draw this candid soul into the Church. For some years before her death she was a devout and earnest Catholic.

As we have several interesting letters to produce, we shall merely transcribe a memorandum containing a sentence or two from each of the reviews of the book which appeared within the first four months after its publication: in *The*

Examiner, May 8th; *Daily News*, May 13th; *Tablet*, May 15th; *Globe*, May 17th; *Guardian*, May 19th; *Dublin Evening Post*, May 20th; *John Bull*, May 22nd and June 19th; *Literary Gazette*, May 22nd; *Dublin Evening Mail*, May 26th; *Athenæum*, May 29; *Leader*, June 5th; *Rambler*, July; *Westminster Review*, July; *Morning Post*, July 5th; *Critic*, July 10th; *Spectator*, July 10th; *English Churchman*, Sept. 2nd; *Saturday Review*, Sept. 18th.

Here are a few phrases from some of these criticisms :—

Dr. Russell writes with ease and elegance, like a Christian gentleman and a scholar; and Christians of all denominations will close his book with a feeling of respect. Some of the references in his notes, which are quite as interesting as the text, bear testimony to his cosmopolitan spirit of reading and research.—*Athenæum*.

Such a memorial was required. The prodigy was so astonishing, that, in order to make it credible, it was desirable that testimonies should be collected in time.—*Westminster Review*.

To judge by this memoir, Dr. Russell must be an extremely well-informed, accomplished, and liberal-minded man. well acquainted with English literature, ancient and modern. The preliminary essay, on remarkable linguists, ancient and modern, displays a great deal of learning, and the writer keeps himself and his opinions in the background throughout the work in a manner which is both very pleasing and very unusual.—*Literary Gazette*.

The performances of Dr. Russell, Cardinal Wiseman, and the Texas Missionary, this year, incline one to the belief that the Eternal City is no bad school for training an agreeable writer.—*Saturday Review*.

The learned author has fully satisfied the expectations that were excited, both in Italy and at home, when it was known that he was engaged on the work.—*Rambler*.

A particularly attractive and entertaining story, constructed with great industry, and incorporating a large amount of original materials.—*Leader*.

A complete catalogue of wonders.—*John Bull*.

What a biography ought to be.—*Morning Post*.

The materials are judiciously handled. The facts are presented with perfect impartiality.—*Spectator*.

We close our notice of Dr. Russell's highly interesting biography, heartily commending him for the great pains he has bestowed on it.—*Critic*.

We may add the opinions of two continental critics. The *Civiltà Cattolica*, in two long and elaborate criticisms,

welcomed the Italian translation of a work which had induced the savants of Bologna to desist from an undertaking that would seem to belong of right to the city, or at least to the country of Mezzofanti.

By his personal acquaintance with the great linguist [says the Italian writer], by his own accurate knowledge of various languages, by the extent of his general erudition, and his devotion in particular to philological science, nay, even by his local position near the commercial centre of the world, and by his calm northern solidity of judgment, the Irish scholar was eminently qualified to place worthily before posterity the peculiar merits of Cardinal Mezzofanti.

The *Etudes*, the erudite literary magazine conducted by the French Jesuits in Paris, devoted to the same Italian translation of Dr. Russell's work, a long review from which we extract the following sentences :—

Dr. Russell has raised to the memory of Cardinal Mezzofanti, the foremost linguist that the world has ever seen, a monument more durable than the marble which marks his tomb beside the poet Tasso in the Church of St. Onufrio on the Janiculum. Honour to this learned Maynooth Professor who has forestalled the Italians themselves in rendering worthy homage to their great countryman, and has forced them to be content with a translation of his work. And, indeed, it would have been impossible for them to rival the indefatigable diligence, learning, and candour of the present biographer. The vast correspondence, toilsome and costly, in which he engaged in order to ascertain the precise truth regarding often the most minute particulars, is in itself a sufficient proof of the conscientiousness with which he has achieved his task. He never deals in general assertions. He lays before us and weighs impartially the various testimonies favourable and adverse, and thus places beyond doubt the conclusions he embraces.

Weighty as these testimonies undoubtedly are, the reader will be more interested in the estimate of the three English cardinals of our half century—for we need not class with them the present Archbishop of Westminster who is rather a cardinal of the twentieth century.

THE ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM,

June 23rd, 1858.

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—I hope you will not think me tardy in acknowledging your kind present. When the book first came

one of our fathers took possession of it, and when he brought it back I did not like to acknowledge the gift till I had had the pleasure of making acquaintance with it.

It is, indeed, a very delightful book, most interesting and suggestive, and full of information. I cannot say that I have read it continuously, but I have had it on my table, and profited by it when I had leisure during the day.

I trust it will have a very good influence on our Protestant brethren. It is so singular as to startle the common reader, and most impressive as a lesson, to see such gifts as Cardinal Mezzofanti had, united, not only to such simplicity and amiableness, but such deep piety, such cloudless intimate faith, and such devotion to the See of Peter.

One of our invalid fathers returned last night from the Continent, I trust, restored—for this we ought to be very thankful. The other, Father Flanagan,¹ is still a cause of deep anxiety to us. I hope you are all well at Maynooth. So you would not give us a Vice-Rector. For me, I have been more tied here lately than months ago—yesterday I was the only priest here with faculties in the house.

Ever yours affectionately in Christ,

JOHN H. NEWMAN,

Of the Oratory.

P.S.—If you happen to be able to answer the following questions, will you do it in due time?—1. Where can I find a version of the Hippolytus controversy, with the theories, arguments, &c., which have been put forward, *in English*? Is there not some North American theological work which does the kind of thing? 2. Do you know of any comment on the Rule of St. Dominic, or history of, or dissertation on the Order, *e.g.*, Marchese, &c., have treated of it in respect of its *artists*. What standard books are there besides Enétif, Molvenda, Tournon, and the Bollandists?

ST. MARY'S, BAYSWATER.

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—I have to thank you for your kindness in sending me your *Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti* which I in no way deserve—for I have felt not only that I did not assist you, but that I left your last letter unanswered. I have been both sorry and ashamed, and can only plead the press of work, and endless interruption of time which comes on me in this restless London. Moreover, I was starting for Rome, and had in hand a work beyond my strength, which the Cardinal laid upon me. I mean to make your book the companion of my first

¹ Now, forty years later, P.P. of Adare, and Dean of Limerick.

holiday, and I shall read it with double interest, both of its own, and for the pleasure I have in everything of yours.

Now, I have a matter with which I have connected you in my own mind, it is a translation from the German of Hurter's *Innocent III.* It must have a preface, and yours is the hand to write it to make it a pair with the *Systema Theologicum*, to which it is somewhat analogous.

As I hope to meet you at Ushaw, I will wait till then to say more, and only ask you to believe me,

My dear Dr. RUSSELL,
Yours gratefully and affectionately,
H. E. MANNING,

I think those who hold that character is betrayed by handwriting might support their opinion by comparing the two preceding letters (copied, like all the rest, from the originals), and also Cardinal Wiseman's which follows. Lord Brougham, too, whom we shall quote presently, seems to show his strong and his weak points in the peculiarities of his writing. Here may be introduced the remarks of Mr. T. Placket, in a letter to *The Tablet*, with reference to *The Dublin Review* :—

During my apprenticeship as compositor, from 1851 to 1858 (and before and after), it was printed at Richardson & Sons, Derby. During the period that I worked upon it, it was practically edited by Dr. Russell of Maynooth College. Rarely a number went to press without at least one article from the pen of Cardinal Wiseman. There was also, amongst others, a gentleman named Finlayson (a barrister), who constantly wrote for it, and whose handwriting was so bad that the compositors were paid extra when working from it. Cardinal Wiseman always wrote on foolscap, and in a noble, flowing hand, with plenty of space between the lines; but his proofs were very heavy with corrections. Dr. Russell also wrote a flowing hand, but smaller and the lines much closer together. Somehow or other, *The Dublin*—like most other publications with which I have been and am connected—seemed always behind as the day of publication drew near, and we usually had to make a night or two of it.

Mr. Placket mentions that Father Faber—from whom we shall also give a letter in memory of Mezzofanti—'printed in the same place. He wrote on quarto paper, in an exceedingly small hand, and the lines were very close

together. A page of his manuscript was a picture to look at, but difficult and trying to work from.'

LEYTON, N.E.,
May 17th, 1858

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—I wrote to Dr. O'Brien the moment I received your letter, and to-day's post brought me his answer, which I enclose. Yours of the 15th arrived with it, so no time has been lost.

Many thanks for your *Mezzofanti*, which everyone finds most interesting and excellent. I have only one fault to find, that you have given me a place to which I have no claim. My first has been a glance all through, to be succeeded by a full and minute perusal. This will, I doubt not, confirm my first impressions.

To-morrow I will send you the copy of the *Four Popes*, corrected about the Bishop of Dromore.¹ I am in the country here, going exactly through the Vichy course, waters, baths, diet, hours, &c. The complaint which took me to Vichy two years ago, had been making head, and to save so long a journey, I am giving the system a home trial, which after ten days seems to be answering very well. I go into London every Tuesday for a consultation, and for my soirée, and that is all.

I am ever
Your affectionate Friend in Christ,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

From these quasi-ecclesiastical judgments (from which we have not removed all the observations that are irrelevant to the present subject), we may pass abruptly to a very characteristic letter from the celebrated War Correspondent of *The Times* newspaper, Dr. William H. Russell; after whom we shall quote Dean Milman, the author of the *History of Latin Christianity*:—

THE PRIORY, SIMLA,
N. W. PROVINCES, INDIA.
June 30th, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had been reading a notice of the *Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti* in one of the papers which came out by the last mail, and was rejoicing that we had left in Ireland one who could or would do something for our good name in literature,

¹He had printed a rather disparaging anecdote about Dr. Michael Blake, 'as the good old bishop has gone to his reward.' But he had not—he was alive.

when, to my pleasure and surprise, I received in an enclosure from *The Times* office, your very kind and courteous letter, offering me a copy of the book in terms which afford me sensible gratification, little as I deserve them.

I am not quite so cosmopolitan as to make no difference betwixt Trojan and Tyrian, and your gift is all the more acceptable to me because it comes from the hands of a fellow-countryman; still more so, as it is at the same time the work of the hands which bestow it.

Were I endowed as the Cardinal himself with that wonderful gift of tongues, I could not be more expressive than I am when I say that, in all sincerity, I thank you most heartily and most truly. I hope you may be permitted life and leisure to keep alive the feeble lamp which, flickering, and all but dying now, was once a bright light to the nations, and to show that the *perfidum genus Scotorum* is not quite extinct. Here, thousands of miles away, I am living under the more than regal sway of the great Irishman to whom England owes the preservation of India, amid wild tribes of the hills whose languages were unknown even to Mezzofanti, and within sight of the great monument which his brother, Henry Lawrence, unwittingly raised to his own memory, when in the name of Christianity, and of humanity, he founded in a mountain of the Himalayas a refuge for the children of the soldiers whom the country would have consigned to the cruel mercies of the world.

I have stood beside the grave of Nicholson, the first soldier in India, and I have seen how our Irish soldiers bear themselves strong and terrible in battle; but I feel that even on such fields we are swallowed up and lost in the great conglomerate of races—that the statesman, the soldier, the Christian hero, the warrior, must all work for England; and that it is in literature alone the nationality of Ireland can be kept distinctive, self-illustrative, and fame-giving, and the name of Irishman endowed with honours all its own.

In the hope some day of making your acquaintance¹—we are, no doubt, of the same stock—*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*, though I have 'fallen away' from the Church,

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

W. H. RUSSELL.

¹ I have printed elsewhere another letter from this Dr. W. H. Russell to his namesake, and, curiously enough, dated from the house in which Dr. C. W. Russell was afterwards to die—Judge O'Hagan's residence, 22, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.

DEANERY, ST. PAUL'S,

May 12th, 1858.

REVEREND SIR,—I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the present of your book. I have read it with great interest. You have done full justice, and, in my opinion, very judiciously, no more than justice to the Cardinal. By not raising him on too high a pedestal, you will secure for him the respect and honour due to a man endowed with such very rare and extraordinary gifts. It is too much to expect that such a marvellous practical faculty of acquiring languages should be united with the profound philosophy of men like M. Humboldt; and, we must bear in mind, that the modern science of language has grown up since Mezzofanti reached his prime. Perhaps, the two gifts could hardly be crowded into the same mind: one requiring a quickness and activity of perception hardly compatible with the slow reasoning process necessary for the other.

I venture, in case of a second edition (which I cannot doubt will soon be demanded), to send you the following observations: In the very full and curious list of men distinguished for acquirements in language, you have left out the name of Mr. Wotton, a very extraordinary man, especially in his youth. You do not seem to know Count Cicognara's important work on which his fame rests, his *Storia della Scultura*—the book on the subject; and which, if, as I doubt not, a lover of art, you will read with pleasure.

P. 257. Is the second line of the Greek epigram right?

P. 347. In the Greek epigram, for *μονόνυ* read *πανόνυ*.

I fear that when you mention my interview with Mezzofanti, 'many years' would be more appropriate than *several*. It took place more than thirty years ago. I have outlived all my excellent friends, the Hares, four brothers, three of whom were very remarkable men.

Allow me, in conclusion, to express my strong feeling of the very liberal and Christian spirit in which the whole book appears to me to be written, and believe me,

With much respect,

Faithfully yours,

H. H. MILMAN.

Rev. Dr. RUSSELL, &c., &c.

The brilliant Oratorian, Father Faber, ought not to have been so far separated from his still more illustrious brother, the Provost of the Birmingham Oratory.

THE ORATORY, BROMPTON,

LONDON, S. W.,

May 5th, 1858.

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—Pray accept my best thanks for the copy of your *Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti* which you have been so

good as to send me. I shall value it extremely as a kind present from yourself, and it will interest me greatly, as the Cardinal was kind to me at Rome. I am already devouring the Introductory Memoir, which quite fascinates me.

Believe me, my dear Dr. Russell,

With great respect,

Most faithfully yours,

F. W. FABER,

Cong. Orat.

The Chevalier Bunsen is by no means as brief as the author of *All for Jesus*:—

CHARLOTTENBERG, near HEIDELBERG,

16th October, 1898.

MY DEAR SIR,—Few of the many letters received this year have given so great a pleasure as yours of May 6th, and few books have I read with greater pleasure than your admirable account of Mezzofanti, of whose biography I received, at the same time, a most valuable present in the shape of two copies. I had not the remotest idea that it would be possible to unite so many and so valuable materials as this book of yours presents. So it is: the *divinus vates* does not create the hero; but he reproduces him in a tangible shape, and in forms everlasting.

The book has been very favourably reviewed in the *Augsburg Gazette* and in other much-read periodicals. Everybody now reads English; but still I should wish to see a German translation of the book made, and I take the second copy with me to Berlin and Leipzig, for which I start in a few hours, to take my seat in the *Herrenhaus* on the 20th, and assist at the Prince's solemn act of taking the oath to the constitution on the 21st. I hope to find a good translator, and Brockhaus as a publisher. I shall communicate to you the result, for obtaining your consent, after my return to this place, whence I mean, D.V., to proceed to Nice or Mentone early in December. If, perhaps, you have to communicate new materials or considerations, that might be an accessory inducement for the publisher to undertake the German edition for the public at large. A letter of yours, directed to my address as above (Grand Duchy of Baden), will always safely reach me.

I shall take the liberty of sending you the first volume of my *Biblework*, containing the Introduction and Pentateuch. Much as you will differ in many points, I am sure you will find me sincere in my pursuit, which is not denominational, but a humble desire of being useful to the Christian people at large, on behalf of the understanding of the Word of God in the Bible. As an *Appendix* to the *Introduction*, you will find an article upon Mai's posthumous edition of the Cod. Vat. I am sure it is not unjust

nor unequitable: I might have said much more. The book is a failure: the truly learned editor knows it fully well, and, indeed, acknowledges it. I hope he will give us a decent edition of that precious manuscript.

In the Preface to my *Egypt*, English Edition, Vol. III., which is to appear on the 5th of November, you will find two very important and quite recent discoveries mentioned—of an absolute date for Tuthmosis III., and of the existence of pottery in Nile mud, at the depth of 39 feet, equivalent to about 11,000 years B.C.

It would give me sincere pleasure once more to meet you on this globe; but I am afraid I must give up the hope of seeing dear England again—certainly not the next two years. In the meantime, I beg you to accept my best thanks for your kindness, and to preserve to me your kind regard.

Ever yours faithfully,

BUNSEN.

The next letter is copied from the handwriting of Dean Stanley, which was of such a nature as to make a brother Dean remark: 'Surely they would never make that man a bishop—he writes too bad a hand.' The most amiable remembrance connected with this Anglican dignitary is his kindness to his sister, Miss Mary Stanley, after her conversion to the Catholic faith.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,

May 5th, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have to thank you sincerely for your kind remembrance of me in the gift of your interesting *Life of Cardinal Mezzofanti* just received. I have not had time to do more than glance up and down the pages, and I am not able to judge of the linguistic powers of the wonderful Cardinal; but I cannot forbear to express the pleasure which I feel in the candid and Christian spirit which (if I may be allowed to say so) appears to me to pervade the whole book.

I remain,

Yours very faithfully,

A. P. STANLEY.

In the chorus of approbation that thus greeted the appearance of the *Life of Mezzofanti*, there were, however, two slightly discordant notes. There was one reader who imagined that he had done more for the fame of *The Edinburgh Review* than Sydney Smith, Lord Jeffrey, and Lord Macaulay all together. Lord Brougham fancied

that his high and mighty authority was, on one small point, called in question by Mezzofanti's biographer, before whose name he, therefore, places an indefinite article of disparagement in writing to Dr. R. R. Madden, who may be introduced to some as author of *Lives of the United Irishmen*, and to others as father of the distinguished Dublin physician, Dr. Thomas More Madden. Before writing the following letter, the venerable historian had evidently communicated Lord Brougham's complaint to the lately-appointed President of Maynooth:—

FRASCATI, BLACKBROOK,
25th August, 1858.

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—I would have preferred seeing you and reading from Lord Brougham's letters the two passages in reference to the Mezzofanti work, as I wrote to Lord Brougham I would take that course. However, with *you* I will do what I would not do with many others; and, under the circumstances you mention, I will send you copies, from these two private notes, of the passages which refer to your work; and, considering who the writer is, and the kind of books he reads for recreation and literary information, I think the passages in question show the value he set on the work. I enclose you the extracts above mentioned.

I am, my dear Sir,
Very faithfully yours,
R. R. MADDEN.

Very Rev. Dr. RUSSELL.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM LORD BROUGHAM TO R.R.M.,
DATED 5TH AUGUST, 1858

Do you know anything of a Dr. Russell of your R.C. College, who confounds the Duchess of Devonshire with Madame Necker? He charges me with describing Gibbon's flirtation as being with Madame Necker, whereas he (Dr. Russell) knew it was with the Duchess of D. Now my authority is neither more nor less than Gibbon himself in his Autobiography—not to mention that the Duchess of Devonshire was only a child of 8 or 9 years of age at the time in question.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM LORD BROUGHAM TO R. R. MADDEN
DATED 13TH AUGUST, 1858

I have no doubt from all I have heard from Dr. Russell, and from his book, that he deserves what you say of him. It is very

possible that he only means to dispute the common belief (noted by me) of the scene respecting Gibbon falling on his knees, having occurred to the Duchess of Devonshire, and not that he means to deny Gibbon's having made love to Mademoiselle Curchod, as to which there can be no doubt. The Duchess of Devonshire was born that year, 1751, but Gibbon was acquainted with her many years after (1791), as appears by his correspondence, and the scene alluded to may have been then, contrary to the common belief, which ascribes it to 1757 and Mademoiselle Curchod.

The obnoxious passage occurs in a footnote to page 259 of the *Life of Mezzofanti*, and it certainly attributes an error to the infallible Henry Brougham.

Lady Elizabeth Hervey, daughter of the episcopal Earl of Bristol had, after the death of her first husband, Mr. Forster, married the Duke of Devonshire. She is the true heroine of Gibbon's ludicrous love-scene at Lausanne, described by Lord Brougham, but by him related of Mademoiselle Susan Curchod, afterwards Madame Necker.'

I should be glad to have the letter in which Dr. Russell, while trying to propitiate the offended Lord, evidently stuck to his point, and argued out his case in such a manner as to elicit from Lord Brougham the following reply :—

BROUGHAM,
6th Sept., 1858.

Lord Brougham presents his compliments to Dr. Russell, and thanks him for the kindness of his letter which he only received yesterday, as he had left home some days before.

Lord B. had before receiving Dr. Russell's letter come to the opinion that Dr. Russell only disputed the statement respecting the 'ludicrous scene,' and not that respecting M^dlle. Curchod, having, in 1757 or 1758, been the person to whom Gibbon was attached. Indeed, it was quite impossible that Lady E. Forster could have been the person then, as she was born in that year. Lord B. rather thinks that the 'ludicrous scene' is put earlier by M. Arlaud by a year or two than its real date; but of this he is not quite certain. That Lady E. Forster (Duchess of Devonshire) made Mezzofanti's acquaintance earlier than is mentioned is quite certain. She introduced him to Lord B. in 1816 at Milan or at Rome. She died in 1823.

He is exceedingly sorry to have been the cause of giving Dr. Russell so much trouble; but the passage in his able and interesting work had been misunderstood by a friend of Lord B.'s

who supposed the contradiction related not to the 'scene,' but to the early attachment of Gibbon.

Lord B. is entirely convinced that it was Lady E. Forster and not Mademoiselle Curchod, with whom it happened, and that the common account which he had printed is erroneous.

In his answer to the foregoing, Dr. Russell must have asked leave to add Lord Brougham's testimony about the Cardinal's powers to the materials he was accumulating for future use. The following letter begins by acceding to this request :—

BROUGHAM,

25th Oct., 1858.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 23rd arrived this morning, and I hasten to state that I have not the least objection, but I much regret that I have so very indistinct a recollection of what passed when I was introduced to Mezzofanti. I chiefly can remember the astonishment which I felt on his enumerating many persons with whom he had been able to converse in their own language, which he had had most scanty opportunity of learning, and especially that he had such a knowledge of the *patois* of some districts, never reduced to unity, and much less published in grammar and dictionary. Of this he gave me instances, but I cannot now recollect them. His general conversation was that of a sensible and very intelligent person on all the subjects of which he spoke.

As to the place, what you say makes me doubt. I distinctly recollect a letter of the Duchess inviting me to come to Milan or Rome, and holding out the making his acquaintance as an inducement. My doubt of the place as regards those two, arises from the circumstance of the Duchess having been at both about the same time, and having made several journies (*sic*) between the two in the month of September and first days of October. She passed the rest of the winter at Rome. But it is very possible that she only introduced me by letter to Mezzofanti, and it is certain that Madame Martinelli herself, a most learned Greek scholar, introduced me to him at Bologna, where I was at Christmas on my way from Rome to England. Monti, whom I met at Madame Martinelli's on that occasion, and who accompanied me to Milan the very first day of January, 1817, also saw Mezzofanti. Your statement as to his (Mezzofanti's) not having been at Rome or Milan that year inclines me strongly to the opinion that I saw him at Bologna only.

Yours truly,

H. BROUGHAM

I desire my kind regards to Baron Bunsen, if it is the ex-Prussian Minister.

The last of these characteristic letters, which leave little of his Lordship's original statements unretracted, runs as follows :—

BROUGHAM,

3rd November, 1858.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I have delayed answering more fully your letter, as I have applied to the Duchess of Devonshire's family, and their strong impression is that she did not see Mezzofanti either at Rome or at Milan till later than I had supposed, that is, till after I saw him at Bologna in company with Madame Martinelli, herself a most accomplished scholar, and, certainly, one of the best Grecians I have ever known. I have no recollection of his English, though I must probably have heard him speak it. My impression is, that we conversed in Italian, which I then spoke almost as easily as English, however incorrectly.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

H. BROUGHAM.

Another malcontent was Mr. Thomas Watts, a high official of the British Museum, whose paper, read before the Philological Society in January, 1852, 'On the Extraordinary Powers of Cardinal Mezzofanti as a Linguist,' was the most valuable of the three pamphlets placed, after the manner of quarterlies, at the head of Dr. Russell's article in *The Edinburgh Review*. On the eve of the publication of the book which grew out of that article, Mr. Watts wrote to Dr. Russell in the following terms :—

My expectations of the book are, as you must be aware, very high, but not higher than, I am confident, you will realize. I look for a volume of five hundred pages, in the same tone and spirit, with the same ample information and the same sound criticism, which distinguish the article in *The Edinburgh Review*; and such a volume will, as a matter of course, take its place on the shelves of every library in which literary history and biography are attended to. Your name and Mezzofanti's will, for the future, be inseparably conjoined, to the honour of both.

Mr. Watts asked for five hundred pages, and it is curious to note that the book actually ends with page 502. In acknowledging a presentation copy of the *Life*, on May 8th, 1858, Mr. Watts writes again :—

My prediction will, I am sure, be verified, that it will at once become the standard *Life* of Mezzofanti, and will find its way

into every library that has a shelf of literary history. I observe, however, with great regret, that in this extended version of the biography you have omitted the perhaps too flattering compliments with which you honoured me in the original article in *The Edinburgh Review*.

To this complaint Dr. Russell replied, no doubt, in as soothing a manner as possible; but in his rejoinder of May 14th, Mr. Watts still considers himself aggrieved because he is not mentioned in the Preface (where no one is mentioned except Cardinal Wiseman), and because his name does not occur among the 'eminent linguists' of the Introductory Memoir. Even after Dr. Russell had, in 1863, prefixed a few pages to a re-issue of his work, partly for the purpose of paying a high tribute to Mr. Watts' merits as a linguist, that gentleman still persisted in nursing his grievance.

In 1846, three years before his death, Cardinal Mezzofanti told Father Bresciani, S.J., that he knew seventy-eight languages and dialects. The Cardinal's nephew, Minarelli, makes the number mount up to one hundred and fourteen. 'Il Russell,' as the Italian reviewer styles the President of Maynooth, reduces this calculation somewhat by analyzing it as follows:—

1. Languages frequently tried, and spoken perfectly, thirty.
2. Languages spoken well, but less frequently tried, nine.
3. Languages spoken rarely, eleven.
4. Languages spoken less perfectly still, eight.
5. Languages studied from books, and probably not spoken, thirteen.
6. Dialects of various languages, thirty-nine.

The first class included Latin, ancient and modern Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, German, English, Dutch, Danish, Arabic, Armenian, Koptic, Persian, Turkish, Albanian, Flemish, Polish, Russian, and Chinese. In the fourth class comes our poor Irish.

It is well to note that Cardinal Mezzofanti was most holy and most amiable. At the time of the revolution, which

banished the Pope to Gaeta, he was too ill to follow, and he died in Rome, on the 15th March, 1849. His house, the Palazzo Valentini, on the Piazza Santi Apostoli, is now used as the offices of the Roman Prefecture. Within the last month or two a tablet has been affixed to the wall, bearing this meagre inscription: 'Qui dimorò, qui venne a morte nel giorno xv Marzo MDCCCXLIX, il Cardinale Giuseppe Mezzofanti, Poliglotta Unico.' Unique, indeed, singular, solitary, incomparable, amongst even the most accomplished linguists that have ever used the marvellous gift of human speech.

MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

THE TRIALS OF SOME IRISH MISSIONERS

A.D. 1629-1663.

I.

A PAPER in the I. E. RECORD for August, 1894, giving a short sketch of the martyrdom of three Discalced Carmelite Confessors of St. Patrick's Province, contained passing allusion to the trials borne by the Teresian fathers, among other Irish missionaries of the seventeenth century, in the exercise of their apostolic zeal. More recently, in another place,¹ it was the writer's privilege to recount in detail the circumstances of their glorious, if painful, struggle. And within the past few months a series of original manuscript letters (written either in Latin or Italian) from some of the missionaries themselves to their Superiors-General in Rome, was placed at my disposal, affording me yet a clearer insight into the nature of the difficulties overcome by those religious while planting anew the vine of Carmel in Ireland. Although these letters refer, for the most part, to matters which appeal more directly to the members of the Carmelite Order, still there is much in them that sheds a brighter

light on a very eventful epoch in Irish history. So that it would be a pity if no effort were made to bring, in narrative form, many interesting facts under public notice, before such valuable documents are once more consigned to those archives where, practically, they have remained undisturbed for upwards of two hundred and seventy years.

The letter of earliest date in the series (28th February, 1629) was written by Father Edward of the Kings, first President and, afterwards, Vicar-Provincial of the Irish Discalced Carmelites. Beyond what has already been said concerning the career of this religious—and it is gratifying to be in a position to state, that the letters now before us confirm certain inferences which I had been led to make on a former occasion—nothing need be added in this place with the exception of Father Edward's family name, and the exact year of his birth. He was the son of Christopher Sherlock and Elizabeth Long, and was born at Naas, county Kildare, in 1597 (just six years after the death of St. John of the Cross), receiving the name of John in baptism; consequently, he was only in the thirty-second year of his age when he died in Dublin, on the 7th July, 1629, a short time after his return from Rome, whither he had been summoned in the interests of his province. We find, moreover, that he was professed at Brussels on the 6th of January, 1619. On 22nd of September, the same year, another young Irishman named James Galvin, in religion Brother Seraphinus of St. Patrick, the son of Dominic Galvin and Elizabeth Coppinger, was also admitted to profession at Brussels; but he died at the Carmelite monastery of Lille about the time Fathers Edward of the Kings and Paul of St. Ubaldus left Louvain for Ireland (A.D. 1625).

Having entered on the arduous work of the mission as soon as he and his companion reached Dublin, and hopeful of being able to establish the Order permanently in Ireland in the course of time, Father Edward deemed it prudent to procure special faculties from the Holy See for the more efficient discharge of the sacred ministry among the faithful. Pope Urban VIII. granted his request on the 2nd of December, 1627; and further privileges were obtained in the

years 1629, 1631; and again, in 1635, as appears from a marginal note on the original document, which, it may be said, was never in Father Edward's own possession. It could have been used as evidence of high treason against him in those days; so for greater security it was retained by his superiors in Rome, and a copy was forwarded to the missionary. Happily, the original is still extant, preserved among the letters now under notice. As these 'faculties' indicate very plainly some of the trials reserved for the Irish missionary of that troublous period, the subjoined summary may be acceptable to the reader. The recipient was empowered—

1. To reconcile heretics to the Church, no matter what their nationality, so long as they did not come from countries wherein the Sacred Inquisition was in force.

2. To absolve in cases reserved to the Holy See, even those mentioned in the Bull *Coena Domini*; and to release clerics, whether regular or secular, from various censures.

3. Also, to dispense ecclesiastics in case of their having incurred an irregularity, &c., except when the cause was voluntary homicide. This power might have been exercised in places where there was no bishop or vicar-apostolic; neither was it necessary to apply to the diocesan authorities, even if they could have been consulted without difficulty.

4. To impart the papal blessing, with plenary indulgence, to those whom the holder of the faculties should receive into the Church.

5. To grant a plenary indulgence on the greater festivals throughout the year, at the hour of death, and to penitents on the occasion of a general confession. Also, to grant an indulgence of forty or fifty days at pleasure.

6. Permission was given to keep and read heretical and all other prohibited books, with a view to the more easy refutation of the erroneous opinions of the enemies of the Church. Such books, however, might not be taken into any other country.

7. Faculties to administer all the sacraments, except Confirmation and Holy Orders; and, in case of necessity, the usual ceremonies prescribed in the Ritual, but not

otherwise essential, might be omitted. With regard to the sacraments of Baptism, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony these faculties might be utilized only in districts not provided with pastors ; but everywhere at the invitation of the respective bishops and parish priests.

8. An exemption from the recital of the Divine Office was granted, when the Breviary could not be used without personal risk ; the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, or other prayers and psalms might have been recited instead.

9. Power to bless vestments was, likewise, given ; and to consecrate things necessary for the Altar—so long as Sacred Unction was not requisite—when access to the bishop or vicar-apostolic could not be had ; or with permission of the same. The Holy Sacrifice might also have been offered, although it was doubtful whether the altar-stone contained the sacred relics.

10. It was permitted to say Mass in any proper place—in the open air, or even in caves—three hours before dawn in winter, and one hour past noon ; twice a day when necessary, and in the presence of heretics and other excommunicated persons, if their attendance was unavoidable. However, no one except a Catholic might have assisted as clerk.

11. The consecrated Host might have been preserved in any becoming place, without a light burning before it, and with the omission of various observances set down in the Ritual.

12. These faculties included, moreover, the power to commute simple vows, with the exception of the vow of chastity and that of entering religion, for some other good work ; and, should there be just cause, to release from oaths, if the bishop or vicar-apostolic could not be appealed to, or with their sanction.

13. To dispense in the second and third degrees of consanguinity or affinity, should there be grave necessity ; and this even before the contracting of the matrimonial alliance. But in this instance the dispensation might not have been granted, should there be no difficulty in having recourse to the bishop.

14. Catholic books might have been printed and published without the name of the author, printer, or place of publication; this notwithstanding the decree of the Council of Trent to the contrary.

15. Those embracing the Catholic faith might have been relieved of the obligation of restoring the profits derived—against conscience—from Church property; but on condition that they made a donation to the religious Order to which such property had belonged before the suppression of the monasteries; or, in the event of that Order having ceased to exist, to the Catholic poor.

16. The faculties could have been exercised in Ireland, England, Scotland, the Isle of Man, and all other parts of the British dominions.

17. Four other duly-qualified Discalced Carmelites, whose names were to be forwarded to the Sacred Office of the Inquisition, might avail themselves of the privileges thus granted; and the faculties were given for a period of seven years. But the Irish Teresian Fathers were the recipients of many other favours from the Holy See in the meantime; and the very first of those letters, bearing the signature of Father Edward of the Kings, is in acknowledgment of some important concessions. It was written in Paris on the 28th of February, 1629, when Father Edward was returning to Ireland from Rome, and addressed to one of the Definitors-General, Father Paul Simon, for whom all the Irish fathers seem to have had a great admiration.

In this letter Father Edward alluded to the innumerable favours obtained for the Irish Carmelites by Father Paul Simon, attributing to him the entire credit of their having been able to establish themselves in their native country at all. He spoke of the great difficulties which they had to encounter in opening their novitiate, owing to the very disturbed state of Ireland at the time; and of how Father Paul Simon did eventually succeed in securing for them the requisite permission from the Sacred Congregation. It appears that there was, also, some trouble about the foundation of new monasteries because of the Bull *De non fundandis Monasteriis* of Pope Urban VIII.; but the Irish Discalced Carmelites had

recently been granted a special Brief modifying that Bull in their favour. And now Father Edward wanted to impress on Father Paul Simon the urgent need of a Papal rescript declaring the Irish Teresian Fathers 'Missioners Apostolic,' which would insure their privileges being respected always and in every place. This, together with the sanction of the General of the Calced Fathers, permitting the Teresian Carmelites to accept several of the old abbeys of the Order which had been offered to them—in case the Mitigated Friars did not themselves propose to restore those ruins on their return to Ireland—this would yield the Discalced religious great encouragement, and cause their affairs to assume a much brighter aspect for the future. Both requests were granted later on.

On the same occasion Father Edward assigned the war, then raging between England and France, as one of the causes that prevented himself and his companion—another Irishman, Father William of the Blessed Sacrament—hastening their departure for Ireland. Not alone were travellers put to much inconvenience on that account, but, in their own case, at all events, they had to endure great suffering. However, they were earnestly praying for peace; indeed, unless hostilities ceased he could not tell when they would be able to proceed on their homeward journey. Nevertheless, one of the fathers of the monastery at Paris—Father Elias—had just volunteered to share the labours of the Irish mission; and Father Edward expressed his own eager willingness to accept such self-sacrificing services, if the consent of the Superiors-General could be obtained. And he regarded this, and certain other like circumstances, as a sure presage of the future prosperity of his Order in Ireland. As a matter of fact, what Father Edward then predicted was marvelously verified within a very few years, although he himself was not spared to witness the reward of his many trials.

Having left Paris, the two missionaries reached Antwerp without serious mishap towards the end of March, 1629, and spent some time in the Carmelite monastery of that city, awaiting a more favourable opportunity to resume their journey to Ireland. Writing again to Father Paul Simon,

on the 30th of the same month, Father Edward informed him that one of the Irish friars—Father Simon of St. Teresa, who until recently had been a conventual in the monastery at Tournay—was already on his way to Ireland; and he furnished a most touching account of the trials of this zealous religious while preparing to devote himself to the welfare of the faithful in his native land. Just then, it seems, the Irish mission was regarded in Belgium in much the same light as those of the Order in the East, many being of opinion that the establishment of a province in any part of the British possessions was an utter impossibility. But Father Simon was by no means disheartened, remembering what success his brethren had already achieved in Ireland since their first coming to the country but a few years previously. He at length collected sufficient funds for the purposes of his journey; and in this letter Father Edward spoke with deep gratitude of the generosity of the Infanta of Spain, who contributed fully one-half the entire amount—about 200 florins. Father Bede, a Discalced Carmelite of the English mission, gave Father Simon the clothes which he himself had used as a disguise when in England, and thus clad he set out on his perilous undertaking as the accredited courier of the Duke of Lorraine.

While still in Antwerp, Father Edward of the Kings heard some cheering news from England. The King was now at open variance with his Parliament, and this seemed to argue a more hopeful outlook for his Catholic subjects. Not for many years, according to Father Edward, did the faithful in both England and Ireland, enjoy so much peace and liberty as at present. He himself had seen, on the very day of his writing this letter, the protest of Charles I. against the Puritan party, whereby Parliament was dissolved as being hostile to the royal cause and to the welfare of the Kingdom. The Parliamentarians paid no heed to this Proclamation, and the King had their leaders arrested. All the priests and religious then in prison were released by royal command; for Charles no longer concealed his distrust of the Puritan fanatics, whom he rightly regarded

as the enemies of peace. He was determined to act quite independently in future, having hitherto submitted too easily to the insolent dictation of his Parliament. Besides, wrote Father Edward, the King was most justly incensed at the conduct of those rebellious subjects, who did everything in their power to mortify and humiliate his Royal Consort, then about to become a mother. But, apparently, Queen Henrietta Maria could well defend her own cause. Father Edward was told that the Puritans had actually dared to send to her, requesting her not to practise the Catholic religion in public; saying that she had already scandalized many of them by her doing so; for she had a chapel of her own, served by several Roman Catholic priests. The Queen replied with much firmness and dignity: she was deeply sensible of the interest which they were taking in her welfare; but begged to remind them that they had no power over her, nor any right to censure her or offer her advice. She said that she had a husband to whose authority she was subject, and who was bound to reprove her should she stand in need of admonition. And since the exercise of her religion had not heretofore displeased his Majesty, she did not mind in the least what others thought or said about her. The King was delighted with this spirited action of the Queen; while his Catholic subjects derived much courage from the discomfiture of the Puritans. Here it may be mentioned that, in after years, one of the most eloquent of Henrietta Maria's panegyrists sought to trace the secret of all that was noble in the Queen's character to the influence exercised over her in early womanhood by a saintly Carmelite nun.

However, such bright auspices did not cause Father Edward of the Kings to be over-sanguine with regard to the future of his Order in Ireland. In the same letter he assured Father Paul Simon that no one could tell how long the Catholics should enjoy this happy state of religious toleration. Hence he urged the immediate necessity of providing a monastery on the Continent for the Irish fathers, in case of the sudden revival of the persecution, which would compel many of the Teresian friars to seek an asylum abroad once more. Meanwhile the proposed foundation

might be utilized as a college to prepare subjects for the work of the mission in Ireland. There was a Carmelite monastery at Louvain admirably suited for the purpose; and having drawn Father Paul Simon's attention to this fact, Father Edward now confided the entire matter to the well-known discretion of one to whom the Irish fathers were already so deeply indebted. In the course of time they actually did get possession of a monastery on the Continent, a novitiate at La Rochelle; but if they ever availed themselves of this favour, it must have been some time after the siege of Limerick until they were permitted to receive postulants at the little Friary, which once stood close to the ruins of the old Abbey of Loughrea.

From a remark made by Father Edward it appears that the Discalced Carmelites of the English mission used to wonder at the comparative ease with which he was able to obtain those various concessions from their Superiors-General and the Sacred Congregations, while they themselves found it extremely difficult to forward their own interests at Rome. But Father Edward explained to them that this was solely due to the fact of the authorities being in constant dread of the likelihood of another great persecution in England. When discussing this matter with Father Bede of St. Simon Stock, Father Edward said that, so far as the Irish fathers were personally concerned, they would always very gladly do everything in their power for their brother missionaries, whether English, Dutch, or Scotch. If, happily, he himself should now succeed in securing that monastery at Louvain for the Irish province, he was sure that the English fathers would be right welcome to send their postulants there to be educated for the priesthood. There is evidence that this spirit of fraternal charity on the part of the Irish Carmelites was still cherished in the course of time; for when they were in a position to open their own College at Drogheda we find that they always most willingly admitted among the students of the province young men aspiring to labour on the English mission.

On leaving Antwerp, Fathers Edward and William went on to Brussels, where they met another of the Irish Discalced

Carmelites, Father Malachy of Jesus, who had come thither at the command of his superiors. Father Edward got this religious to write to Father Paul Simon in his name (7th April, 1629); and to enclose a copy of the letter which Father Edward himself had already forwarded to Rome to be read at the approaching General Chapter. The reason of his having asked Father Malachy to do him this favour was that he himself intended leaving Brussels the next day, and had a great deal of urgent business to transact in the meantime. In that letter Father Edward again returned to the subject of establishing a house for the Irish fathers on the Continent. As he had previously stated, circumstances led him to believe that, gracious as Charles I. was to the Catholics at present, too much reliance should not be placed on the King's good will. Here, also, he explained why they were so anxious to get possession of the monastery already established at Louvain: simply to avoid the expense of building a new convent elsewhere; and so economizing their very limited funds for the foundations to be made in Ireland. Indeed, to the well-known fact of the poverty of the Irish Carmelites, Father Edward attributed the reluctance of their English brethren in accepting the hospitality most freely proffered to them; and he added that their want of sufficient means was not due to absence of kindly feeling towards them on the part of the generous people of Ireland. For little could they themselves afford, seeing how every obstacle was placed in the way of their prosperity for the last hundred years, during which they were robbed and oppressed after every barbarous fashion because of their devotion to the faith. Finally, Father Edward again alluded to the many advantages accruing from their having their own noviceship in Ireland. Many very eligible subjects could not well have come abroad to carry out their pious purpose, both by reason of those cruel laws which forbade them leave the kingdom with any such intention under the severest penalties, and owing to the dread which their parents had of all those dangers to be encountered by travellers in time of war. Besides, 'all the ports were closed,' so that it was a matter of the greatest difficulty for anyone to reach the Continent in safety.

On the 30th June, 1629, Father Malachy of Jesus wrote a second letter to Father Paul Simon to inform him, that on the 31st of the previous month he had heard from Father Edward, who succeeded in reaching London safely, and was probably back in Ireland by this time. Referring to the future of the Irish province, Father Malachy said that he himself did not think the fathers would succeed in securing the much-desired monastery on the Continent unless Father Edward returned to Belgium later on to forward the matter by his presence. Everyone felt that the welfare of the Discalced Carmelite mission in Ireland depended largely on the influence of this religious. This is the last mention made of Father Edward's name in the series of letters which has come down to us. Within a month from the date of Father Malachy's latest communication with Rome, Father Edward of the Kings was dead (29th July, 1629). His strength had yielded to the trials and labours that were his portion in the vineyard of the Lord. We have seen that he was but in the thirty-second year of his age when he died; yet so great was the fruit of his persevering toil, that not only were the Teresian Carmelites able to continue the work of the mission in Ireland after his death, but they made such progress in the short space of ten years as to establish one of the most flourishing Provinces of the Order in their native country; having realized Father Edward's holy ambition to the fullest by the founding of quite a number of Carmelite monasteries, to be so many centres of zeal and prayer.

Father Malachy himself had suffered so much from the constant physical strain which his missionary duties entailed, that his health had given way completely, as he had already informed Father Paul Simon. But in the present letter he thanked God that he was recovering rapidly, and hoped to be soon equal to the wearisome journey to Rome where he had been expected for some time. He had been very anxious to move on to Italy at an earlier date, sacrificing everything at the call of obedience; but the physicians had protested, as such an attempt would have meant the certain loss of his life. He was spared, however, some years longer for the further exercise of his zeal in Ireland; and to edify his brethren by the exemplary practice of all the monastic virtues.

The next letter, in order of time, was written to the Definitory-General at Rome, on the 11th of August, 1631, in the joint names of four members of the Dublin Community: Fathers Fortunatus of St. Anne; Simeon of St. Teresa; William of the Blessed Sacrament, and Edmund of the Presentation. The chief interest of this letter lies in the fact of its being positive evidence of the fervour of the first Irish Teresian Carmelites in the observance of the restored primitive rule, and of their zeal in the discharge of the duties of the mission, while beset, in both respects by obstacles of the most disheartening kind. These fathers now appealed to their Superiors-General for advice and assistance, in order that they might carry out—always under holy obedience—the two-fold project which they had so dearly at heart. The event proved that the welfare of the nascent Irish province was a subject of keenest interest at Rome.

The Father Edmund, whose name appears in this document, was the Reverend James Hoare, the son of Thomas Hoare and Marcella Lewis. He was born at Limerick in the year 1600; was professed at Louvain on the 16th November, 1625; and died in one of the Irish monasteries—probably at Dublin—on the 9th of August, 1633. Like Father Edward of the Kings, he succumbed at a very early age to the trials and privations from which no Irish missionary was exempt in those days.

Another Teresian Friar of the Irish province, Fr. Anthony of St. Mary, was in Brussels at the beginning of the year 1632; and on the 30th of January he wrote to Rome in a strain similar to that of the letter forwarded by those four fathers on the occasion to which we have just referred. He said that although the members of the Order in Ireland were unceasingly engaged in missionary work, still it was the earnest wish of all to live and die in the strict observance of the Primitive Carmelite Rule. And, indeed, from the very first, the Irish fathers gained renown throughout the entire Order for the heroic efforts which they made to lead the Regular life amid the countless difficulties with which they had daily to contend. Thus do these letters, while principally treating of the affairs of the religious

themselves, cast a very vivid light on the sad condition of Roman Catholics in Ireland, even when supposed to be enjoying the favour of a tolerant king.

Perhaps the most interesting letter of all, though one of the shortest, is that written by the same Father Anthony to the General of the Order, Father Laurence of St. Elias, on the 28th of October, 1649. It was dated from the Discalced Carmelite monastery of Limerick, where the Provincial Chapter was then being held. Father Anthony informed his Superior that they knew not what moment the house might be seized by the enemy; for the city was now in the hands of the Puritans, who had quite recently defeated the Royalists with great loss, fully *eight thousand* Catholic soldiers having been either captured or slain. A fierce persecution of the faithful was surely pending, all the priests and religious being in a painful state of suspense, as they stood in hourly peril of their lives. For this reason Father Anthony himself could not give the usual account of the Irish province in his present letter; but stated that they had referred the affairs of the Chapter to Rome, whither Father Paul of St. Ubaldus, the first companion of Father Edward of the Kings, and one of the other fathers had already proceeded to acquaint their Superiors-General of the result of the elections, and to make provision for the emergencies that were certain to arise during the approaching time of greater trial. In conclusion, he earnestly implored the Father General to pray continually for his sorely-tried Irish subjects, and for their dear country, in order that the afflicted people of Ireland might still persevere, as they had always done, in their loyalty to the Catholic faith.

The remaining letters of this series were all written by the one religious, and mostly during the Cromwellian regime. They are of very special interest, although the missionary who wrote them frequently deplored the circumstances which prevented himself taking part in the labours of his brethren in Ireland at this epoch; not that he was exempt, on this account, from a goodly share in those selfsame trials.

JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C.

HAMLET

IN a short essay it is hardly possible to give many proofs for every assertion made in it: at the same time no assertion will be put forward, which does not rest on some solid ground. If any new view is advocated, which seems to differ from some long-held interpretation, it may be well to remember the celebrated epithet which Coleridge first applied to Shakspeare:—‘Merciful, wonder-making Heaven! What a man was Shakspeare! Myriad-minded, indeed, he was!’

Anyone who approves of the propriety of this description must resent any criticism of Shakspeare’s plays which is put forward fancifully, as the only possible view. If the great dramatist is myriad-minded, the plays must be similarly characterized. Again, in the whole range of history, perhaps no epoch is so complex and myriad-sided, as that to which Shakspeare held up his dramatic mirror, for the purpose of showing the form and pressure of his time. Great bitterness of feeling drove opposing minds into hostile extremes. The literature of the period is saturated with the prevailing disputes, which we are now able to discern without losing temper. The sum of human learning is added to, century by century. It has passed through many crises, upon which we can now look back with judicial calmness. Hence, if controversial questions are alluded to in the course of this paper, it will be the aim of the writer to avoid offence, and in stating facts to leave his readers to draw what deductions seem good to them.

Shaksperian criticism has taken many forms. Browning seemed to regard the man, William Shakspeare, and his everyday life as something apart from the plays. The contrary seems more probable. The Elizabethan dramatist, appealing to a real audience, seems to have been thinking and writing in closest union with each passionate moment of his time. Composing in the fullest energy of objective life, no phase of

his epoch seems to have escaped his observant eye. He was so myriad-minded, that, had we the historic key to each, we might find in his plays, more fully than has yet been done, 'the very age and body of the time.' This 'purpose of playing' we find asserted in *Hamlet*; and hence, we might expect to trace in this play, besides its poetic and psychological elements, some pertinent allusions to current systems of Philosophy prevailing in London, when Shakspeare was writing and acting there.

To make the subject quite clear, we may as well state at once, what an examination of the play in the light of the condition of contemporary philosophy in England has suggested. In the first place, when Hamlet talks of 'our philosophy' (Act I., Scene V.), have we any reason for supposing, that Shakspeare alludes to the 'New Philosophy' which the study of the *Dialectica* of Ramus produced at Cambridge, and which found its ablest exponent in the *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon? If this be so, are there any solid grounds for thinking, that when Shakspeare names Wittenberg and Paris, he may really be intending the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford? Let us see. The most casual reader of the play of *Hamlet* must be struck by the odd selection of universities, to which Shakspeare sends his leading characters:—Hamlet and Horatio to Wittenberg in Saxony; Laertes, with whom Hamlet is also otherwise contrasted, to Paris. It is not only the extraordinary anachronism¹ which emphasizes the choice, but there seems to be a special prominence given in the play to some deliberate connection between the University of Wittenberg and Hamlet's character, opinions, and conduct. Wittenberg was renowned in Shakspeare's time as the main source on the Continent of the new learning. Paris was still, as a whole, clinging to the traditional teaching. But what is more to our purpose, there was a striking resemblance, when Shakspeare was in London, between the two Universities in England, and the two which Shakspeare selects abroad. Cambridge, was the

¹ The University of Wittenberg was founded only in 1502.

Wittenberg of England, as regards the New Philosophy, whilst Oxford was following in the more conservative steps of Paris.

Peter Ramus, who perished in the massacre at Paris (1572), when taking his degree, is said to have defended as his thesis, 'Quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commentitia esse.' The revolt against the authority of Aristotle thus led to an opposite extreme. Ramus pitted Socrates against Aristotle, and the dialectic disputation of the former against the scholastic logic. Ramus, adopting the Socratic *elenchus*, reduced logic to disputation: 'Dialectica est ars bene disserendi, eodemque sensu logica dicta.' Temple, the fourth Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, who wrote a treatise on the *Dialectica* of Ramus, adds: 'Illae duae voces, dialectica et logica, significatione non distinguuntur, sed eandem vim et sententiam subjectam habent.' Aristotle, on the contrary, applies the 'dialectic' only to that part of logic which deals with probable or sophistical reasoning. Ramus drew up a text-book in opposition to the traditional teaching, from which he excluded all that would not justify his title and his definition.

Cambridge adopted the manual of Ramus, and with it his violent repudiation of all authority. At no other university in Europe did the new Ramistic logic so flourish. Mr. Bass Mullinger, in his *History of Cambridge*, to which I would refer my readers, cites the case of the learned Prince Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who, when arranging for the education of two of his young nobles, notes that the leading school in Europe for the new philosophy of Ramus was the University of Cambridge. The teaching of Ramus and his rejection of authority was already the established philosophy in Cambridge before Bacon entered Trinity College there, in 1573. Oxford was far more conservative and slow to change. Of this fact we have some confirmation in Antony Wood's *Life of Glanvil*. The author, an Oxford man, 'wonders, considering that Exeter College was then one of the chief nurseries of youth in Oxford, why Glanvil should afterwards lament that his friends did not first send him to Cambridge, because, as he

used to say, that new philosophy and the art of philosophizing were there more than in Oxon, and that his first studies in this University did not qualify him for the world of action and business.'

My contention, then, is that, when Shakspeare was adapting the old story of Hamlet, and bringing it up to date to suit the public topics of interest amongst London playgoers of the period, the Universities of Cambridge and Wittenberg, Oxford and Paris, held very similar positions as regards what was vulgarly styled the 'New Philosophy.' Moreover, so distinctive was it, that it is not unreasonable to suppose that every Cambridge man of the period might well boast of it as 'our philosophy.' As a matter of fact, Bacon, a Cambridge man, so called it in his *Novum Organum*. If this conjecture be at all well founded, Hamlet and Horatio, according to Shakspeare's method, may be regarded as typical graduates of the time, enthusiastically devoted to the new fashion, and their philosophy the new teaching of Ramus, which Bacon had already begun to immortalize in his first sketches :—

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in *our philosophy*.¹

Hamlet, when saying this, had made an experience which the new philosophy had no power to cope with.

To understand the situation created by Shakspeare in the First Act of his *Hamlet*, we must remind our readers what the 'New Philosophy,' as taught at Cambridge, then was. Already sketched in his *Partus* (1583), it is clearly formulated in the *Novum Organum*, the composition of which was probably begun by Bacon in 1608. Baker, a Cambridge Fellow, in his *Reflections*, first published in 1699, thus alludes to Bacon's methods :—'After the way of free-thinking had been laid open by my Lord Bacon it was soon greedily followed; for the understanding affects freedom as well as the will, and men will pursue liberty, though it ends in confusion.'

¹ *First Folio Reading*. The alternative does not affect the argument.

A rigid scientific method of induction, according to Bacon, was to be the sole system in every sphere of knowledge. He says in the first book of the *Novum Organum* :—¹

Etiam dubitabit quispiam, potius quam objiciet, utrum nos de Naturali tantum Philosophia, an etiam de Scientiis reliquis, Logicis, Ethicis, Politicis, secundum viam nostram perficiendis loquamur. At nos certe de Universis haec, quæ dicta sunt, intelligimus. Nostra (philosophia) quæ procedit per inductionem, omnia complectitur.

Mr. Ellis, Bacon's recent biographer, says : ' It cannot be denied, that to Bacon all sound philosophy seemed to be included in what we now call natural sciences.' This, of course, at that time represented the extreme reaction against Aristotle and the synthetic method. A strict scientific analysis excludes authority and faith. It only accepts, as certain, what the senses can examine, and account for. If Hamlet had adopted the philosophy of Bacon under this exclusive aspect, it would have been impossible for his will to act in circumstances, where an act of faith was demanded. The monopoly, which the new philosophy claimed for the inductive process, has been in later times called Rationalism. The eagerness, which greeted its first appearance in England, led its ardent votaries to apply it even to religion and ethics in a manner very alarming to those who still clung to the old ways. The Cambridge playwrights and actors in Shakspeare's London, seem to have been the greatest partisans of all. And yet, sceptics in faith and licentious in morals, they could hardly have recommended the new learning to more sober minds, such as Shakspeare's may have been. Marlowe was regarded by his contemporaries as a professed atheist, and he ended a brief, though brilliant career, in a tavern brawl, just when Shakspeare, who was only two months younger, was beginning his life's work. Again the university men seem to have been very hostile to Shakspeare, as not being of their own class. They taunted him with his lack of university training. Greene, in his *Groatsworth of Wit*, styles Shakspeare ' an upstart crow

¹ C. 127.

beautified in the 'feathers' of the university men. Putting all these facts together, and trying to realize the environment, is it fanciful to suppose that in his *Hamlet*, Shakspeare deals with the Cambridge philosophy, and gives a crushing rejoinder to those, who boasted of an education which yet made shipwreck of their lives, because inadequate to solve all the problems 'in heaven and in earth'?

Our review of the period when *Hamlet* was written has been necessarily brief; but enough has been said to enable us now to come to the situation which Shakspeare proposes for our consideration. It is briefly this, Hamlet, the only son and heir of the King of Denmark, is represented to us as a student, so engrossed in the study of philosophy that he seems to have remained at his university even beyond the usual time; if we may suppose him, at least of age when the play opens. At all events, he is still philosophizing, when news comes to him of his father's sudden death. Hamlet at once returns from Saxony to Denmark, where, according to the view of the matter in Shakspeare's time, he must have expected immediately to succeed to the throne. When, therefore, Hamlet reached the door of his own palace, in his own kingdom, he finds that his uncle Claudius has already usurped the throne, and taken the queen mother to wife. The bridal rejoicings are, however, still in progress. At midnight Hamlet leaves the banquet, and goes out to the castle ramparts, where the guard of soldiers, in whose keeping the castle is, receive him as the son of their beloved king. Thrice already at this hour the guard had seen amongst them, as of old, and in full armour, the 'ghost' of their dead lord. When the heir comes to them, the soldiers have no doubt of the reality of this appearance, nor has Horatio, Hamlet's sceptical college friend. They all expect that a message from heaven is about to be delivered to them through Hamlet. There is no doubt but that they would instantly obey it. It is midnight. The castle, with everyone in it, is in their hands. The doors are wide open. The usurper and his party are stupified with wine. The word 'ghost' as applied to the late king, is applied in its primary sense. It is so applied in the Creed, that is, to real, sub-

stantial, living spirit. Hamlet's father is no phantom, but a dead man who has arisen, and come back again from the tomb to enunciate some vital message on the best authority.

M. de Chateaubriand finds fault with Shakspeare for making Hamlet doubt, when doubt seems no longer possible, so absolute was the authority. In reply, Ernest Hello, in one of his admirable essays, writes :—

M. de Chateaubriand does not perceive, that he reproaches Shakspeare with the supreme beauty of his work. In giving to this man, who is the incarnation of doubt, the physical sight of what he doubts, without removing the doubt, Shakspeare reaches the sublime point of genius. The very spirit of his father comes from the tomb, and speaks to him, and yet he does not succeed in making Hamlet affirm anything.

And why ? Hamlet's philosophy, the Baconian induction, repudiates authority and demands scientific investigation. Later on in the play Hamlet ingeniously supplies a scientific experiment by a stage representation of the murder in the presence of Claudius. But in the first act Hamlet is confronted with a real fact in the spiritual world, attested by unimpeachable witnesses, whose testimony demands that assent of faith which Hamlet had been taught to withhold.

Let us, then, listen to the message, which was delivered from another world to Hamlet by an immortal Spirit. Hamlet is plainly told, that, stupified with wine, within the open doors of his own castle, at midnight, there is a monster in human shape, stained with the most horrible crimes known to man. He is a traitor who has murdered his king, and that king Hamlet's own father ; he is a usurper, who has stolen the kingdom of another, and that other is Hamlet himself ; he is living in incest with the queen, and that queen is Hamlet's own mother. On the other hand, there is only one who can, and who has a sacred duty, to bring that monstrous criminal to justice. Hamlet is the rightful king, and at that moment no difficulty lay in his path. As Shakspeare proposes the situation in the first act of the play, there is nothing wanting to absolute certainty of the intellect—so far as is possible in matters of faith and authority.

There is nothing wanting also to absolute facility of

action to the will. Hamlet has only to give the word of command to the guard, and the criminal, riotously drinking in the castle hall, is instantly brought to justice.

What hinders Hamlet? An act of faith is demanded, not an investigation of physical phenomena—and, unfortunately, he knows only a one-sided philosophy. He is a Rationalist. Hopeless ruin follows his inability to act. Ophelia, whom Hamlet sincerely loved, goes mad, and meets an early death. Polonius, her father, is killed; the queen mother, Laertes, Hamlet himself; the kingdom passes into the power of the national foe. Shakspeare leaves no stone unturned to make the effect of Hamlet's philosophy appalling, whatever that philosophy may be identified to have been. The dramatist supposes a situation, in which the scientific analysis, failing to be of use, prevented the discharge of a sacred duty.

But someone may say:—‘To suppose such a case is unreasonable on Shakspeare's part, because it is not likely to happen.’ This is not so to a Christian, whatever it may have been to Marlowe, and the Cambridge men of the period. It was evidently not so to Shakspeare. Christianity essentially rests on the authority of One, who died a violent death, and who has arisen from the tomb to proclaim the exact truth about another world, and our duties in this. Every Christian is in the position of Hamlet, before the teaching of a Divine, Risen, Father. Such teaching is authoritative, and demands a corresponding act of faith. To a Catholic Christian Christ arises from the dead, and speaks through the Church. Shakspeare, in the risen father of Hamlet, confronted the new philosophers of Cambridge, whom he met in the tiring rooms of the London theatres, with the impossibility of reconciling Rationalism with Christianity. Cambridge was then ‘poisoning the ears’ of her confiding students. For the ‘ear’ is the exterior sense required for the teaching of authority, as the ‘eye’ for scientific observation. Any system which excludes authority cannot be the sole arbiter of that knowledge which is based upon faith as its first essential condition.

In Hamlet we see a Rationalist struggling with his

conscience which the 'new philosophy' had paralyzed and poisoned. Cardinal Newman defines faith to be: 'the absolute surrender of the mind to living authority, known to be divine.' Short of divine, Hamlet could have had no higher authority than that of his own father, who had come out of his grave to assert the real truth of those mysterious crimes which were then overshadowing Hamlet's existence. Yet, whilst his father is speaking, Hamlet listens as if he were assisting at a university lecture, and when the terrible tale is told, Hamlet contents himself with making a note of it in his note-book. The only reflection that occurs to him is the remarkable observation, that a man could be such a villain, as Claudius was said to be, and yet smile; 'at least it may be so in Denmark,' he adds with perfect scientific reserve.

In thus pointing out a line of thought, which may contribute to the myriad-minded criticisms which the play of *Hamlet* has evoked, we would carefully distinguish between the inductive analysis as such, and its application by enthusiasts in Shakspeare's time to spheres altogether beside its scope. Shakspeare, neither in his *Hamlet*, nor elsewhere, ever attacks the scientific method as such; he was far too 'myriad-minded' to be so illiberal or so ignorant. He contents himself with a possible *reductio ad absurdum* as regards its misuse.

There is a corollary, which is interesting to us in Ireland, when alluding to the philosophy of Cambridge at the end of the sixteenth century. Of all epochs in the history of that University, the year 1591 would seem to us now the least favourable moment to have transplanted its teachings elsewhere. Fuller says: 'Dublin University was a *Colonia deducta* from Cambridge, and particularly from Trinity College therein. Know also that this University did so Cantabrizize, that she imitated her in the successive choice of her chancellors.' As a matter of fact, Loftus and Travers, the two first Provosts, seem to have been members of Trinity College, Cambridge, Bacon's own College, whence, possibly, the name of the new College in Dublin. Their successors, Alvey and Temple, came from Cambridge also.

The latter wrote a treatise on the teaching of Ramus, and zealously spread his views in Dublin. Bedell, who followed Temple, was also a Cambridge man. So that we have some proof of the correctness of Fuller's statement, that the Dublin University was founded by Cambridge men, and inspired by Cambridge teaching. In the nature of things, it could hardly have been possible to do more at that time than bring across the Channel the seeds of Rationalism ; and if so, there is, surely, something to be said for the Irish genius, which steadily refused to be sown with it. We hear of so many complaints as to the stony nature of the Irish mind of the period, that it is only fair to examine the kind of teaching which alone was offered to it. Knowing what this was, we do not wonder that from Dublin University has come the strongest attack in recent times upon the Infallible Authority established in the world by the Risen Founder of the Church. Behind that attack is the spirit of Rationalism, as vigorous to-day, as when first transplanted from Cambridge, in 1591. Nor are we surprised that the greatest work on Rationalism in the English language has been produced by a member of the same University. Still less do we wonder that, so far, the vast majority of the Irish race have refused to be turned into so many 'Hamlets' for any material advantages whatever. They know, as Shakspere knew, that rejection of authority in matters of faith is more disastrous than the acquisition of any material philosophy or science. So for three centuries there has been a deadlock, because the faithful in this country have demanded a University in which faith and science shall go 'hand in hand,' and they have repudiated a system which still advocates the error of its birth.

JOSEPH DARLINGTON, S.J.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

REG. XII.—*Nefas esto libros edere, legere aut retinere, in quibus sortilegia, divinatio magia, evocatio spirituum, aliaque hujus generis superstitiones docentur, vel commendantur.*

THE present rule, though short and simple in form, still covers a very wide range of subjects, and presents some practical difficulties. By it we are forbidden to publish, read, or retain books which teach or commend either fortune-telling, divination, magic, spiritism, or any other similar superstitious practice. The rule is very like, both in substance and form, the sixth rule of the Council of Trent: 'Pariter vetantur omnes libri et Scripta Necromantiae, Geomantiae, Hydromantiae, Pyromantiae. Hydromantiae, Chyromantiae, Astrologiae Judiciariae, et omnia alia in quibus continentur sortilegia, Veneficia, ac Auspicia; et contra haec legentes vel habentes procedi potest tamquam suspectos de haeresi.'

Our readers will not fail to remark the points of difference between the two rules: that there are several species of superstition explicitly stated in the Tridentine rule, that are merely implied in the Leonine rule; and that Spiritism is explicitly mentioned in the Leonine rule, whereas there is no mention made of it in the Tridentine rule. Yet the extent of both rules is the same: for under Necromancy, in the Tridentine rule, are included Spiritism, and Hypnotism (so far as Hypnotism may be superstitious); and Geomantia, Hydromantia, &c., are all implied in the words '*aliaque hujus generis superstitiones.*'¹

2. The present rule procribes fortune-telling, magic, &c., in the exact measure that they are superstitious. How, therefore, are we to know when any one of them is in a

¹ There are so many different kinds of superstition included under the present rule that they should be liable to render it somewhat unwieldy if we could not reduce them to a logical and scientific order. To aid the memory, therefore, and render the application of the rule more easy, we here propose to give a division of the various kinds of superstition that are mentioned by

particular case superstitious? We do not hope to be able to give a universal index to discover this; for just as a ring that we throw into a box can scarcely get into every corner, so any general rule that might be given could scarcely cover every particular case that might arise. It will be for the moralist to examine each particular case, clothed in all its accompanying circumstances, and judge how far an effect is sought which is not contained in the means employed.

However, we may remark that the knowledge of future events may be known in two ways: first, they may be known in themselves—as God foresees all possible contingencies; second, in their causes—as we know that a vessel sailing westward will not leave the surface of the earth and sail into the clouds. Now: some causes produce their effects of necessity; and such effects we may know long beforehand; as astronomers may predict an eclipse of the

the Tridentine rule, and implied in the present rule, and shall append a short explanation of each.

Divinatio.	I. When the devil is expressly invoked to make known the future, we have;	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) <i>Praestigia</i> (<i>Prae-stringere</i>). (2) <i>Somnia</i>. (3) <i>Necromantia</i> (<i>νεκρον-μαντεια</i>). (4) <i>Pythones</i> (<i>Pythia</i>). (5) <i>Geomantia</i> (<i>γη-μαντεια</i>). (6) <i>Hydromantia</i> (<i>υδωρ</i>). (7) <i>Aëromantia</i>. (8) <i>Pyromantia</i> (<i>πυρ</i>). (9) <i>Aruspicium</i> (<i>Hira-spiciere</i>).
	II. Without the express invocation of the devil attempts may be made to find out the future, in two ways:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) From purely accidental occurrences, or from certain personal dispositions; and under this head we have: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) <i>Astrologia judiciaria</i>. (2) <i>Auguria</i> (<i>avis-garritus</i>). (3) <i>Auspicium</i> (<i>avis-spiciere</i>). (4) <i>Omen</i>. (5) <i>Chyromantia</i>. (b) From certain actions done intentionally indeed by persons, but having no connection with future events; and of this kind we have: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) <i>Sortilegium</i>.

EXPLANATION.—Divination seems to be a generic term, used to designate all kinds of superstitious practices, by which attempts are made to discover the future. This practice is so called because those who indulge in it arrogate to themselves one of the prerogatives of God. St. Isidorus in his book on *Etymology*, thus explains the meaning and origin of the term, 'Divini dicti:

sun, or an electrician an earthquake. Other causes produce their effects—not of necessity but generally, and in the majority of cases; and of such events we may form conjectures with more or less certainty—as astronomers may foretell rain, drought, frost, or snow; or as doctors may forecast the future death or recovery of a patient. Lastly, there are some causes which are equally inclined to two sides, which may or may not produce a given effect; this is particularly true of the human will. Anyone, therefore, that pretends to foretell future events of this last kind arrogates to himself one of the divine prerogatives, and is guilty of superstition.

3. The present rule also refers to spiritism and its kindred art, hypnotism. These arts are proscribed in so far as they are superstitious. But since there is diversity of

quasi Deo pleni; divinitatem enim se plenos simulant, et astutia quadam fraudulentiae hominibus futura coniectant.

We shall now explain the members of the division, one by one. Persons may strive to make out the future through the agency of the devil, or without his express aid; and, accordingly, we have two large classes of superstition, as specified: where there is express invocation of the devil, and where there is not.

When the devil is expressly invoked, persons make use of jugglings, charms, or illusions; and this is called in Latin, *Praestigia*, because those present are wont to string and strain their senses. Sometimes attempts are made to know the future from dreams, with the express invocation of the devil; and this is called '*Divinatio Somniorum*.' Sometimes the devil is invoked, and appears under the form of the dead; and this is called '*Necromantia*.' Sometimes the devil is invoked, and speaks through living persons, and this is called '*Divinatio per Pythonas*,' from Pythia, an old Greek name for Delphi, the seat of the great temple of Apollo. Sometimes attempts are made, with the express invocation of the devil, to find out the future from certain appearances in inanimate nature; if those appearances take place in the clay, the practice is called '*Geomantia*;' if in the water, it is called '*Hydromantia*;' if in the air, '*Aëromantia*;' if in fire, it is called '*Pyromantia*;' and if in the entrails of dead animals, '*Aruspicium*.'

Without expressly invoking the devil, persons may make use of the most accidental occurrences, and the most trifling personal dispositions to find out what is in store for them in the future. If they should endeavour to forecast the future of a child, from the moon, or planet under which it was born, their practice should be called '*Astrologia*.' If they attempt to foretell the future from the crowing of fowl, or the croaking of birds of flight, their practice should be called '*Auguria*.' If they should try to foretell the future from words accidentally dropped, or for actions performed without forethought, their prognostications should be called '*Omens*.' Pretence to know a person's future career from the lines on his palms, is called '*Chyromancy*.'

Lastly, without expressly invoking the devil, a person may attempt to foretell the future, from actions intentionally and seriously performed by himself, or by others, but which have no connection whatsoever with future events and this is called '*Sortilegium*.' This is usually done by the casting of dice, cutting of cards, and the melting of lead or alum. Cf. St. Thomas, ii.-ii., 95; 3.

opinion amongst some of the very highest authorities as to how far the phenomena of, at least, hypnotism, are natural, and how far they demand a preternatural cause, there may be some difficulty in applying this portion of the rule to particular cases. We purpose, therefore, to diminish this difficulty. We will first treat of Hypnotism, and then of Spiritism.

When a traveller wishes to make his way through some wild and tangled region, he will first be careful to examine every feature of the land around him; he will then take accurately his bearings; and will, finally, have recourse to his map or chart to steer his course. We must act in a somewhat similar way when dealing with Hypnotism; we must first examine and classify its various phenomena; we must then endeavour to find out their causes; and, finally, we must have recourse to the rule of the Index for advice and council before we pronounce our judgment.

What are the effects of hypnotism?¹ The effects of Hypnotism may be reduced to four classes:—(1) *Sleep*. This magnetic sleep, however, is far different from natural sleep. For to produce magnetic sleep the will of the hypnotist is enough, whereas to produce natural sleep the will of another is of no avail. They differ also in their intensity: for while we may easily arouse a person from a natural sleep, no power, not even the application of fire will arouse a person from magnetic sleep, unless the hypnotist so desires. (2) *Somnambulism*. We have also natural somnambulism; but between one and the other there is a very great

¹ Hypnotism, Mesmerism, and Animal-Magnetism seem to be almost synonymous terms. The art is called Hypnotism, from an effect produced—sleep, *ὑπνος*; it is called Mesmerism, from its author; and it is called Animal-Magnetism from a certain theoretical explanation of its effects. For the history of Hypnotism and Spiritism we should refer our readers to the two manuals of Père Franco, S.J., *L'Ipnatismo*, and *Lo Spiritismo*. They are recognised as books of authority by spiritists and hypnotists themselves. One of the most remarkable of modern hypnotists thus speaks of the work of Père Franco:—'L'Adversaire le plus résolu de l'hypnotisme c'est le R. P. Franco de la C. d. Jesus. Son memoire sur l' question est ce que l' on trouve de plus radical, et en meme temps de plus complet. . . . Tout se reunit pour assurer le succes de son livre. . . . Les auteurs qui ecrivirent plus tard pour soutenir la meme doctrine ne firent guerre que reproduire les raisons du Père Franco.' Cf., *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Settembre, 1898, p. 537.

difference. For during magnetic somnambulism the senses seem to be transposed, so that the somnambulist hears with his stomach, tastes with his finger-points, and reads behind his back. There is, moreover, a perfect sympathy between the somnambulist and the hypnotist: they suffer the same pains, they experience the same sensations, so that they seem to be informed with one and the same life. Lastly, there is almost an irresistible attraction between them: so strong that the somnambulist has been known to be raised from the ground. (3) The third stage is *Catalepsis*. In this stage the limbs become quite rigid and devoid of sensibility. What is most remarkable in this class of phenomena is, that the degree of catalepsis depends entirely on the will of the hypnotist: if he wishes that the tongue alone be paralyzed, it becomes so; if he wishes that one leg or one arm alone be paralyzed, it is done. (4) The last and most remarkable kind of phenomena are those classed under *Claire-Voyance*. When this stage is reached, a person may read in a language quite unknown to him, may diagnose diseases, explain their causes, prescribe remedies, and use throughout the most correct and apt phraseology; he can predict the future illness of even an absent person; can foretell future events; is frequently rapt in ecstasy, and while in this state will oftentimes make the most marvellous revelations.

What is the cause of those effects? This is the most important question that can be proposed on the subject of Hypnotism, and the answer to it will in great measure determine our application of the present rule of the Index. Those who give answer to it, are ranged on two different and opposing sides. On one side are ranged nearly the whole medical faculty; on the other side are ranged all the theological schools. Those on either side are ranked in double file: amongst theologians there are two opinions, and amongst the medical faculty there are also two opinions. We shall review them singly, and examine their relative merits.

The first medical opinion would attribute the effects of Hypnotism, one and all, to some innate power of will over

matter. This opinion labours, however, under many difficulties. The act of the will that produces those wonderful effects must either be a pure, unmixed act of the will, beginning and ending in the same faculty (*actus elicitus*), or else be an act beginning, indeed, in the will, but passing on to some other faculty for consummation (*actus imperatus*). There cannot be a third supposition, for those two classes divide the acts of the will by way of opposition. If the act of the will spoken of by medical men be of the first kind, how can it produce an external effect? It cannot produce an external effect: for to be immanent and transient at one and the same time involves a contradiction. Nor can it be of the second kind; for the will, in effecting anything external to itself, must always select a faculty apt to perform its behests, just as we will select a suitable messenger to run our errands. Accordingly, if I wish to see my friend, I shall not attempt to do so with my ears; if I wish to hear him speak, I shall not attempt to do so with my eyes; if I wish to taste my meat, I shall not do so with the tips of my fingers. Now: if I wish to improvise a language quite unknown to me, to diagnose diseases of which I have no experience, or to foretell future events that depend on free agents, where am I to search within the limits of my person, for a faculty sufficient to perform such a task? It would appear that I possess no such faculty.

The second medical opinion would attribute the effects of Hypnotism partly to the innate power of the human will, and partly to the influence of a certain subtle magnetic fluid. This fluid, they say, is not pure matter, nor yet pure spirit, but is like a link or a golden bridge between spirit and matter, across which the soul can operate on material things. This theory has many points against it. First: its supporters are very much divided with regard to the nature of this fluid; and they cannot expect us to accept their explanation, until they first agree amongst themselves. Second: the existence of this fluid is stated to be a fact: facts are to be proven, and not asserted '*gratis*.' Third: there are positive reasons against the existence of such a fluid; for if this fluid exists, it must be either spiritual or

material. There is no medium : for a half-material, half-ethereal being, is not real, but a creation of poetic fancy, like Ariel in the *Tempest*. Now, it cannot be purely spiritual, because as such it should be an independent, subeistent, and intelligent being, as Aristotle shows, in his refutation of the Platonic theory of Ideas ; and it would be very inconvenient to assert the existence of such a fluid. It cannot be purely material, because it does not follow the laws of matter. Nor can the supporters of this theory take refuge in the old supposition that such effects may be produced in accordance with some law of matter not yet discovered by us : for although we have not yet discovered all the laws of matter, we know on *a priori* grounds, that nature cannot have conflicting laws ; if there were conflicting laws, they should strike a balance, and so form but one—as snow and fire cannot subsist together, but will one dissolve, and the other cool ; and so both meet in a medium temperature.

We should, therefore, admit neither of the medical opinions to interfere with the interpretation or the practical application of the present rule.

Theologians, as the medical men, stand in double file on the present question. Those in the front rank, would make a distinction ; they would attribute all the phenomena belonging to the first two classes to a natural cause ; for the effects belonging to the third and fourth class, they would demand a preternatural cause ; and this opinion is *probable*. The theologians who hold this opinion base it chiefly on the fact that the phenomena of the first two classes are sometimes produced by natural means, and so, in the case of animal magnetism, may be due to natural causes. Thus : sleep may be artificially produced by administering certain medicines, or by wearying out any particular sense ; and somnambulism is often found to be a natural disease.

The theologians in the second rank would make no distinction, but would attribute all the effects of Hypnotism to a preternatural cause ; and this would appear to be the *best* opinion. The theologians who hold this opinion would

¹ Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa*, 1; 84, 4.

get over the argument of the advocates of the preceding opinion by making a distinction between the phenomena of the first two classes taken *in the abstract*, and taken *in the concrete*. Taken in the abstract it is, indeed, quite possible that those effects be produced by natural causes; but taken in the concrete—surrounded with all their accompanying circumstances—occurring between persons of different sexes, who are generally not models of morality—produced in exact accordance with the will of the magnetizer—performed even at a distance, and almost at a moment's notice, and sometimes even at a time long before predetermined, it would seem that they cannot be produced by a natural cause. This opinion is supported by not a few of the most eminent physicians; it is the opinion held by Ballerini and by the majority of theologians that have written on the subject. Although the Roman Congregations have carefully abstained from pronouncing any judgment on the relative merits of the four opinions stated by us, yet it would appear from their decisions on particular cases,¹ that they have a

¹ We will give some of their replies:—

(a) In 1840 the general question '*Utrum Magnetismus generatim acceptus et in se censeri debeat licitus an illicitus*' was proposed for solution. To this general question, the *Cong. S. officii* gave a general answer: that, apart from all intercourse with the devil, the mere act of using physical means to produce natural effects is not unlawful, provided that no bad moral effects ensue; the application, however, of purely physical means to produce supernatural effects, is unlawful.

(b) In 1841 another question, on the same matter, was proposed to the *Cong. S. Inquisitionis*; and in the question there were two circumstances specified—that the magnetized, though often ignorant, speaks with wonderful learning while in the magnetic slumber, and that experiments in animal magnetism often take place between persons of different sexes.

To this question a more particular answer was given; '*usus magnetismi prout exponitur non licet.*'

(c) In 1841, the Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, proposed the question to the *S. Poenitentia*, with almost all the circumstances belonging, not only to the third and fourth classes of phenomena, but also some of those belonging to the first and second classes. The Bishop asked whether the use of animal magnetism was lawful in circumstances, wherein the person magnetized was plunged into a deep sleep from which no noise could awaken him; where *somnambulism* was caused; wherein the person magnetized, although illiterate and unskilled in medicine, could still make known the diseases of even absent persons, and prescribe remedies for them; wherein the senses of the persons magnetized are transposed so that he can see, though his eyes be veiled; can read, though he be ignorant of letters, or though the book be closed, or placed on his head or on his stomach.

The answer of the Congregation was:—'*Sacra Poenitentia*, mature

positive inclination for this last opinion. Both of these opinions are, however, probable; they are, accordingly, workable. Either one or the other of them may be applied to the present rule. According to the first opinion, only books teaching and commending experiments in Hypnotism of the iii. and iv. class will be proscribed. According to the second opinion, books teaching and commending the use of Hypnotism, under *any* form, either for surgery or amusement, are proscribed.

A word on Spiritism¹ will suffice. Books teaching and commending the use of Spiritism are proscribed by the present rule. This is manifest from the fact, that all are unanimous in pronouncing it superstitious; and, moreover there is explicit mention of it in the present rule—*evocatio spirituum*.

perpensis expositis, respondendum censet, prout, respondet: usum magnetismi prout exponitur non licere.

(d) Finally, the 'Congregatio Universalis Inquisitionis' wrote to all bishops in 1856 against the abuses of animal magnetism. In this letter the Congregation first refers to the information that had been carefully supplied by trustworthy men, regarding the nature of the experiments in animal magnetism. It then mentions the deception practised by the practitioners of the art, who boast that they will, through its aid, throw great light on scientific questions. It then refers to the answers that had been hitherto given on the subject by the Congregations to the particular questions submitted to them. It then condemns, in explicit terms, *somnambulism* and *clairvoyance*: 'Women, whose reputation is by no means good, and who are not always over-modest in their gestures, profess that they behold what is invisible while in the state of *somnambulism*, or *clairvoyance*, as it is called; they even rashly presume to speak of religion, to call forth the souls of the dead, to receive answers from them, to reveal what is unknown or far-distant, and to perform other similar acts of superstition with the hope of making much gain for themselves and their masters. Now, in all those cases, whatever be the art employed, there is to be found heretical and unlawful deception and scandal tending to impurity of morals, since means, which are physical, are ordained to produce effects that are not natural.'

The general tendency of those answers, as will be remarked, is to universal condemnation of animal-magnetism. In none of them is there a word of approbation said; in everyone of them there is disapprobation. The questions and their answers descend step by step from the general to the particular; they close round the issue like a net, and one after the other they narrow the chance of evasion or escape. Cf. Ballerini, opus Magnum, vol. ii., p. 258.

² A confusion may arise owing to the different words for Spiritism. What is called in the present rule of the Index '*evocatio spirituum*' is called on the Continent Spiritism ('*spiritismo*, '*espiritismo*, '*spiritisme*'), and in England Spiritualism. All those names do not equally express the nature of the thing. What is required to be expressed is an *action terminating at spirits*. This is exactly done by '*evocatio spirituum*.' '*Evocatio*'—the action; '*spirituum*'—the term. Spiritism is the second-best name: because it expresses the term—*spirits*. Spiritualism expresses neither the action nor the term, but some not well-defined quality. We have used the word Spiritism in preference to Spiritualism as being more correct and more expressive.

REG. 13.—Libri aut Scripta, quae narrant novas apparitiones, revelationes, visiones, prophetias, miracula, vel quae novas inducunt devotiones, etiam sub praetextu quod sunt privatae, si publicentur absque legitima superiorum ecclesiae licentia, proscribuntur.

1. The 13th rule treats of two classes of books : (1) those that narrate new apparitions, revelations, visions, propheties, and miracles ; (2) those that introduce new devotions. If we examine the form of the rule we shall perceive that it is an hypothetical proposition ; the condition is ' si publicentur absque legitima superiorum ecclesiae licentia ; ' the *conditionatum* is the whole preceding clause. The rule accordingly states, that all books and writings that narrate new apparitions, revelations, visions, propheties or miracles, or that introduce new devotions, even under the pretext that they are private, are proscribed, unless they have been published with the permission of competent ecclesiastical authority.

2. Are we to include journals and periodicals under the extension of the terms ' libri et scripta ' ? *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* answers affirmatively :—' Tutti i libri adunque e qualsivoglia scrittura, concernenti sifatte cose straordinarie, che si pubblicino senza la debita approvazione dell' Autorità ecclesiastica, devono aversi per proibiti.'¹ P. Peries, however, would seem to exclude occasional narratives such as are given in journals and periodicals.—' Ce simple et bref recit d'actualité d'un *fait divers*, ne doit pas tre confondu avec le parti pris de lancer " ex professo," et de soutenir dans controverses prolongées de pretendus faits miraculeux.'² We consider this the better opinion :—(a) For he who would extend the words ' libri et scripta ' to journals and periodicals should represent the Pontiff as having passed an *impractical law* ; for how could the rule in such a sense be reduced to practice since the Press in Italy, France, and England is in open hostility to the Church ? Moreover, to extend the terms ' libri et

¹ Page 39.

² Page 98

³ P. Pennacchi holds the same opinion.

scripta' to journals and periodicals would be to renew the abuse the bishops of Italy, Germany, and France complained of, regarding certain clauses of the Tridentine rules; and it is entirely unlikely that the Pontiff, having before him the representations of those prelates, together with the report of the Vatican Commission, would renew, in anyway, the laws that were then complained of. (b) He who would extend the words 'libri et scripta' to journals and periodicals, would, perhaps, represent the Pontiff as having made a *useless* law. The end the Pontiff had in view, in framing the present rule, was to keep the minds of the faithful from being led astray by false signs, and their faith weakened by miraculous stories, that might afterwards be easily shown to be false. Now, how could the faithful know that any individual issue of a journal contained such stories, till they had read it, and when they had once read it how could the end of the present rule be attained?

3. *Novas*.—A doubt arises regarding the interpretation of the term 'novas.' There may be question of some *fresh* miracles of a holy person whose beatification or canonization is already before the Congregation of Rites, or there may be question of *new* miracles that have no connection with the cause of any of the servants of God. To which are we to refer the term 'novas'? P. Pennacchi would refer the term to miracles, apparitions, &c., that have no connection with the cause of any of the servants of God, and his opinion is supported by the following reasons¹:—

(1) We are not to suppose that Leo XIII. abrogated any previous legislation, or interfered with any constitution of his predecessors, except those that he has made special mention of in the *Officiorum ac Munerum*. Now, there is no reference to the legislation of Urban VIII. on the cause of the servants of God; therefore, 'novas' cannot refer to them.

¹ It may be well to state that the Congregation of Rites has the management of everything concerning the beatification and canonization of saints. It is this Congregation that collects and examines the proofs of the heroic sanctity of any individual whose cause is moved. The Congregation itself is regulated by special legislation made by Urban VIII.

(2) We have positive proof, in the present rules of the Index, that Leo XIII. has in no way interfered with the legislation of Urban VIII., for in the thirty-second rule we read: 'Quae ad causas Beatificationum et Canonizationum servorum Dei utcumque pertinent, absque beneplacito Congregationis Sacris Ritibus tuendis praepositae, publicari nequeunt.' Everything, therefore, that has reference to the cause of the servants of God appertains to the Congregation of Rites; hence the present rule, which is in the administration of the Congregation of the Index, cannot refer to the additional miracles of any person whose cause has been already laid before the Congregation of Rites.

4. *Legitima superiorum Ecclesiae licentia*.—Who are the ecclesiastical authorities that are to grant the permission? The Council of Trent answers this question for us. In the twenty-fifth session we read: 'Nulla etiam admittenda esse nova miracula, nec novas reliquias recipiendas, nisi eodem recognoscenti et approbante episcopo; qui simul atque de iis aliquid compertum habuerit, adhibitis in consilium theologis, et aliis piis viris, ea faciat, quae veritati et pietati consentanea judicaverit.' Is it to the bishop in whose diocese the facts we narrate have occurred, or in whose diocese we intend to publish the book, that we are to apply for permission? We shall see from Rule 35 of the present Constitution that it is from the bishop in whose diocese we intend to publish the book.

5. *Novas . . . devotiones*.—The second part of the present rule treats of new devotions, and pronounces the same proscription on books that publish them as on those that narrate new miracles, prophecies, or revelations. This part of the rule is not quite new, for Pius IX. prescribed that 'all writers who expend their wit and talents in treating of subjects that breathe an air of novelty, or who strive, by means of the Press, to promote new devotions under the semblance of piety, ought to desist; for they are to be mindful of the danger that underlies such a practice, of drawing the faithful into error, even on the dogmas of faith, and of supplying an opportunity to the enemies of religion to disparage

the purity of Catholic faith and the exercise of genuine piety.¹

It would be well to keep before the minds of the faithful, that Almighty God is the end of all true devotion, and that Christ is our Mediator. For Christ is the Vine-stock, and we are the branches ;² or, as St. Paul puts it, we are the members of the body of Christ : *nescitis quoniam corpora vestra membra sunt Christi*.³

Charity is the heart that gives unity, and life, and warmth to this spiritual body. As the heart sends blood through every portion of the human body, and secures thereby perfect unity in all its limbs ; so the love of God, diffused by the Holy Ghost through every true Christian, secures perfect unity among the spiritual members of Christ. As diseases become more grievous and dangerous in proportion as they affect the heart, which is the seat and fount of life ; so sins become more heinous and enormous in proportion as they separate us from God. And so, as the stoppage of the heart is the culminating point of all bodily diseases, so formal hatred of God is the last stage of sin. Finally : as every limb of the human body that is not nourished and refreshed with warm and healthy blood from the heart soon sickens and dries up ; so any devotion that is not warmed and refreshed with the true love of God, instead of being profitable becomes impious. Hence our first and principal devotion is due the Most Holy Trinity ; then to Christ as our Redeemer ; then to the Blessed Virgin Mary as the Mother of God ; then to the holy Apostles, and all the angels and saints.

¹ P. Pennacchi records on this score a most significant incident that occurred to himself. He narrates that in a small, remote Italian village, where he happened to be doing temporary duty, there lived a man who had put away his lawful wife, and had taken to himself another woman. P. Pennacchi, stirred by the scandal that was thus caused the whole parish, urged on the man the necessity of dismissing his concubine, and of recalling his lawful wife. Amongst other reasons, he represented to him that, perhaps, ere long he should be called before the divine tribunal, and then he should be obliged to dismiss his concubine perforce, and be cast into hell into the bargain. 'Not at all,' replied the man, 'I recite every day a certain number of Pater and Aves in honour of St. — (naming some obscure local patron), and with his aid I hope to be saved.'

² John xv. 1.

³ 1 Cor. vi. 16.

REGULA XIV —Prohibentur pariter libri, qui duellum, suicidium, vel divortium licita statuunt, qui de sectis massonicis vel aliis ejusdem generis societatibus agunt, easque utiles et non perniciosas Ecclesiae et civili societati esse contendunt, et qui errores ab Apostolica Sede proscriptos tuentur.

The present rule proscribes three classes of books:— (1) those that endeavour to show that duelling, suicide, and divorce are lawful; (2) those that treat of Freemasonry or other similar societies, and endeavour to show that they are useful, and not injurious, to the Church and civil society; (3) those that defend the errors proscribed by the Apostolic See. We will treat of those three classes of books in three distinct paragraphs.

§ 1.

1. We shall require to explain in what sense duelling, suicide, and divorce fall under the present rule. Generally speaking, they fall under the present rule in so far as they are *unlawful*. But since this general reply is rather indefinite, we shall examine them individually.

Duellum.—Gury gives the following definition of a duel: ‘*Duellum est periculosa duorum pugna, ex praecedenti conducto de loco, tempore et armis.*’ A duel will be *public*, if fought under the sanction of public authority; *private*, if fought from purely personal motives. It will be a *solemn* duel, if there are seconds present; it will be a *simple* duel, if there is no one by.

Is duelling lawful? A duel fought under the direction of public authority may be sometimes lawful, especially when it may be the cause of bringing a war to a close. Thus in the life¹ of St. Wenceslaus, Prince of Bohemia, we read that on one occasion he engaged to fight, in single strife, Radislaus, leader of the Curimenses, in order to spare the lives of his own soldiers. That this was lawful, God plainly showed, for an angel was seen to present to him his arms, and to forbid his opponent to strike. Sanchez says that a public duel is also lawful when required to sustain the repu-

¹ Cf. *Brev. Romanum*.

tation of an army in the eyes of the enemy, or to rouse the drooping courage of the soldiers; and so we find David going forth to fight Goliath, not only to end the strife with the Philistines, but also to reanimate the drooping spirits of the Israelites—since Saul and all the men of Israel wondered at the challenge of the Philistine, and feared much. If, however, duelling is ordered by public authority to gratify revenge or to amuse the spectators—as is recorded to have been done by Hannibal to some Roman youths taken at the battle of Cannae—it bespeaks a savage and ferocious nature, and is contrary to every law, natural and divine.

Private duelling, however, is always unlawful. It is against the natural law: because God gave to no individual dominion over his own or another's life; and it is against the ecclesiastical law, as many decrees of the Councils and many encyclicals of the Supreme Pontiffs demonstrate.

Private duelling was condemned in the First Lateran Council, under Innocent II., 1130; it was condemned in the Second Lateran Council under Alexander III., 1148; and in the xxv. Sess. of the Council of Trent, cap. 18, we read: 'Detestabilis duellorum usus, fabricante diabolo introductus, ut cruenta corporum morte, animarum etiam perniciem lucretur, ex christiano orbe penitus exterminetur. Imperator reges, duces, principes, marchiones, comites, et quocumque alio nomine domini temporales, qui locum ad monomachiam in terris suis inter Christianos concesserint eo ipso sint excommunicandi.'

Besides the condemnations by the Councils of the Church, various pontiffs have condemned the practice of private duelling.¹ One of the most vigorous denunciations of duelling made by any pontiff, is that made by Leo XIII. in his letter to the bishops of Germany, Austria and Hungary, in 1891. In this letter the Pontiff declares duelling to be against the natural and divine law—since both one and the other forbid any private individual to put another to death, unless he is obliged to do so in self-defence. It leads to disorder in the

¹ Their condemnations may be found collected and arranged in P. Pennacchi's *Commentary, Apostolicas Sedes*, vol. i., p. 536.

administration of justice in any State—since nothing leads to such abuse as to grant to every individual the power of proving his right himself, and of vindicating his honour with his own hand. It is, moreover, a foolish and a useless practice—for though the dishonoured man should prove victor in the strife, yet it will be the judgment of every honest person, that, though he has proved himself the stronger, or the more skilful in the use of arms, he has not proved himself one whit the more honourable; nor is duelling to be permitted to soldiers under the pretence that it increases their skill in the use of arms, or strengthens their courage by making them familiar with danger; for what is essentially bad cannot be made good, owing to the particular position that one may occupy: whether a man be in the army, or out of it, he is equally bound by the law of God. Hence the mind of the Church on duelling is manifest.

Suicidium.—He who commits suicide sins on many sides. He sins against God: life and death belong to God; '*non occides.*' '*Ego occidam et ego vivere faciam,*' saith the Lord. He sins against himself: for God, who made all things, has infused into them some of His own love, by which they are to cherish themselves, and strive to keep themselves alive; when a person kills himself he does not act according to this love; but revolts against God, turns love to hatred, and deprives himself of a gift that God had given him. Hence, Cicero says, that no pious man will dare to leave this mortal life without the command of Him who gave it, lest he should appear to have failed to fulfil the duty imposed on him by God.¹ Lastly, he sins against his country: for he is a member of the community, as a leg or an arm is a member of the human body; and so, when he kills himself, he lops a member from the State, and thus inflicts on it an injury.²

We can give no other explanation of the action of St. Appolonia,³ virgin and martyr of Alexandria, in rushing

¹ '*Piis omnibus retinendus est animus in custodia corporis, nec injussu ejus a quo ille est vobis datus ex hominum vita migrandum est ne munus humanum assignatum a Deo, defecisse videamini.*'—(*De Republica*, lib. vi.)

² Cf. S. Thomas, ii.-ii.; 64; 5.

³ *Brev. Rom.*

from the hands of her executioners into the fire prepared for her than that which St. Augustine gives of the action of Sampson in killing himself with the assembled Philistines : '*nec Sampson aliter excusatur quod seipsum cum hostibus ruina domus oppressit, nisi quod Spiritus Sanctus hoc jusserat, qui per illum miracula faciebat.*'¹ Poets praise the action of Lucretia : but their reasons are purely sentimental. Let us hear one of her own sex condemn her. When St. Lucy² the youthful virgin martyr of Syracuse was threatened by her impious judge, Paschasius, to be sent to the brothel, she boldly defied him, saying : '*Si invitam jusseris violari castitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam : non coinquinatur corpus nisi de consensu mentis !* What excuse has, then, Lucretia ! If she did not consent, why have killed herself ? and if she did consent, wherefore entol her virtue ?'

Divortium.—The present rule does not speak of that separation of man and wife which occasionally takes place, with the approbation of the Church. With regard to such a separation, the Council of Trent has declared (Sess. 24, can. 8) : '*Si quis dixerit ecclesiam errare, cum ob multas causas separationem inter conjuges quoad torum seu quoad habitationem, ad certum incertumque tempus fieri posse discernit, A. S.*' The present rule speaks of perfect divorce where there is not only a separation from house and home, but an attempt to break the sacramental bond of marriage. We will not here dwell on how such an act violates the rights of the children that may have been begotten—who claim with justice, sustenance and education ; how it violates the rights of the wife—who claims with justice shelter and protection after beauty and fertility are gone ; nor how it is contrary to that affection that should have led man and woman to unite in marriage—which according to the love depicted in the spouse of the Canticles, ought to have been founded on some permanent and lasting quality, and not on one fleeting and transient. Nor will we show how such a separation is contrary to the divine law, as dispensed by Christ, who restored the marriage contract to its primary

¹ *De Civ. Dei*, lib. i., cap. 21.

Brev. Rom.

form—one in number, and life-long in duration, and raised it to the dignity of a sacrament.

Perfect divorce is contrary to ecclesiastical law. The Council of Trent, sess. 24, thus speaks of the bond of marriage: 'Hoc autem vinculo duos tantummodo copulari et conjungi, Christus Dominus apertius docuit, cum postrema illa verba, tamquam a Deo prolata, referens, dixit: Itaque jam non sunt duo, sed una caro; statimque ejusdem nexus firmitatem ab Adamo tanto ante pronuntiatam his verbis confirmavit: quod ergo Deus conjuxit homo non separet.'

Leo XIII. in his constitution *Arcanum divinæ Sapientiæ Consilium* thus laments the sad results of civil divorces:—

They render the marriage contract infirm; they diminish the good-will between man and wife; they offer ruinous incitements to conjugal infidelity; they prevent the offspring from being properly reared and educated; they sow the seeds of discord amongst families; and they lower the dignity of woman, who runs the risk of being cast aside, when she has satisfied the lust of man. Now, since there is nothing that leads to the extinction of families, and to the exhaustion of kingdoms, so much as corruption of morals, it is quite easy to see that those divorces—the natural outcome of moral corruption—are highly injurious to the prosperity of both families and states: for experience teaches us that while they are themselves the result of corruption, they are the cause of still further corruption. Now: all those evils will appear the greater if we consider that if once the permission of divorces be granted, there is nothing to confine them within fixed and determined boundaries.

§ 2.

The second part of the rule proscribes all books that endeavour to prove that Freemasonry and all other societies of a kindred nature are useful, and not injurious either to Church or State.

From many sources do we know that Freemasonry is hostile both to Church and State—from the end which it proposes to itself,—from the confessions and revelations of many who were its leaders—from the books and the laws that the society has published—from the edicts with which many kings have endeavoured to repress it; and, finally, from the different constitutions published by the Roman pontiffs, in which the society has been condemned.

Freemasonry¹ has been condemned by Clement XII. in 1738; by Benedict XIV. in 1751; by Gregory XVI., in his constitution *Mirari*; and by Pius IX., in his constitution *Pluribus*. All the condemnations of previous pontiffs Leo XIII. renewed in 1884, in his constitution, *Humanum Genus*. In this constitution the Pontiff lays bare the wicked designs of Freemasonry; he warns the faithful to avoid it, and he urges bishops to exert all their energy, that the flocks entrusted to them may not be misled by its frauds. He declares that the end of Freemasonry is to destroy the Church either by open violence or by secret plotting, with the intention of afterwards depriving Christians, if it can at all, of the benefits that Christ has obtained for us. Freemasonry is ignoble in its internal organization; for to counterfeit and strive to lie hidden—to bind men like slaves with the strictest bonds, without declaring the cause; to be ready to commit any crime at the will of another; to arm oneself for murder after seeking permission to sin—is something savage and unnatural. Freemasonry is heretical: for its members receive no dogma of religion: they will admit no truth that the human understanding cannot comprehend, nor any master on whose authority they must believe. They call in doubt some of the truths of reason—that God exists: that the human soul is spiritual and immortal. They refuse to admit the redemption of the human race, the existence of grace, the efficacy of the sacraments, and the happiness that awaits the just in heaven. They deny that our first parents fell, and accordingly they think that the human will was in no way weakened and made prone to sin. They reduce the Sacrament of matrimony to a mere social contract, and hold, accordingly, that it may be rescinded at the will of those who formed it. They assert that all men have equal rights, and are equal in rank,—that every man is by nature free, that no man has a right to command,—and, accordingly, that to wish men to obey any authority is to do them an outrage.

No equivocation can secure release from this condemnation. There is no use in saying that the condemnation of the

¹ For a history of Freemasonry we should refer our readers to the work of N. Deschamps, *Les sociétés secrètes*,

Church extends to those branches only of Freemasonry that are openly hostile to her. It is not to the garb of Freemasonry that we are to look for a knowledge of its mind and intentions, but to its effects. Every good tree bears good fruit, and every bad tree bears bad fruit. Who was ever known to grow thorns on the vine, or to get figs from thistles? By the fruit the tree is known, and certainly the fruit of Freemasonry is bad.

Nor is it of any avail to say that it is not the same Freemasonry that exists in one country as in another, because it shows differently therein. It is not a difference of nature but a difference of circumstances that leads to a difference of appearances. Is it not the same sun that blazes forth bright and warm in southern climes, as peeps pale and sickly through fog and mist in northern regions? And so it is the one and the same Freemasonry, that in one place stands in open warfare and defiance to the Church, as assumes elsewhere the hermit's cowl.

The present Rule, however, leaves no room for such discussion; it condemns Freemasonry as a *unit*.

2. Now, when is a book treating of duelling, suicide, or divorce, proscribed by the present rule? In order that a book treating of those subjects be proscribed by the present rule, three conditions must be fulfilled:—First, it must not only treat of those subjects, but endeavour to prove them lawful: second, it must endeavour to prove them lawful in the *sense*, and to the *extent* that they are condemned by the Church: third, it must do so *ex professo*.

About this third condition, there is a controversy amongst the writers that have hitherto written on the rules of the Index. *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* explicitly states, that even were a book to treat of those subjects in a passing way '(obiter)' and endeavour to prove them lawful, it should be proscribed by the present rule.¹ P. Pennacchi, however,

¹ Si noti: 1°. Che qui non si fa differenza fra autori cattolici ed acattolici. 2°. Che non si distingue fra libri che trattano delle dette cose *ex professo* e quelli che no. In tutte queste cose non vale perciò la regola 'odia restringenda,' ma vale l'altra 'quod lex non distinguit, neque nos distinguere debemus.'

holds, that unless the book does so *ex professo*, it is not proscribed by the present rule; and this seems to be the better opinion.

(1) The words, themselves, of the rule seem to imply as much. The words *Licita statuunt, agunt, easque utiles esse contendunt, tuentur*, seem all to imply more than a passing reference. Examining the words in order: what would be required in order to treat '(agunt)' of either duelling, suicide, divorce, or Masonic societies, or the errors proscribed by the Apostolic See? What would be required to prove them lawful '(licita statuunt)'? What would be required to prove them useful '(easque utiles)'? And, lastly, what would be required to defend them against objections '(tuentur)'? There would, first, be required an explanation of the subject; then a division of the various kinds of divorce, duel, or Masonic societies; then a series of proofs; and, lastly, a refutation of all the arguments we have adduced, and of many more to which we have not referred. Now, to do this, no passing reference would suffice, but almost a regular treatise should be written, or, at least, an amount equal to a chapter. Hence, the wording of the rule would seem to imply an *ex professo* treatment.

(2) It would appear from a scrutiny of the present rules, that the legislator has not wished to proscribe *any* book for having treated merely *obiter* of a forbidden subject. In examining the character of the rules of the present Constitution it would be well to distinguish the *matter* of which the book treats from the *manner* in which it treats thereof.

Now, in proportion as the *matter* of the book would be important or infectious, so the legislature should naturally be more enacting regarding the *manner* of treatment. We should, for instance, be more careful to keep fire away from tow than from coal or timber. Bearing this in mind, let us compare the present rule with the fourth and ninth rules. In Rule 4, we read: 'Libri eorumdem auctorum qui *ex professo de religione non tractant, sed obiter tantum fidei veritates attingunt*, jure ecclesiastico prohibiti non habeantur.' Now, the *matter* of Rule 4 is of more importance

than the *matter* of the present rule ; because Rule 4 treats of the very foundations of our religion, whereas the present rule treats only of a part of the superstructure ; hence the legislator could not well have been more exacting in the present rule as regards the *manner* of the book, than he has been in Rule 4 ; but in Rule 4 he does not proscribe, except in case of an *ex professo* treatment ; therefore, he has not wished to proscribe in the present rule, except in cases of *ex professo* treatment.

Let us compare the present rule with Rule 9. In Rule 9 we read : ' *Libri qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant, narrant aut docent, . . . omnino prohibentur.*' Now, the *matter* of Rule 9 takes fire like flax, and spreads like a canker ; hence the legislator should have been most exacting as regards the *manner* of the book ; but he has not proscribed except in the case of *ex professo* treatment ; how, therefore, can we say that he proscribes books in Rule 14, for merely a passing reference to subjects that are slower to spread contagion ? The opinion of the *Monitore* is, indeed, probable ; it may even have the weight of reason on its side ; but still we think that the arguments adduced by us are enough to render the opinion of P. Pennacchi at least probable ; and if it be deemed so, it is the opinion that will be put in practice in the censorship of books on the aforesaid subjects, since it is the more lenient.

3. Besides Masonic societies, what other societies fall under the present rule ? First of all, it is to be remarked, that when the word *secta* occurs in any Decree or Constitution, two things are implied : (a) that there is a positive union among its members. For this, however, it is not necessary that there be an oath. (b) That it is directed in some way either against the Church or State. Hence, in order that any society fall under the words of the rule, *ejusdem generis*, it must possess those two characteristics. Now : what societies possess those two characteristics ? Reat in his Commentary on the *Apostolicæ Sedis* has included the following :—Communism, Socialism, Internationalism, Nihilism, and Fenianism.

§ 3.

What are the errors spoken of in the last part of the rule? They are the errors contained in the Syllabus of Pius IX., published 8th Dec., 1864. The errors referred to may be found in Gury, vol. i., page cvii. Two questions here present themselves for solution :—

1. Does a person incur excommunication by holding any of the propositions contained in this syllabus. It would appear at first sight that he does, from the words of the *Apostolicae Sedis*, Tit. ii., n. 1, where we read:—‘*Docentes vel defendentes, sive publice sive privatim, propositiones ab Apostolica sede damnatas, sub excommunicatione latae sententiae, &c.*’

In explanation, therefore, we should say, that the said syllabus seems to contain two distinct classes of propositions. First, those that are elsewhere condemned by the Church as heretical; and anyone who defends such propositions incurs the excommunication. Second, propositions that are not found condemned elsewhere; and it would appear that a person may defend such propositions without incurring the excommunication; in proof, whereof, we should remark, that amongst the highest authorities there is a dispute, as to whether the said syllabus be a declaration *ex cathedra*, or not. Nay, there are several prelates who have not received it as a declaration *ex cathedra*, and who still have not incurred the censure of the Holy See. Now, it is incredible that such a state of things would have been tolerated had Pius IX. really intended the syllabus to be a declaration *ex cathedra*. Since, therefore, it is doubtful whether the syllabus be a declaration *ex cathedra* or not, the said ‘*latae sententiae*’ excommunication is also doubtful, and according to the well-known theological adage, *ex communicatio dubia, ex communicatio nulla*.

2. Are books proscribed by the present rule that defend any of the errors contained in the syllabus? To this question we reply, by giving the answer of the Congregation of the Index. The following question was proposed to the Congregation :—

An opera (quae permulta sunt) erroribus infecta a syllabo
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damnatis, verbis Art. 14 prohibiti censeantur, quatenus errores ab Apostolico sede proscriptos continentia?

Res: Affirmative; si hos errores tueantur seu propungent.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria ejusdem Sacrae Congre Indicis die 23rd Maii, 1898.

A. CARD. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

FR. M. A. CICOGNANI, O.P., *Secret.*

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

ST. AUGUSTINE AND THE 'MISSING LINK'

WE have seen¹ how anxious Catholic evolutionists are to secure the patronage of St. Augustine.² There are a few among them who go a step farther, and claim his patronage for the hypothesis of the 'Missing Link.' Evolutionists of the Agnostic and Materialistic school have long since included man in their evolutionary series, and assigned him a simian origin. They admit that the last link in the chain is still wanting, namely the *homunculus*, or man-ape, connecting man with the highest ape. Dr. Zahm tells us:—³

That, as a matter of fact, no positive evidence has been adduced in support of the simian origin of man, and there is little if any reason to believe that such evidence will be forthcoming. Since the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, naturalists have been exploring every portion of the globe for some trace of the missing link between man and the highest known mammal, a link which they said exists somewhere, if the hypothesis of the evolution of man be true. Explorations have been made in the dark forests of equatorial Africa, in the dense jungle of southern Asia, in the slightly frequented islands of every sea, in the caves and lake-dwellings of Europe, in the mounds and cliff-dwellings of America, in the gravel-beds and stalactite deposits of the Tertiary and Quaternary Periods, in the tombs and burial-places of prehistoric man; but all to no purpose.

¹ I. E. RECORD, February, 1899.

² As this is only a sequel to that paper, we need not repeat what we then said, but shall take it as already known to the reader.

³ *Evolution and Dogma*, p. 351: Chicago, 1896.

After this preface he continues thus:—

But, granting that the search for the link connecting man with the ape has been so far futile ; admitting, with Virchow, that the future discovery of this *proanthropos* is highly improbable, may we not, nevertheless, believe as a matter of theory, that there has been such a link, and that corporally man is genetically descended from some unknown species of ape or monkey.

For this theory he thus claims St. Augustine's patronage:—¹

It has been shown that St. Augustine has laid down principles which may be regarded as reconcilable with the thesis of the brilliant author (Mivart). . . . This view of the derivative origin of Adam's body is quite in harmony with other principles laid down by the great Bishop of Hippo.

We are not here discussing the merits or demerits of this theory ; but simply whether there is any ground for connecting St. Augustine with it. If his patronage is claimed on the ground of his being an evolutionist, our answer may be very brief ; we have already proved that he was not an evolutionist. But even if he were an evolutionist, it would not be fair to connect him with the present theory, for only very few Christian evolutionists extend it even to man's body.

But has not St. Augustine left us some special disquisitions on the formation of man's body, which contain the 'principles' alluded to ? Let us see. Our quotations shall be taken from *De Genesi ad Litteram*. He says:—²

'God formed man of the dust or slime of the earth'³ . . . Let us, therefore, see, first, how God made his body from the earth ; we shall afterwards speak of the soul. That God formed man from slime with corporal hands is something too puerile to think of . . . Nor can we agree with those who say that man is God's chief work because He created him Himself while He only commanded the rest to be made ; . . . it is because He made him to His own image . . . Nor can it be even said that He made man Himself, but only ordered the beasts to be made ; for the same Scripture which says that God made man from the slime of the

¹ Page 354.

² vi. 19-30.

³ 'Proinde, formavit Deus hominem pulverem terræ, vel limum terræ, hoc est, de pulvere vel limo terro.'

earth, says also : ‘ *et finxit Deus adhuc de terra omnes bestias . . .*’ But how did God make man from the slime of the earth? Was it at once and in full age; or as He now forms them in their mother’s womb, according to the words, *priusquam te formarem in utero, novi te?*¹ Does Adam differ only in this, that he was made from the earth, not begotten of parents? Made, however, by passing through the ordinary stages assigned to human nature? Or, had we not better omit this requirement? At all events, in whatever way God acted, He acted as became His omnipotence and wisdom . . . When the Lord changed water into wine,² did He look for a vine and time? Does the author of time need the aid of time? . . . Still, the nature of these *rationes causales* which God placed in the world when He first created all things, is a very proper subject of inquiry. Were things to be formed gradually, like the plants and animals at present? Or at once, as Adam is believed to have been made in adult age and without growth? But why not allow them both these qualities, so that the Maker could have a choice? For, if we allow only the former, we are met not only by the water changed into wine, but by all miracles wrought contrary to the usual course of nature; if we allow only the latter, we encounter a still greater absurdity in the natural objects that run their course in a manner quite different. Let us, therefore, admit that they (the *rationes*) were created to suit both ways, according to the exigencies of the time or the will of God. In any case, man was made in accordance with these first *causes* intended for the formation of the first man, who was not to be born of parents, for he had none; but to be formed of slime, according to the *causal reason* in which he was first made. For, if he were made otherwise, God would not have made him among the works of the six days, in which he is said to have been made, because the *cause* was made by which man was to appear in due time to be made by Him who had finished what He had commenced, by perfecting the *causal reasons*; and commenced what was to be finished in the order of time. If, then, in these first *causes* of things which the Creator first deposited in the world, He arranged not only to form man of slime, but also how to form him, whether as in his mother’s womb or in adult age, He undoubtedly acted as He had appointed, for He would not act contrary to His determination. If He had deposited (in the unformed matter) only a mere *possibility*, so that man could be made in any way, keeping to Himself the way He intended, but which He had not deposited in the world; even so it is manifest that man was not made contrary to the *causes* deposited in that first creation . . . Wherefore, if the *causes* of all future things were deposited in the world when God created all things together, Adam when formed from slime, and more

¹ Jerem. i. 5.² John ii.

probably in adult age, was not otherwise made than was laid down in those *causes* established when God created man among the works of the six days . . . It is sometimes asked whether the body of man thus formed of slime was an animal body like our present bodies, or a spiritual body as in the resurrection.

We have given this long dissertation in full, and in St. Augustine's own words, omitting only the digressions which in no way affect his argument. The reader cannot fail to see that the two fixed points are:—(1) that God made man Himself from slime; (2) that Adam had no parents. The second suffices of itself to dispose of the claims of poor *homunculus*; but the other is far more decisive for our present position. Down to the verse, 'God formed man of the slime of the earth,' he departs from the received interpretation in the most extraordinary ways; he changes the six days into a single instant, and converts the sun, moon, stars, seas, mountains, plants, animals, and even man, into mere invisible *rationes causales*; and all this contrary to the unanimous interpretation of the Greek fathers, for whom he had the most profound respect, and to the teaching of his own spiritual father, Ambrose, which was so generally followed in the West. We see that the received sense of the above verse involves him in almost insuperable difficulties, and yet he will not depart from it; rather than do so, he invents a second set of *rationes* for the special use of the Creator. And, by the way, we may here remark, that if the *rationes* were active causes, this invention would be useless; by their own innate activity and the influence of the earth, they would germinate quite spontaneously. Again and again, he repeats the above verse, having, at the very outset, taken care to fix its true meaning. Even in the supposition of the slime being put through the processes ordinarily followed by nature in her operations, the sole agent is God. This would be the place to introduce *homunculus*, had he thought the hypothesis possible or permissible. We know what a fearless and fertile mind he had for such conceptions.'

¹ For him the unanimous teaching of the fathers was strictly obligatory; but only when they spoke as *witnesses* of the doctrine of the Church, not as mere private commentators (*tractatores*). When quoting them he takes care to see in which capacity they speak. — (*Life of St. Augustine*, p. 433.)

His remarks on the formation of Eve, fully confirm all this. He says :—

Let us now see how the woman was formed. Though formed from the man, already in existence, it was not by any movement of existing natures.¹ Angels can create no nature; the only creator of any nature, great or small, is God. It may be asked, how was Adam set to sleep, and a rib taken from his body without causing pain. It may be said that angels could do this; but God alone, by whom all nature exists, could form a woman from a rib; nor could I believe angels to be capable of substituting flesh for the rib, any more than they could form man himself from the dust of the earth. Not that they are altogether incapable of co-operating in the work of creation. . . . Being willingly subject to God, and executing His orders, they could supply (*ministrare*) materials for the creation of things in time, according to the uncreated *reasons* in the Word of God, or the *reasons* created causally in the work of the six days. Who could venture to say what service (*ministerium*) they rendered in that formation of the woman? This much I will assert with full certainty, that the substitution of flesh for the rib, the formation of the woman's body, soul, viscera, members, senses, and whatever else went to make her a human being and a woman, could only be the work of God—that work which He performed not by angels, but by Himself; which He did not perform and leave off, but so continues that neither any creature, nor even the angels themselves, could subsist without it. . . . It may be asked what was the *causal* state of the first man when he was made to the image of God; did it require that the woman should be made from the man's side, or did it only make this possible, but not necessary? The answer I shall venture to offer is this: that with the ordinary *rationes* implanted by God in all the natures He created, there are others (possibilities) subjecting them to a more powerful will.

Here again he holds firmly to the common interpretation although it clashes with his theory of the *rationes causales*. Nothing could move him from the doctrine of the immediate creation of Adam and Eve.² Any theory of *mediate* creation,

¹ ix. 24-34.

² St. Augustine constantly uses the words *nature* and *creature* for species we can always know from the context when they are meant in this sense.

³ Dr. Zahm quotes these words of St. Thomas: 'Potuit tamen fieri ut aliquod ministerium informatione corporis primi hominis Angeli exhiberent, sicut exhibebunt in ultima resurrectione pulveres colligendo.' He then says (p. 354): 'It has been shown that St. Augustine and the Angelic Doctor have laid down principles which may be regarded as reconcilable with the thesis defended by the brilliant author (Mivart). The Angelic Doctor in accord with

would have obviated all the trouble about his *rationes causales*.

St. Augustine was not the inventor of these *rationes*: the term was in common use among the philosophers long before his time. By it Plato meant the *archetypes* in the Divine mind, and in this sense it is often used by St. Augustine. The materialists called their uncreated germs the *rationes causales* of all things. Even the Stoics had their *rationes causales*. Hence, when St. Augustine¹ found it impossible to regard the second account of the creation as a mere recapitulation, he had to reduce the first creation to unformed matter in which were deposited the invisible *rationes causales* of all the visible forms that were to appear in due time. But he only adapted the language of the philosophers to his subject and to his own sense. Everything except mere unformed matter, was in a mere *causal* and invisible state; even the laws of nature existed only *potentially*; except, perhaps, the chemical laws of matter and the law of gravitation; but even these could

the traditional teaching of the fathers, holds that the body of the first man was immediately and directly formed by God Himself; but he admits the possibility of angelic intervention in its formation, and preparation for the reception of its informing principle, the rational soul. According to this view, God created absolutely, *ex nihilo*, the human soul, but delegated to His creatures, the angels, the formation, or at least the formation in part, *aliquod ministerium*, of man's body. It is manifest, however, that if God could have formed the body of Adam through the agency of angels, He could have communicated the same power to other agencies, if He had so willed. Instead, for instance, of delegating angels to form the body of the common father of mankind, He could, we may believe, have given to matter the power of evolving itself, under the action of the Divine administration, into all the forms of life which we now behold, including the body of man. The product of such an evolution would not be a rational animal as man is, but an irrational one; the highest and noblest representative of the brute creation, but nevertheless only a brute. Such an irrational animal, the result of long years of development, and the product of the play, during untold aeons of evolutionary forces on lower forms of life, such a *substratum* it was, according to Mivart's theory, into which the Creator breathed the breath of life, and man forthwith became a living soul. . . . This view of the derivative origin of Adam's body, is also quite in harmony with other principles laid down both by the great Bishop of Hippo and the Angel of the Schools." The fallacy here is quite manifest; the *ministerium* indicated, differs completely from that mentioned by St. Augustine and St. Thomas. No one can truthfully quote St. Augustine for such a doctrine. This is all we are contending for at present. Leroy's work here quoted by Dr. Zalm, has been since condemned at Rome and suppressed by its author. (See *l'abbé*, p. 379, March 6th, 1897.)

¹ vi. J-8.

have no influence on mere invisible *modes* like the *rationes causales*. We have already seen that these *rationes* had no innate activity in their primordial state in the first creation ; but that in the second creation, when the *potential* became actual, all the activities which we now behold came into full play. St. Augustine carefully selects his words to suit his position as we have already seen.¹

It has been falsely asserted that his doctrine of the immediate creation and stability of species was meant only for the first creation. For he constantly repeats that, in the ordinary course, all visible forms must be copies of their invisible prototypes—the *rationes causales*. All this we have seen in the extracts already given, to which we shall add only this one.²

We must, therefore, see how it can be said, 'God rested on the seventh day,' and 'My Father worketh until now' . . . It may also mean that God rested from forming *genera* (*genera creaturæ*), because He formed no new *genera* after this; but henceforth carries on the administration of the same *genera* which were then instituted. . . . For God is not like a builder who, having built a house, goes his way, and it stands by itself; the world could never exist a single instant if God withdrew His *regimen*. . . . 'In him we live, move, and have our being.' Hence it is manifest that if God ceased a single day from the work of ruling what He created, they would instantly lose the natural activities by which they move and vegetate so as to be natures at all, and to continue in the *genus* to which each belongs; they would even cease to exist at all. Wherefore, by *God's resting from His works* we understand that He forms no new nature; not that He ceases to sustain and govern what He has formed. Hence it is true that 'God rested on the seventh day,' and yet 'worketh until now.'

To St. Augustine, God is the immediate efficient agent, not only in the work of pure creation but also in that of conservation which He regards as only a continuation of the first act. And, surely, conservation is beyond the power of any creature. Even *concursus* he regards as belonging to creation: thus he says³ that the husbandman is no more

¹ The *genus* and *species* of Aristotle were the only recognised classes down to the eighteenth century. As St. Augustine's doctrine of *fixity* applied to both, he freely interchanges these terms.

² iv. 21-23.

³ ix. 26, 30.

the creator of the corn and fruit than the angels were of Eve's body, if they supplied the rib. 'For, not he that plants is anything, nor he that waters, but God who gives the increase.'¹

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

POSTSCRIPT

The above paper was in the Editor's hands before I saw Father Coakley's article in the I. E. RECORD for April. Not to put off my reply, I condense it into this short postscript. I fully agree with him as to the importance of accurate definition. But, while admiring his undoubted ability and learning, I cannot accept his conclusion that St. Augustine was an evolutionist.

1. Because Father Coakley seems to postulate a very broad, vague, colourless definition of evolution, not yet generally accepted even by theistic evolutionists. When they consent to eliminate mutable, transformed, and derived species, they can begin to claim kinship with the great Bishop of Hippo.

2. Because I cannot find a trace of these characteristic elements of evolution in any quotations from St. Augustine; unless I admit that his invisible *rationes causales* were material entities, germs seeds, &c.; or that he considered the *rationes*, whether of the first or the second creation, to be capable of producing new species; or, in fine, that generation, germination, &c., can be called technical evolution. Now, for the reasons given in my first paper, I can make no such admissions.

With regard to the great theologians mentioned by Father Coakley, it seems quite clear to me that they recognised in St. Augustine not only a creationist but a double creationist. His double creationism with its consequences, was the real cause of their disputes, some condemning, others defending his doctrine. Those who condemned it, complained that he was not a *six-day* creationist in their sense; that he claimed the first thirty-six verses of Genesis for his first or invisible creation; that he made the creation described in these verses instantaneous and simultaneous; that he reduced the *six days* to a single instant; and that, in fine, he stood alone among the fathers. Such are the complaints we find repeated by Suarez.² Father Coakley

¹ 1. Cor. iii. Speaking on this subject in *The Tablet*, Jan. 14th, 1899, Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport, says:—'The authority here referred to must, I presume, be that of the Holy Office. The Mivartian theory, therefore, can no longer be maintained. . . . If the competent authority has decided in the sense in which it appears to have done, the view that Adam's body was *evolved*, must still be pronounced *rash* and *something more*.'

² *De opere sex dierum*, l. i., c. 10-12; l. ii., c. 7.

triumphantly quotes him¹ as censuring the saint's non-creationism, but the censure refers only to the *six days*.

For everything after that—for Adam and Eve, for Paradise, for the beasts and birds, and for this whole visible universe, he was a thorough creationist, even in our sense. What is here said for Suarez is meant for all the others as well.

Father Coakley says in the same place, that I quoted a certain passage in proof of creationism; but I did no such thing. I knew well that the saint meant the passage as a proof of his first creation and its immaterial *rationes*. Observe his contrast between the *causaliter* of the first creation and the evidently material *causaliter* of the second.

After this, Father Coakley quotes, as manifest proofs of evolution and disproofs of creationism, nine passages which for convenience I number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. He also says that the very first of these extracts refutes my assertions regarding the inactivity of the *rationes causales* of the first creation. Now, in all these passages we have the two creations, and the passage of the *rationes* from the first to the second; in every case the Creator is the immediate agent. Surely, this is some proof of creationism, and of the inactivity of the *rationes*.

Let us come to details. No. 1 asserts both four times; namely, at the words *movens*, *plantavit*, *creat*, and *finitus est*. No. 2, twice; i.e., at the words *operatur* and *explicaret*. As Father Coakley often alludes to the words *non intervallis temporum*, let us note, once for all, that they regard only the first creation, and mean that there was no interval between the creation of unformed matter and its invisible *rationes*. Between that and the visible organized universe there may have been millions of years. No. 3, thrice; i.e., at the words *operatur*, *multafacere*, and *movel*. It is clear, from the context, that *movel* refers not only to the visible, but also to the invisible creation. We must remember that, according to the saint's theory, every visible species had its origin from an invisible *ratio*, and that he regarded conservation and *concursus* as continuations of the first creative act. No. 4, thrice, in the words *usque nunc operatur* and *gubernans et movens*. This passage has been already noticed in my first paper. Here, again, we must remember that conservation and *concursus* presuppose the original act of creation. No. 5, once, at the words *spatia creat*; No. 6, once, at the words *operatur quotidie*; No. 7, once, at the words *postea visibiliter*; No. 8, once, at the word *impleret*; No. 9, once, at the word *formaturus*. Seventeen instances of special creation, in the nine passages quoted against it, is not bad.

Let us now count the examples of mutable, transformed, or derived species. I have looked very closely, and can honestly

¹Page 349.

say that I have not met even one. But, as often happens, I found what I was not looking for—a strong protest against *mutability* in No. 3, and the same idea, less explicitly, in Nos. 4, 7, 8, 9. I must, therefore, dissent strongly from the passage in which Father Coakley asserts 'that his interpretation of these extracts 'represents the mind of Augustine.'

Neither Suarez nor any other of the theologians named had occasion to define strictly the nature of the saint's *rationes causales*. We need not, therefore, take them too literally when they speak of germs, seeds, &c. Evolution was not a matter of discussion in their time. Fortunately, we are not here bound *jurare in verbis magistri*. We can freely exercise our own judgment on St. Augustine's text. In my humble opinion the more we study it, the less evolutionary we shall find it, even in those passages which seem, at first sight, to suggest evolution. To understand him rightly we must first master his peculiar terminology. From first to last, in his *De Genesi ad Litteram*, he keeps the two creations in view. We must do the same, if we hope to understand him.

P. B.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

POWER OF THE ORDINARY TO DISPENSE 'MORIBUNDI' IN MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Have parish priests lately got any special power to dispense in matrimonial impediments, in case of necessity? If they have, it would, I believe, interest many of them to know the nature of their new faculties. Though I learn that certain parish priests of my acquaintance have some special powers and exercise them, others, and among them the writer, know of no privilege conferred on them.

PABOCHUS.

Parish priests have not directly received from the Holy See any power to dispense in matrimonial impediments. All Ordinaries, however, have within comparatively recent times, got very extensive faculties to grant matrimonial dispensations to persons in danger of death; and these faculties can, with certain limitations, be delegated to parish priests and other clerics.

Premising that the use of the faculties in question is expressly restricted to those who '*juxta leges civiles sunt conjuncti aut alias in concubinato vivunt*,' we print as much of the document, in which these special faculties were granted, as will suffice to furnish an answer to our correspondent's question:—

Sanctitas Sua benigne annuit pro gratia, qua locorum Ordinarii dispensare valeant sive per se, sive per ecclesiasticam personam sibi benevisam aegrotos in gravissimo mortis periculo constitutos, quando non suppetit tempus recurrendi ad S. Sedem super impedimentis quantumvis publicis matrimonium jure ecclesiastico dirimentibus, excepto sacro presbyteratus Ordine, affinitate lineae rectae ex copula licita proveniente.¹

That we may the more clearly understand the additional power granted to Ordinaries in this concession, it will be

¹ S. Cong. Inquis. 20 Feb. 1888.

worth while to recall briefly the exact relation in which Ordinaries stood to matrimonial dispensations before 1888. We shall confine our remarks chiefly to the power of *bishops* over *diriment* impediments, apart from their faculties derived from the quinquennial or like special indults.

1. Bishops have *jure ordinario et proprio* no power to dispense in diriment impediments of matrimony. These impediments are part of the general law of the Church, and any power that bishops have to dispense in them must come from the express or tacit delegation of the Holy See.

2. Without any express concession, bishops are presumed to have the tacit consent of the Holy See to dispense in *doubtful* diriment impediments of the *ecclesiastical law*, whether the doubt arises from a legal dispute among theologians and canonists, or from some question of fact. In the case, however, of an impediment, doubtful, *ob dubium facti*, whenever there is a strong presumption for the existence of the impediment, the matter should be referred to the Holy See. A marriage contracted with an episcopal dispensation in what reasonably seemed a doubtful impediment will, of course, be and remain valid, even though the impediment be afterwards proved to have been certainly existent.

3. Again, it is commonly held by theologians, that bishops have power to dispense in *occult* impediments of the *ecclesiastical law* (in which the Holy See would dispense in like circumstances), whenever it is urgently necessary to hasten the celebration of a marriage, in order to avoid scandal *v.g.*, and there is no time to seek a dispensation from the Holy See. Some, indeed, but unwarrantably, we think, extend this power to public impediments, or, at all events, to those which are *de facto* private, though *natura sua* public.

4. The above-named faculties (2 and 3) belong to what is called the *quasi ordinary* power of the bishop: they may be delegated, not merely in individual cases, but habitually; they are not subject to any restrictions by reason of the cumulation of impediments, and they may, therefore, be used by the bishop or his delegate to remove two or more impediments affecting the same case.

From what has been said, it will appear that, in the case of *occult* impediments, bishops had, even antecedently to 1888, very considerable power to deal with urgent cases whether in *articulo vel extra articulum mortis*.

We shall now add a few remarks to define the limits of the express faculties granted in 1888.

1. These faculties have been *permanently* attached to the office of all Ordinaries. No special grant, or periodical renewal is, therefore, necessary. Under the title Ordinary are included not merely the bishop, or vicar-apostolic, but also the vicar-general, the vicar-capitular, or the administrator of a diocese.

2. The faculties can be used only in favour of those who are at the same time (a) in danger of death, and (b) have already contracted a civil marriage, or are living in concubinage. A bishop could not, therefore, in virtue of these faculties, dispense two Catholics, *v.g.*, who have contracted *coram ecclesia* though invalidly, and are *in bona fide*; he could dispense two Catholics who have in Ireland contracted before a registrar.

3. It is sufficient that *one* of the parties to be dispensed should be *in periculo aut articulo mortis*. If the impediment to be removed affect only one of the parties, *v.g. votum solemne*, it is not necessary that the person affected by the impediment should be *the* person in danger of death. In all cases, if one party be in danger of death, the faculties avail whether the impediment affects that same person, or only the other contracting party, or both. It is sufficient, too, that *one* party be subject to the bishop (or vicar) who dispenses; nor does the fact that one of the parties is an infidel (or a heretic *vid. infra*) exclude them from the benefit of these faculties.

4. These faculties regard *diriment* impediments exclusively. With the two exceptions expressly mentioned, *all* diriment impediments of the *ecclesiastical* law, in which the Church dispenses, whether they be *occult* or *public*, come within the scope of this concession. It will be remarked, therefore, that the prohibent impediment of *mixed religion* cannot be dispensed in virtue of the faculties we

are discussing. It seems, however, not improbable that bishops can, by their quasi-ordinary power, dispense in this impediment *in articulo mortis*, when there is not time to apply to Rome.¹

5. Two or more impediments affecting the same case may be dispensed by the faculties of 1888.

6. The faculties can be used only when there is not time to apply to Rome for a dispensation.

7. The Ordinary (*i.e.*, the bishop, vicar-general, &c.) can, *in individual cases*, delegate the faculty to dispense to *any* cleric; a *general* delegation can be given only to parish priests or those *qui actu curam animarum exercent, exclusis vice parochis et capellanis*. It would seem, then, that besides parish priests, administrators of vacant parishes, or of parishes whose parish priest is incapacitated may receive habitual delegation. Habitual delegation can be made available only for cases in which time will not allow for an application to the Ordinary himself.²

8. The faculties avail to legitimize offspring.

9. *Per se* the decree *Tametsi*, wherever it is in force, should be observed in renewing the matrimonial consent. But even the impediment of clandestinity can, if necessary, be removed in virtue of these faculties of 1888.

10. The marriage as well as the dispensations in public impediments should, of course, be registered in the form usual in cases of revalidation.

11. Lastly, it may be noted, that the quasi-ordinary faculties of the Ordinary have ceased in regard to those occult cases in which he derives express faculties from the grant of 1888.³

For information specially regarding dispensations in *sacro ordine et in professione solemn*i, our correspondent is referred to the full text of the document above quoted, which may be found in any recently edited treatise on matrimony.

D. MANNIX.

¹ Vid. S. Cong. Inquis., 3 Aug., 1873; Becker, *De Spons. et Mat.*, pag. 264; Gennicot, ii. n. 523, 4° b Planchard *apud* N. R. Theol. xv., 390.

² Conf. S. Cong. Inquis., 23 Ap., 1890; Feije, n. 624; Planchard *apud* N. R. Theol. xx., 494.

³ Vid. Feije, n. 624.

LITURGY

COLOUR OF ANTEPENDIUM AT BENEDICTION.

PARIS, *April 17, 1899.*

REV. DEAR SIR,—When Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is given immediately after Vespers do the Rubrics require that a white tabernacle veil and antependium be substituted for those of the colour of the day?

A reply to this question will greatly oblige.

Yours,

AN IRISH PRIEST.

In reply to our correspondent we wish to remark, in the first place, that when Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is given as a separate function, the colour of the vestments worn by the celebrant and ministers, as well as of those used in the decoration of the Altar, should be white. Secondly, this direction applies, in *all* cases, to the humeral veil. But when Benediction is given immediately in connection with Mass or Vespers, the vestments used by the celebrant and ministers should be in harmony with the colour proper to the office of the day. And, as we gather from responses issued from time to time by the Sacred Congregation, and from the *Instructio Clementina* (Sect. ii.), no departure from this rule is permissible in the case of the antependium and tabernacle veil. We have, therefore, to return a negative answer to the question proposed.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

ST. COLUMBA, METROPOLITAN OF CALEDONIA

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the interesting paper on above subject in the March issue of your excellent periodical, Father Burton makes some very interesting assertions concerning the Danish ports of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick—viz., in reference to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Incidentally, I agree with him that jurisdiction does not require even minor orders. Nay, more, jurisdiction was freely exercised by an Abbess, as we know from the lives of St. Brigid, St. Hilda, &c. However, in reference to the undoubted jurisdiction exercised by the Primate of Canterbury over the above Dano-Celtic cities, Father Burton says :—‘In the tenth century *these three cities were completely Danish and pagan*, and were governed by their own independent princes.’ This statement is absolutely incorrect. The cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick were neither completely Danish nor pagan in the tenth century. Leaving Dublin and Limerick to some other pen, I shall confine myself to the city of Waterford.

Will it be credited (as against Father Burton’s sweeping statement) that the city of Waterford, towards the close of the tenth century, was ruled by the Lords of the Desie, who were invariably Christians. Nay, more, in the city of Waterford at this epoch, there were two churches in the city of the Suir, namely, the church of St. Clare, and the priory church of St. Catherine.

Father Burton continues : ‘After the Battle of Clontarf, in 1014, they [the Danes] became vassals of our Irish princes, and *began at last* to embrace the Gospel.’

Now, as a matter of fact, the Danes of Waterford were gradually becoming Christianized from the year 960. As regards the ‘pagan Danes’ of Dublin, it is merely necessary to mention that King Olaf of Dublin retired to Iona, in 980, where he died, in 984, ‘after the victory of Penance’; and Sitric III., Danish King of Dublin, died ‘on his pilgrimage to Rome,’ in 1028. Again, ‘Aulaf (Olave), son of Sitric, was slain by the Saxons on his way to Rome,’ in 1034.

Christ Church Cathedral, Waterford, dates from *circa* 1054. The Dano-Celts of Waterford were under the spiritual sway of St. Maildodius, Bishop of Lismore, who died May 21st, 1090; and his successor, Niall MacArdhucan, ruled the vast territory of the Desie, which included the city of Waterford, from 1090 to 1096, when the separate see of Waterford was formed. It is also of historic interest to add, that in 1095, Donnell, Archbishop of Armagh, made a visitation of Munster, 'and obtained his full tribute;' and in 1106, his successor, St. Celsus (Cellach) made a visitation of Munster, which he repeated in 1120. St. Malachy held a Synod at Lismore in 1136; and his successor, St. Silla MacSiag (Selasius) made a visitation of Munster in 1138.

Malchus, Bishop of Lismore, 'who had been clamoured for by the clergy and laity of Waterford,' was appointed Bishop of Waterford in 1136, and ruled both Sees until 1149, when he resigned. Tostius, a Dane, was appointed to Waterford in 1149, and St. Christian O'Connery O'Cist was promoted to Lismore in 1150.

By the acts of the Synod of Kells, which opened on March 6th, 1152, the Sees of *Limerick*, Killaloe, Iniscathay, Roscrea, Killenora, Emly, *Waterford*, Lismore, Cork, Cloyne, Ross, and Ardferth had been assigned to the Munster province.

Yours very truly,

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

ANOTHER PRACTICAL QUESTION

VERY REV. SIR,—Some of our Irish diocesan catechisms have the preposition *of* after 'conceived,' in the English version of the 'Angelus.' It is so rendered in the Maynooth catechism, in the English, Australasian, and American catechisms; and in the New Raccolta, published at Philadelphia, 1839, with the Imprimatur of Cardinal Gibbons. Some Irish dioceses have special catechisms with the preposition *by* coming after 'conceived'; 'of' would appear to be the more general, and, as some people maintain, the more correct form. Would it not be well if we could have as much uniformity in the recital of our English as we have in our Latin prayers?

PASTOR.

LATE MASSES

VERY REV. SIR,—The Clergy have reason to be thankful to you for opening in the I. E. RECORD a correspondence column. Trusting to your indulgence, I shall take advantage in this, and subsequent numbers, to bring before your readers a few practical points.

In that excellent book which was reviewed recently in the I. E. RECORD, *The Triumph of Failure*, I came across a striking passage, that when our Divine Lord selected His first disciples He selected none else than strong muscular men; in fact, principally fishermen, men of iron frame. And why? simply by reason of the difficult duties of the missionary. The question has been asked and discussed in all clerical gatherings; discussed by prelates and dignitaries, by priest and layman: Why is it that so many of our priests break down in health after half a dozen or a dozen years of missionary duty? And yet, almost universally, the answer comes from priest and laymen, from physician and chemist, that the late Masses on Sundays and holidays have much to do, if not all to do, with the breaking up of the constitutions of priests. And can nothing be done? Certainly, 'where there is a will there is a way.' Take America, take England, take some of the dioceses even in Ireland; aye, take any parish in any diocese in Ireland, and a remedy is at hand, without spiritual loss to the faithful.

In other countries the last Mass is, at latest, eleven o'clock. In many of the dioceses of Ireland, the last Mass is also eleven o'clock; and again, in some parts of the country, on one side or another, the people never have a Mass later than nine or ten o'clock. Therefore, the question is practicable and feasible. But the people may object? Of course, some will object to anything. Some even would be late for Mass, if Mass could be celebrated at six o'clock in the evening. My experience now for years—and I have had experience of Mass at twelve o'clock and at eleven o'clock—is, that when the Mass is at eleven o'clock, fewer persons are late than for twelve o'clock. The people who have experience of both hours, now prefer eleven o'clock, because they have time to attend to several duties, *v.g.*, funerals, &c., after eleven o'clock, which would be impossible to attend to if the Mass were twelve o'clock. Then, what hour should the early Mass be? Each pastor can arrange this according to the size of his parish. If a large parish, it may be held at eight or

eight-thirty, in country parishes ; and in city parishes far earlier ; and the same would apply to towns.

The prelates of Ireland are most anxious in reference to this question. Many of them have discussed the question in my presence. Such, Rev. Sir, is my apology for trespassing at such length on your limited space, and in a subsequent number I trust to place a few more points of utility for the Irish Priesthood before you.

Yours, &c.,

AN OLD READER.

DOCUMENTS

PROVINCIAL AND DIOCESAN SYNODS

RENEWAL OF FACULTIES OF IRISH BISHOPS AUTHORIZING THEM TO DISPENSE WITH CERTAIN SOLEMNITIES IN THE HOLDING OF PROVINCIAL AND DIOCESAN SYNODS

Prot. 33289.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae provolutus, humiliter petit renovationem facultatis quam alias obtinuit die 5 Augusti, 1888, ad decennium, celebrandi scilicet Synodos Provinciales et Dioecesanæ, omissis nonnullis ex debitis solemnitatibus, Quod,

Ex Audientia SSm̃i habita die 11 Aprilis, 1899.

SSm̃us Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia renovationis, juxta preces, in forma et terminis præcedentis concessionis, ad aliud decennium.

Datum Romæ ex Aed. S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide die et anno prædictis.

A. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

THE LITANY OF THE SACRED HEART

FACULTIES GRANTED TO THE DIOCESE OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE

WATERFORDIEN ET LISMOREN.

Rm̃us Dñus Ricardus Alphonsus Sheehan, Episcopus Waterfordien. et Lismoren., Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum Leonem Papam XIII. supplex rogavit, ut facultatem publice canendi vel recitandi Litanias de Sacro Corde Jesu pro Dioecesibus Massilien. atque Augustodunen. anno superiore approbatas ad cunctas Ecclesias et publica Oratoria Diocesium Waterfordien. et Lismoren. extendere dignaretur. Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, utendo facultatibus sibi specialiter ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro tributis, benigne precibus annuit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Die 14 Martii, 1899.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI *Secr.*

SIMILAR FACULTIES GRANTED TO THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

URBIS ET ORBIS

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. per Decretum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis d. d. 27 Iunii superioris anni Litanias Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu adprobavit illasque publice recitari vel decantari in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis dioecesium Massilien. et Augustodunen. atque Ordinis Visitationis B. M. V. benigne indulisit. Ex eo tempore Rmorum Sacrorum Antistitum et religiosarum familiarum piarumque consociationum petitiones ita frequentes ad Apostolicam Sedem pervenerunt ut in omnium votis pateret esse maiorem gloriam et laudem ipsius Ssmi Cordis cum incremento pietatis per invocationes approbatas ubique diffundi, prouti Ss. Nomen Iesu per Litanias proprias, Rituali Romano insertas, in toto orbe catholico a Christifidelibus publice et communi laude celebratur. Accedit etiam quod Sanctissimus Dominus Noster pro devotione qua fervet erga Amantissimum Cor Iesu atque studio remedium afferendi malis quibus magis in dies premimur, eidem Sacratissimo Cordi consecrare intendit mundum universum. Haec autem consecratio ut solemniori ritu fiat, triduanas preces, praedictis invocationibus adhibitis, propediem indicere decrevit. Eapropter Sanctissimus Dominus Noster ut Litaniae Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu iam probatae et indulgentiis tercentum dierum auctae ubique terrarum tum privatim tum publice recitari et decantari in posterum valeant, concedere dignatus est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Die 2 Aprilis 1899.

C. Episcopus Praenestinus Card. MAZZELLA,
S. C. R. *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. *Secretarius*.

LITANIAE DE SACRA CARDE IESU.

Kyrie, eleison

Christe, eleison

Kyrie, eleison

Christe, audi nos

Christe, exaudi nos

Pater de coelis Deus,

miserere nobis.

Fili, Redemptor mundi Deus,

„

Spiritus Sancte Deus,

„

Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus,

„

1. Cor Iesu, Filii Patris aeterni, *miserere nobis*
 2. Cor Iesu, in sinu Virginis Matris a Spiritu Sancto
formatum, "
 3. Cor Iesu, Verbo Dei substantialiter unitum, "
 4. Cor Iesu, Maiestatis infinitae, "
 5. Cor Iesu, Templum Dei sanctum, "
 6. Cor Iesu, Tabernaculum Altissimi, "
 7. Cor Iesu, Domus Dei et porta coeli, "
 8. Cor Iesu, fornax ardens caritatis, "
 9. Cor Iesu, iustitiae et amoris receptaculum "
 10. Cor Iesu, bonitate et amore plenum, "
 11. Cor Iesu, virtutum omnium abyssus, "
 12. Cor Iesu, omni laude dignissimum, "
 13. Cor Iesu, rex et centrum omnium cordium "
 14. Cor Iesu, in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae
et scientiae, "
 15. Cor Iesu, in quo habitat omnis plenitudo divi-
nitatis, "
 16. Cor Iesu, in quo Pater sibi bene complacuit, "
 17. Cor Iesu, de cuius plenitudine omnes nos acce-
pimus, "
 18. Cor Iesu, desiderium collium aeternorum, "
 19. Cor Iesu, patiens et multae misericordiae, "
 20. Cor Iesu, dives in omnes qui invocant Te "
 21. Cor Iesu, fons vitae et sanctitatis, "
 22. Cor Iesu, propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. "
 23. Cor Iesu, saturatum opprobriis, "
 24. Cor Iesu, attritum propter scelera nostra, "
 25. Cor Iesu, usque ad mortem obediens factum "
 26. Cor Iesu, lancea perforatum, "
 27. Cor Iesu, fons totius consolationis, "
 28. Cor Iesu, vita et resurrectio nostra, "
 29. Cor Iesu, pax et reconciliatio nostra, "
 30. Cor Iesu, victima peccatorum, "
 31. Cor Iesu, salus in Te sperantium, "
 32. Cor Iesu, spes in Te morientium, "
 33. Cor Iesu, deliciae Sanctorum omnium, "
- Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, parce nobis, Domine
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, exaudi nos, Domine
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis
- V. Iesu mitis et humilis corde,
R. Fac cor nostrum secundum Cor tuum

OREMUS.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, respice in Cor dilectissimi Filii tui et in laudes et satisfactiones, quas in nomine peccatorum tibi persolvit iisque misericordiam tuam peten tibus, tu veniam concede placatus in nomine eiusdem Filii tui Iesu Christi qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Concordat cum originali, a S. R. C. approbato die 27 Iunii 1898.

In fidem etc.

Ex Secretaria Sacrorum Ritum Congregationis, hac die 2 Aprilis 1899.

D. PANICI, S. R. C. *Secretarius*.

POEM OF HIS HOLINESS, LEO XIII.

IN VIRGINES DEO DEVOTAS

Christus adest ; dulcique suas vos nomine sponsas
Dicere Christus amat, sancto sibi foedere junctas.
Is procul a strepitu, fida statione quietam,
Insontem vobis tribuit traducere vitam ;
Vos ibi, ceu septo fragrantia lilia campo,
Floretis, large donis coelestibus auctae.
Instruat insidias Satan, artesque malignas,
Terreat objecta dubias formidine mentes ;
Praesens e coelo properat succurrere Jesus ;
Ad pugnam trepidas divino robore firmat.
Tum vos Ipse novo ferventius ardet amore :
Intima recludit sacri penetralia Cordis,
Mira demulcens animos dulcedine.—Tandem
Emensas cursum feliciter atque fideles,
Dum jam mors instat, festivus et ore benigno :
Obvius occurrens, supremo munere donat :
E tristi exilio coelestibus inserit oris,
Aeternumque jubet divina luce beari.

LEO. P.P. XIII.

LETTER TO THE POPE OF THE VERY REV. FATHER DESHON
SUPERIOR-GENERAL OF THE PAULIST FATHERS

NEO-EBORACI, 28 *Februarii*, 1899.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Vixdum Sanctitatis Vestrae litteras circa errores, quibus Americanismi nomen datur, Emo Cardinali Jacobo Gibbons Archiepiscopo Baltimorensi datas, in ephemeridibus Civitatis Neo-Eboracensis anglice redditae perlegimus, statim doctrinam in Pontificio documento propositam plene libenterque sumus amplectati: idque Sanctitati Vestrae telegraphice incunctanter significavimus. His vero Sanctitati Vestrae gratias ex corde referimus, quia supremi Doctoris ac infallibilis Magistri munere fungens, nos in viis veritatis ducit ac tenebras erroris procul a nobis repellit; eodemque spiritu Pater Hecker, si adhuc inter vivos ageret, Pontificium decretum filiali suscepisset veneratione.

At haud leve animis nostris solamen ingessit lectio litterarum Sanctitatis Vestrae, praesertim quia in eisdem asseritur errores a Sancta Sede reprobatos opinionum Patris Hecker interpretationibus esse potius accensendos quam opinionibus in se inspectis. Ceterum si quid sit, sive in doctrina sive in 'Vita' laudati Patris, quod, sapienti Sanctitatis Vestrae iudicio, emendandum esse decernatur, nos libenti animo Sanctae Sedis sententiae acquiescimus, tum quia Ecclesia Romana est columna et firmamentum veritatis, tum quia in regulis Instituti nostri mandatur: 'Sit societatis nostrae omniumque ejus sociorum nota praecipua atque insignis submissio religiosa, alacris et laeta, erga Sanctam Ecclesiam, omnemque potestatem in ea legitime constitutam, omnesque ordinationes auctoritate sua sanctitas. Primum omnium Jesu Christi Vicario, Ecclesiaeque Sanctae Romanae, omnibusque Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae decretis atque monitis, sive ad doctrinam sive ad disciplinam spectantibus, haec exhibeatur obedientia.' Hujusmodi autem obedientia alte est in nostris inculpta cordibus, ita ut nunquam cogitavimus ab integritate et severitate Doctrinae Catholicae discedendi. At si juxta sententiam Sanctitatis vestrae, nos hanc propensionem vel habuimus vel specie saltem demonstravimus, vel nostra agendi ratione huic propensioni favorem quocumque modo praebeimus, nos grato animo, paternam Sanctitatis Vestrae correctionem suscipimus.

Instituti nostri Constitutiones stricte mandant ut nos perfectae

studeamus orthodoxiae, ut pro norma habeamus non tantum Ecclesiae definitiones, sed etiam monita, ac probatorum auctorum scripta circa vitam spiritualem, et ut devotiones, quas Ecclesia patrocinetur atque commendat, promoveamus. Et in iis, haec declaratio invenitur: 'Omnibus, etiam sacerdotibus, praescribitur, ut directione spirituali, juxta auctorum probatorum principia utantur.' In his ac in omnibus principia ac monita in litteris Sanctitatis Vestrae proposita nos sequuturos declaramus, pariterque plenum obsequium ac fidelem adhaesionem Sanctitati Vestrae ac S. Romanae Sedi profiteamur. Insuper, exemplaria libri cui titulus—'Vita Patris Hecker'—neque vendituros neque aliis tradituros promittimus, usquedum correctio, judicio S. Sedis facienda, non sit ad effectum perducta.

Interim, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provoluti, Apostolicam Benedictionem humiliter postulamus.

Addictissimus Servus

Pro Instituto Presbyterorum Missionis S. Pauli Apostoli.

GEORGIUS DESHON, *Sup. Gen.*

TIME REQUIRED FOR QUASI DOMICILIUM.

UTRUM AD QUASI-DOMICILIUM OBTINENDUM IN ALIQUA PAROCHIA
RELATE AD MATR. SUFFICIAT MATERIALIS COMMORATIO SEX
MENSIV IN ILLA, SINE ANIMO COMMORANDI PER ILLUD
TEMPORIS SPATIUM

Officialis Dioecesis N., ad quietem conscientiae suae et ad normam habendam in casibus similibus, dubium sequens proponit Supremae Congregationi:

Anno proxime elapso, vir acatholicus et puella catholica uterque oriundus ex Roumania, ubi domicilium habent, postquam per duos vel tres annos varia itinera susceperint, quin domum reversi sint, in civitatem N. venerunt.

Proposuerant ibi commorari per tres menses, et domum ad habitandum per spatium trimestre pretio locaverant.

Elapso autem trimestri, cogitaverunt de matrimonio inter se contrahendo. Vir erat liber ad matrimonium contrahendum; puella stabat cum matre vidua et erat pariter libera. Quum vero lex civilis praescribat ut quis per sex menses commoretur in loco ubi vult matrimonium contrahere, habitationem in civitate praedicta prorogarunt iterum ad tres menses, et mense novembri, quum iam per sex menses ibi commorati fuerint, Officiale

adierunt, dispensationem super impedimento mixtae religionis et licentiam matrimonii celebrandi petierunt.

Praedictus Officialis haesit, quaerendo utrum praefati sponsi acquisiverint quasi domicilium sufficiens ad matrimonium. Equidem per sex menses in dicta civitate commorati fuerant; sed quando illam ingressi erant non sibi proposuerant habitare per maiorem partem anni. Elapsis tribus mensibus, cogitaverant de matrimonio ineundo et iterum proposuerant habitare per tres alios menses tantum ut compleretur spatium semestris requisitum ad matrimonium a lege civili.

Deficiente intentione habitandi per maiorem anni partem, Officialis, ex consulto peritorum Canonistarum existimavit sponso non acquisivisse quasi domicilium in illa civitate, ac proinde se non habere facultatem dispensandi nec licentiam concedendi ad matrimonium contrahendum. Sponsi vero, cum omnia paraverint ad nuptias, contractum civilem iniverunt et ad aliam religionem profecti sunt.

Petit igitur Officialis an non severius egerit in deneganda dispensatione et licentia matrimonii contrahendi, et, grato animi sensu acciperet responsum, quo in futurum ut norma pro casibus similibus uti possit.

Feria IV, die 9 Novembris 1898

In Congregatione Generali coram EEmis ac RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus Fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, proposito suprascripto casu, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Orator acquiescat; et addatur: Se conferentes in civitatem N. ex alio loco vel paroecia, dummodo ibi commorati fuerint in aliqua paroecia per sex menses, censendos esse ibidem habere quasi domicilium in ordine ad matrimonium, quin inquisitio facienda sit de animo ibi permanendi per maiorem anni partem, facto verbo cum SSmo.

Sequenti vero Fer. VI, die 11 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

CASES RESERVED TO THE HOLY SEE

ABSOLVI POTEST A CASIBUS S. SEDI RESERVATIS. SINE OBLIGATIONE
MITTENDI EPISTOLAM AD S. POENIT. QUANDO NEQUE CONFESSA-
RIUS, NEQUE POENITENS TALEM EPIST. MITTERE POSSUNT

BEATISSIME PATER,

Sacerdos N. N. ad Sanctitatis Vestrae pedes provolutus, sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter efflagitat :

I. Utrum decretum S. R. et U. Inquisitionis datum sub die 23 iunii 1886 intelligendum sit tantum de iis, qui *corporaliter* S. Sedem adire nequeunt ; vel etiam de iis, qui *ne per litteras quidem per se, neque confessarium*, ad S. Sedem recurrere valent ?

II. Et quatenus decretum praedictum extendi debeat etiam ad eos, qui ne per litteras quidem ad S. Sedem recurrere valent, quomodo se gerere debeat Confessarius ?

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV, die 9 Novembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali coram EEmis ac RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Ad I. et II. Quando neque confessarius neque poenitens epistolam ad S. Poenitentiarium mittere possunt, et durum sit poenitenti adire alium confessarium, in hoc casu liceat confessario poenitentem absolvere etiam a casibus S. Sedi reservatis absque onere mittendi epistolam, facto verbo cum SSmo.’

Sequenti vero sabbato die 12 eiusdem mensis et anni in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit.

I. Can MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE OF ST. EDMUND OF ABINGDON, Archbishop of Canterbury. By Frances de Paravicini. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a work of great research ; it is not a merely ascetical volume, but a historical sketch, exhibiting some of the most interesting scenes of an exciting and troubled period of mediæval England. The story of the life of St. Edmund leads the author to describe historical Abingdon, the home of his boyhood, Paris, and mediæval Oxford—where he received his education ; Salisbury Cathedral in the days of its magnificence, when Edmund was its treasurer ; Winchester, and Canterbury, with their monks, jealous of their privileges and hard to rule.

The court of the misguided monarch, Henry III., with his favourites, and his misgovernment, plays a prominent part in the history of St. Edmund, while not the least interesting is the scene of Edmund's exile and death, the monastery of the Cistercians at Pontigny.

The author has spared no pains to render his work authentic, as the long list of authors consulted abundantly shows ; yet he has not laboured his work with these references, rather the occasional introduction of the quaint phraseology of the mediæval writers increases the pleasure we feel as we scan the pages of this splendid biography.

MARIAE COROLLA. By the Rev. Edmund Hill, C.P. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

THIS is the title of a very pretty volume of short poems in which the author's piety weaves a 'Wreath of Song for our Lady.' As one must expect, many of the poems are of but mediocre merit, but the collection contains some sonnets of considerable beauty.

EUCCHARISTICA. Chants in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. For mixed voices. Composed by Lorenzo Perosi, Choir Master at the Basilica of St. Marc in Venice. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann.

MISSA PATRIARCHALIS. For four mixed voices, with Organ Accompaniment. Composed by L. Perosi, &c. Op. 11. Düsseldorf, L. Schwann.

EIGHT CHRISTMAS MOTETS. (*Responsoria ad Matutinum*) for two mixed voices, with Organ Accompaniment. Composed by L. Perosi. Op. 14. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann.

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS. For four voices (Mezzo-Soprano, Tenor I. and II., and Bass), with Organ Accompaniment, composed by L. Perosi. Op. 19. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann.

MISSA IN HONOREM SS. GERVASII ET PROTASII quam composuit ad duas voces inaequales organo comitante Laurentius Perosi, in Basilica Divi Marc Venetus musices Rector. Op. 20. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann.

MISSA IN HONOREM BEATI CAROLI quam composuit ad duas voces aequales comitante organo L. Perosi, &c. Ratisbon: Pustet.

LORENZO PEROSI, a young Italian priest, has quite suddenly reached the zenith of fame as a composer. He was born at Tortona, near Alessandria, on the 20th December, 1872. His father is Cathedral Choirmaster in that town, and two brothers of Lorenzo's are also in the musical profession. Having got his first musical training at home, he went to Rome at an early age, where he became member of the Cecilian Society, and, shortly afterwards, was appointed organist at the Benedictine monastery of Montecassino. Here, at the grave of St. Benedict, he made up his mind to become a priest, being then seventeen years of age. In 1892 he spent two months at the Conservatory of Music in Milan. But, in order to school himself in the true style of Church music, he went to Ratisbon, and studied for a year at Dr. Haberl's Church Music School. Having returned to Italy he was appointed Choirmaster at San Marco's, in Venice. It was here he first established his fame by the oratorio, *La Risurrezione di Lazaro*. This was performed in various Italian cities, amongst them in Rome, and prepared public opinion for the success of his latest oratorio, *La Risurrezione di Cristo*. This was performed for the first time by desire of Pope Leo XIII. himself in the

Basilica of the Apostles, on the 13th December last year, the composer himself conducting. We are told there were sixteen cardinals, fifty archbishops and bishops, and in all about seven thousand people present in the basilica, and the enthusiasm was such as is possible only in Italy. After the performance His Holiness received the composer in private audience, presented him with a precious baton, and appointed him *maestro perpetuo* of the Papal Chapel. This latter appears to be a mere honorary title, for the present at least, as Perosi remains Choirmaster at San Marco's.

We feel sure that, under these circumstances, many of our readers will be glad to learn about some Church compositions of the famous young priest; and we, therefore, shall offer a few words of comment on the above, which have come under our notice.

The first collection contains seven settings of the *Pange Lingua* (*Tantum Ergo*), one for alto, tenor, and bass; four for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass; and two for eight voices (four mixed voices and four male voices). In three of the four-part compositions the alto part can be taken by tenor voices, and is noted for such; that is to say, an octave too high, which, perhaps, may puzzle contralto singers, for awhile. Finally, there is an *O Salutaris Hostia* for four mixed voices. All the settings are fairly easy, and the compass of the voices is moderate.

The *Missa Patriarchalis*, which takes its name from being dedicated to Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, does not present any peculiar difficulties. We notice the declamation of *Benedicimus*, which, we suppose, does not appear to an Italian ear as strange as it does to ours.

The *Eight Christmas Motets*, which, of course, may be sung during the whole Christmas time at either Mass or Benediction, are set for soprano and baritone voices. The sopranos have frequently to sing *f*♯, the baritones, *e*. In the third response, the accented syllable of *pastores* must have *c*, of course, instead of *b*.

The *Te Deum* is composed for mezzosoprano, two tenors, and bass, the basses being, in a few places, divided. For choirs so composed that this arrangement suits them, the setting will be very welcome. There, again, we notice a peculiar declamation; *In devicto*. Perhaps the passage would be improved by dividing the note on *tu* and singing the two syllables *tu de* to it, assigning the accented syllable to the accented beat, and giving two quarter notes to the last syllable.

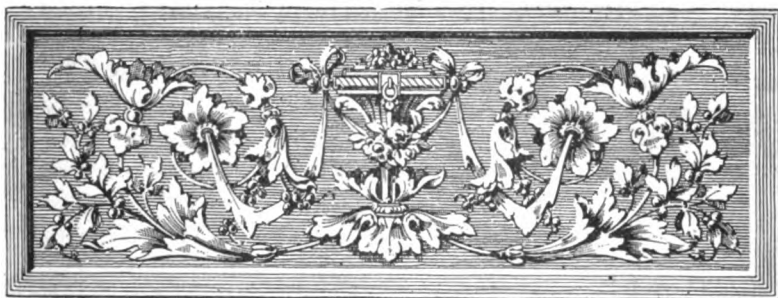
The Mass of SS. Gervasius and Protasius is for alto and baritone, and keeps within moderate bounds as to the compass of the voices. Being in B minor, it is somewhat sombre in colour, though, of course, bright passages are intermixed.

The Mass of St. Charles is for two male voices, tenor and bass. It requires fairly high voices, as the tenors are frequently brought up to *g*, the basses to *e*♭. We imagine that it takes a large choir to produce the effects intended, as they are rather of the massive order.

Speaking generally of these compositions, we cannot question in the least that they possess a thoroughly ecclesiastical character. They are written in the style invoked by the modern Cecilian movement, a kind of compromise between modern music and Palestrina style. There is a fair amount of counterpoint, and even imitations, but it is of a mild, modest description, pretty far removed from the uncompromising consistency of a Bach or Palestrina. About the artistic merits of those compositions we should like our readers to judge for themselves, though we have no hesitation in saying that they are above the average.

Of the first-named collection only the score is published; but to facilitate its use in large choirs, the price is reduced to 6*d.* when ten copies are taken. All the other works are published in score and parts.

H. B.



A NEGLECTED ASSOCIATION

SOME months ago, a zealous priest, whose locks years have silvered, but whose enthusiasm is fresh as his figure is erect, came to me with radiance in his eyes, and placed in my hands a bundle of blue pamphlets, and a few pages of notes copiously underlined.

‘What are those?’ I asked.

‘Those,’ he said, ‘are some copies of the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, too little read, too little known, and the notes are extracts from them intended to show how magnificent is the work of the Association, how pressing are its needs, and how much more could be done by the Irish clergy to help a most deserving charity. I want you,’ he added, ‘to bring this matter before the readers of the I. E. RECORD.’

Of course, I told him, as a young man should do in speaking to his senior, that it was very good work for himself. But, instead of breaking off at once diplomatic relations, he persuaded me to promise—for who could resist sincerity and importunity speaking through saintly eyes: So here I am in the pulpit of the I. E. RECORD, presuming to address the venerable clergy of Ireland. And I venture to say—Fathers of the people—I beg your best attention. I am not going to plead for any new devotion or confraternity. I would only entreat you, or some of you, to take to your bosom an old devotion, a long-established organization, viz., the ‘Society for the Propagation of the Faith,

approved by the bishops of every land, recommended by numerous circulars and pastoral letters, favoured on many occasions with the benediction of the Holy See, and crowned by the encyclical of 15th August, 1840, with the highest approbation which a work of charity could receive.' The Sovereign Pontiffs Pius VII., Leo XII., Pius VIII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX., have enriched it with many indulgences, and by an encyclical of 3rd December, 1880, Pope Leo XIII. has solemnly recommended it to the entire Catholic universe. To those who consider the objects of the Society this high official approval will be intelligible. Founded on the 22nd May, 1822, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith has kept unswervingly to its original aim, namely, 'to assist by prayers and alms the Catholic missionaries who are engaged in preaching the Gospel.' Its efforts are not limited to any place or any class of missionaries. The constitution of the Society is simple as its aims are definite. The members, we are told in the first page of the *Annals*, say one *Pater* and one *Ave* every day; and it is sufficient once for all to offer for this intention the *Pater* and *Ave* of their Morning and Night Prayers, adding each time the aspiration 'St. Francis Xavier, pray for us.' The subscription is one half-penny per week, or 2s. 2d. per year. One subscriber in ten acts as Collector, and pays in the amount to another member of the Association who has charge of ten such collections. Donations are thankfully received from anybody. Two separate Councils, one established at Lyons and the other at Paris, distribute the funds among the different missions. A report in full of the sums received and of their distribution is inserted every year in *The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*.

This publication is sent free of charge to the members for their perusal, and gives, six times a year, the news received from the missions. One copy is supplied to every circle of ten, or anyone who sends in the amount of ten subscriptions in the year, £1 1s. 8d.

The working of the Society on those simple lines has gone on for seventy-seven years. With its headquarters

in France, it has branches throughout the whole Catholic world, and what results it has accomplished may not, indeed, be stated here, but may be only faintly adumbrated. The annual income of the Society, arising entirely out of the half-penny collections, personal tens,¹ and donations is at present about a quarter of a million pounds. This sum is distributed as stated above, and it is acknowledged that the allocations are made with the utmost impartiality. Now, when we call to mind the material difficulties which a poor missionary encounters in a strange land, we may realize how much such pecuniary resources can accomplish. Take the case of one of the youthful missionaries who embark periodically at Marseilles for all parts of the world. As a member of a religious brotherhood² he leaves with a certain outfit, and for a definite destination, but necessarily with very limited material resources. And it is not a parish, or a curacy, or convent chaplaincy that awaits him, but either a vast extent of uncivilized territory, inhabited by savages and wild beasts, or a land dominated by a pagan worship, where he has first to pull down, and then to build up. If he is to maintain and extend a spiritual kingdom, he must also erect a material edifice, and among savage and pagan peoples, churches, ritual, and exterior splendour count for more than they do with ourselves. But without money, or its equivalent, it is impossible to supply the essential element of evangelization. True, indeed, *nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum in vanum laboraverunt qui aedificant eam*; and hence, with their vast resources, Protestant missions have been a signal failure. But it is equally true, that Catholic missions will languish, and are languishing, in many places for want of funds.

I shall quote a few extracts of the *Annals*, July 9th, 1897, to illustrate other classes of expenses which poor missionaries have to meet. On page 242 we read in a letter from

¹ By personal tens are meant individual subscriptions of £1 1s. 8d. per year.

² Nearly all foreign missionaries belong to some religious order or society of Foreign Missions.

Monseigneur Lesné Lazarist, Delegate Apostolic to Persia, and sent from Ourmiah, on 10th April :—

You are aware of the trials through which our Persian mission had to pass last winter. The destitution was great and widespread. We did our utmost to help the sufferers, so that when Spring came our means was exhausted, and yet the poor did not disappear entirely with the Spring-time.

It appears that in foreign, as in home missions, 'the poor you have always with you.' Further on we read in the same letter :—

Then comes another outlay. I shall soon have to set out for my visit to the Shah, to whom I was unable to pay my respects on returning from Europe. After my interview with the sovereign I shall go to Ispahan, a long and troublesome journey, for there being in Persia neither railways nor carriage roads, riding on horseback is the only mode of travelling. It will take me twenty days to reach Teheran, as many more to reach Ispahan, and then there will be the return journey. Moreover, the roads being dangerous and frequently infested by brigands, I shall be obliged to bring with me two or three men, so that the journey will cost at least from £120 to £160. Where is this sum to be got ?

That is the question in Africa, China, Burmah, India, Polynesia, New Zealand, and South America, not to mention other regions. From the same *Annals*¹ I quote the following, written from Hung-Hoa by Monsigneur Raymond, Vicar Apostolic, Upper Tonquin :—

But recently established in a country that until our times was under the yoke of pirates, our young mission has none of the institutions that should be its life and strength. Our seminary is only in its infancy . . . My cathedral is a simple straw hut, value for about £4, and open to all the winds of heaven. The puzzle is how fittingly to celebrate the pontifical ceremonies, when my mitre reaches to the very cross-beams. However, I am collecting materials to build a church . . . During our first year we baptized 322 adults, and 2,461 pagan infants in *articulo mortis*. At present numerous villages are anxious to become Christians; unfortunately, the means and the teachers are wanting.

He might also have added, 'Where is the money to be

¹ Page 245.

got?' Well, a good deal is got annually from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. To take one year as a sample, I find by the *Annals* of November, 1895, that this Society allocated the following amounts in 1894:—

Missions of Asia	...	£123,918	18	5
„ Africa	...	58,206	19	11
„ Europe	...	29,602	9	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ Oceania	...	23,400	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ America	...	14,622	3	0

I will leave the reader to imagine what practical assistance those allocations must have given to struggling missions. So far, then, it is, I think, beyond all question that the Society of the Propagation of the Faith is a most meritorious charity, deserving the high approval which successive Pontiffs have bestowed on it, worthy the patronage of the hierarchy, clergy, and Catholic laity, and wanting in nothing which the most fastidious critic of confraternities could desire.

Did I say wanting in nothing? It is, alas! wanting in funds to supply all the urgent demands that press upon its resources. The following pathetic extract is taken from the official report for 1894:—

Each year the task of the Central Councils of the Association in the apportioning of the alms becomes more laborious and painful; more laborious, because having only six millions of francs (£240,000) to distribute, while there are just claims for over twenty millions (£800,000), the Directors are obliged to give three months to a minute examination of those claims, in order to take every precaution that their work shall be accomplished with that impartiality for the exercise of which they are so justly lauded . . . Seeing that the resources of the Association remain stationary, whilst on the contrary the missions each year increase in number, what can be sadder than to be forced to withdraw from vicariates already in existence, sums which would assist in creating new centres of the Apostolate. It is then, above all, dare we say it, that we cast an envious glance at the resources which Protestant England and America place at the disposal of their missioners.

It appears the annual income of these Protestant

missions amounts to £2,000,000, while the contributions of the Catholic world to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith scarcely reaches £250,000.

Among my recollections of the Sacred Eloquence Class in Maynooth is a dictum of the Professor, that the body of a good discourse should contain two parts, the first being theoretical, the second practical. I now proceed to the practical aspect of this question, and beg to submit a few suggestions, which if acted upon will give our country a larger share in the glorious work of evangelization. And to begin with facts, I transcribe from the *Annals* of January, 1873, and March, 1899, the particulars of our diocesan contributions for the years 1872 and 1898:—

NAMES OF THE DIOCESES, AND THE SUM WHICH EACH HAS RESPECTIVELY CONTRIBUTED DURING THE YEAR (1872) TO THE FUNDS OF THE ASSOCIATION:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Armagh . . .	199	7	6	Amount brought over	2,381	14	10½
Ardagh . . .	19	11	3	Cork . . .	222	1	3
Clogher . . .	11	17	3	Kerry . . .	75	7	0
Derry . . .	547	8	5	Killaloe . . .	84	0	3½
Down and Connor	68	9	5	Limerick . . .	620	7	5½
Dromore . . .	3	0	0	Ross . . .	126	9	10
Kilmore . . .	9	3	4	Waterford . . .	121	17	9
Meath . . .	89	8	0	Tuam . . .	26	10	2
Dublin . . .	723	17	8½	Achonry . . .	1	1	8
Ferns . . .	45	3	4	Clonfert . . .	109	8	0
Kildare & Leighlin	136	8	2	Elphin . . .	20	18	1
Ossory . . .	163	12	2	Galway . . .	83	2	4
Cashel . . .	63	17	0	Killala . . .	23	8	6
Cloyne . . .	300	11	4				
Forward, £2,381 14 10½				Total, £3,896 7 2½			

A. O'CONNELL, P.P., }
 C. ROONEY, C.C., } *Hon. Secs.*
 M. J. ANSBRO, C.C., *Secretary.*

Central Committee Rooms, 10, Essex Bridge, Dublin,
 December 31st, 1872.

NAMES OF DIOCESES, AND THE SUM WHICH EACH HAS RESPECTIVELY CONTRIBUTED DURING THE YEAR (1898) TO THE FUNDS OF THE ASSOCIATION :—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Armagh . . .	270	10	9½	Amount brought			
Cashel . . .	90	17	8	over, . . .	2,495	14	8
Clonfert . . .	1	2	0	Kerry . . .	26	16	3
Clogher . . .	1	1	8	Kildare & Leighlin	306	14	10
Cloyne . . .	250	14	10	Killaloe . . .	5	18	10
Cork . . .	237	17	10	Kilmore . . .	1	1	8
Derry . . .	4	5	0	Limerick . . .	316	19	0
Down and Connor	83	17	11	Meath . . .	164	10	7½
Dromore . . .	19	11	2	Ossory . . .	234	14	8
Dublin . . .	1,510	13	4	Ross . . .	120	0	10
Elphin . . .	1	1	8	Tuam . . .	1	16	0
Ferns . . .	15	17	4½	Waterford . .	21	0	6½
Galway . . .	8	3	5				
Forward, £2,495 14 8				Total, £3,695 7 11			

Central Committee Rooms, 22, Parliament-street, Dublin,
December 31st, 1898.

Right Rev. Mgr. WALSHE, P.P., V.G., <i>Dean.</i>	} <i>Hon.</i>
Very Rev. Canon MACMANUS,	
Rev. JAMES McVEIGH, <i>Secretary.</i>	

In the light of these official statistics it must be acknowledged that the Irish branch of the Association was in a more flourishing condition twenty-seven years ago than it is at present; and that, whereas in a few dioceses the annual contribution has notably increased, in others there has been a more notable decrease. Now I hasten to say that, in my opinion, this falling away is not due to any lack of interest in the spread of the Gospel. It is due to want of advertence. I believe there are many excellent pastors who never see the official publications of the Society, who have a vague notion that there is some such society doing excellent work, but not having any claims on his own or his people's resources. If such men now ask what is to be done, I would suggest that a parish priest might begin with giving his people an explanation of the nature and objects of this Society; stating, in particular, what Protestants do for their foreign missions, and how dependent the Catholic missions

are upon the voluntary subscriptions of Catholics. He would then be in a position to establish circles of ten, and enlist personal tens, according to the rules of the Society.

But I can hear a wail of protest on the ground that such a procedure would involve a new collection. 'We have already too many collections' is the invariable accompaniment to contributions and refusals in response to current appeals for charitable objects. I reply that this Society is in possession. It is losing ground in dioceses where some years ago it was flourishing; and no one, I think, will suggest that the claims of an Association for the Propagation of the Faith are becoming absolutely or relatively less pressing. Again, the subscription ($\frac{1}{2}d.$ per week) for membership is only nominal, and yet gives the donor a real share in the noblest mission on earth. The establishment of this devotion in a parish does not imply that all must become members. And is there, I ask, a parish in which many persons among the rich and poor, would not be glad of an opportunity to co-operate in the spreading of the Gospel? So much for the collection bogie.

It will, possibly, be objected by others that the multiplication of confraternities or sodalities, &c., is rather injurious than beneficial to religion. Whatever validity there is in this contention applies only to the unauthorized propagation of fantastic forms of devotion. There is no question here of visions or apparitions; nor are there any extraordinary promises vouchsafed to the members. It is a devotion resting on the broad solid basis that the Church is commissioned to preach the Gospel throughout the world; that the majority of mankind are still outside the pale of the Church; that there are millions of human beings steeped in the densest ignorance of religion; and that the Church can fulfil this divine mission only through missionaries whose education, support, outfit, and general equipment, cost money. Some may find an additional inducement to take up this Association in the following statement which I take from the current annual report of the Irish branch:—

The Central Councils of Paris and Lyons reserve to themselves the exclusive right of allocating the grants to the several

missions throughout the world; but they have been always most generous in the distribution of the funds to these foreign missions in which Irishmen form a great portion of the Catholic population. *The Society has, for many years past, allocated annually the large sum of £40,000 to those countries in which most of the Catholics are either Irish or the children of Irish parents.*

The italics are not mine, and I suppose are intended as an appeal to the patriotism of the Gael. With all respect for the weight of this argument, I may adduce another, and perhaps a more seasonable one. Throughout the length and breadth of the land there are visible signs of a great Celtic revival. Dublin, Cork, Belfast, Galway, Sligo, are, if we must believe the Press, throbbing with a nascent Gaelic spirit which promises to transmute this work-a-day stolid unpoetical generation into worthy descendants of our imaginative, spiritual, and folk-lore-loving ancestors. Will this revival, I ask, be complete—is a genuine Celtic revival even conceivable, without a new bursting forth of that missionary zeal which is the greatest glory of Irish history? While, then, we are waiting for an Irish foreign missionary college¹ to nurture worthy successors of St. Columbanus and his monks, let us in the meantime turn to account the simple effective method of evangelization afforded by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The gain resulting to his own people will more than compensate a pastor for any trouble and expense which the working of the Association may entail. For will it not elevate and spiritualize them to feel that through membership of this Association they are helping to build up the Church in China, Africa, Japan, India, America, and Australia? The circulation of the illustrated *Annals* will, doubtless, prove a wholesome antidote against bad literature, making known as they do the spiritual wants of other peoples, the trials, devotion, and triumphs of the Catholic missionary. And besides the merit of promoting the immediate interests of the Church, and the consolation inseparable from the spiritual advantages which his people will derive from membership of this Association, there are

¹ I refer to an Irish foundation exclusively devoted to the training of missionaries for pagan countries such as China and Central Africa.

not wanting strictly personal motives to induce a pastor to foster the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, as is evident from the following, which I transcribe from the official publication of this Society :—

Special favours granted to ecclesiastical benefactors of the Association :—

I.—1st. The favour of a privileged altar three times a week.

2nd. The favour to apply the following indulgences :—

To the faithful at the hour of death a plenary indulgence; to beads or rosaries, crosses, crucifixes, pictures, statues and medals, the apostolic indulgences; to beads the Brigidine indulgences.

3rd. The faculty of attaching to crucifixes the indulgence of the Way of the Cross.

These favours are granted to every priest who shall be charged in any parish or establishment to collect alms for the Association, or who either from his own resources or otherwise shall contribute to the funds of the Association a sum equal to the subscription of an entire circle of ten.

II.—The following further additional favours are granted to every priest who is a member of Council or Committee, or who in the course of the year shall pay to the account of the Association a sum equal to the amount of one thousand subscriptions (£108 6s. 8d.) from whatever source derived :—

(a) The favour of a privileged altar five times a week.

(b) The power to bless crosses with the indulgence of the Way of the Cross, &c.

(c) The power to bless and invest the faithful with the scapulars of Mount Carmel, the Immaculate Conception, and the Passion.

III.—Every priest who shall contribute once for all out of his private resources a sum representing the amount of one thousand subscriptions, shall enjoy during his life the favours granted to priests who are members of a council.

These indulgences are subject to the approbation of the Ordinary, who should be consulted in reference to the establishment of the Association in any locality. A full explanation of these special favours is given in the *Annals*, vols. xiv., xxix., xxxv., which may be obtained from the Secretary,¹ who, I am sure, will also be most happy to answer all inquiries in reference to the establishment and

¹ Rev. James McVeigh, C.C., 22, Parliament-street, Dublin.

working of local branches of the Society. In conclusion, I can only hope that this plain statement of the claims of a neglected organization will awaken an interest in the revival of a beautiful devotion, which, in substance, is identical with a practical love of the Catholic Church, and is as racy of our soil as it is noble and unselfish.

T. P. GILMARTIN.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK

THE following dates may serve to arrange the statements to be made about St. Patrick.

A.D. 366. First year of Crimthann, tanist of Eocha Moymodon.

During the reign of Crimthann the Irish swept over Britain, and two years after his accession, under his command personally, or by his generals, occupied London. From the year 350 till 410 Britain was in a state of revolution, the influence of Ireland being strongly apparent. As Rome grew weak, her tyranny increased; hence those rebellions and slaughters of the Roman bureaucracy related by Nennius. As the power of Rome grew weak, that of Ireland grew strong, and eventually the Irish kings took the place of Rome. The last assertion of power by Rome was made by Stilicho in 407, and this rather to protect the coast of Gaul, and leave him free to operate against Alaric.¹

372. Patrick born. That must be the year of his birth, if the expedition of Niall in which he was brought to Ireland took place in 388, the date usually assigned to it. Usher and Tillemont² put his birth in 372.

379. First year of Niall. *The Four Masters* say he was sovereign for twenty-seven years, and was slain at the sea between France and England. Others say he was slain at the Loire.

383. Revolt of Maximus, Roman Governor of Britain.

¹ Taken from Standish O'Grady's *History of Ireland*.

² Page 783.

Invades the Empire. The centre of his army was the Roman Legions, the left wing the Germans,¹ the right wing the Celts. 'His right wing,' says Gildas, 'rested on Spain, his left wing on Italy.' The commander of his army of the southern wing was Andragathias. The English of Andragathia is man-worthiness.

388. Maximus defeated and slain. After having been in possession for five years of France and Spain he invades Italy. Andragathias and his forces, who had returned home, came back to assist him. 'They were brought back,' St. Ambrose says, 'from the ends of the earth, that Andragathias may pay the penalty of his crime in slaying Gratian.' That 'ends of the earth' clearly designates Ireland. When Maximus was defeated, Andragathias drowns himself. There are (as in the case of Niall) two accounts. One account says in the Ionian Sea, another account in the River Save. It is this year Patrick is brought to Ireland. In 394 he makes his escape.

404. Palladius, author of the *Lausiac History*, Bishop of Heleropolis, flies from Constantinople, comes to Rome, 'travels everywhere,' and preaches everywhere the Gospel, even outside the Roman Empire (therefore in Ireland). At this time, then, we may place a first visit of Palladius (of Helenopolis) to Ireland: a visit which would account for the passage in the Irish Nennius: 'All this time Patrick was in captivity in Ireland, and it was at this time Palladius was sent to preach.' That date is conjectural, but it fits better with the time of the captivity than 429. Palladius returns in 405 or 406 to the East, where he suffers imprisonment and exile. He becomes Bishop of Aspuna, but is not bishop there in 431. Is lost sight of from 420. He would then be only fifty-three years.

422. First year of Celestine Pope. In this year we place the last visit of Palladius of Helenopolis to Ireland—the Palladius spoken of by the Irish writers as Palladius, deacon, or Patricius the First. The Irish writers were correct in saying he had the same name as Patrick. But the name

¹ Cf. Socrates, *infra*.

he had in common with Patrick was Palladius, not Patrick. In 422, that Palladius was not bishop of any see. His whole career shows he was a man who settled nowhere. In 423 he went to Scotland, and shortly after died. The Scottish Church calls him Pledi, or Paddi, 'the traveller,' an appellation which fits well to Palladius, of Helenopolis, but is in no special way applicable to the Palladius mentioned by Prosper.

423. Second year of Celestine. In this year, at least not later, must be placed the first visit of Germanus to Britain: the mission which is recorded in the *Chronicon* of Prosper under the year 429. The entry runs thus:—

Agricola, a Pelagian, infected the churches of Britain with underhand teaching of his doctrine. Pope Celestine, moved thereto by Palladius, deacon, sends as his representative Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, defeats the heretics, and keeps the Britons in the straight path of the Catholic faith.

Under the heading of 431, that is two years later, there is entered in the *Chronicon*:—Palladius is ordained by Pope Celestine for the Scoti, believing in Christ, and is sent first Bishop.

These entries were never made by Prosper, but by some later hand, who confounded the mission of Germanus mentioned by Prosper in the *Contra Collatorem*, in which Germanus was sent by Celestine, with the mission mentioned by Constantius, in which Germanus was sent by the Council of Troyes, and with him Lupus.

These entries could not have been made by Prosper. (1) Those events—the sending of Germanus, and the ordaining of Palladius—are separated by two years in the *Chronicon*, but they make only one transaction in the *Contra Collatorem*:—

Celestine shut out from that far-away island the enemies of grace, and while engaged in keeping the Roman island Catholic, makes, having ordained a bishop for the Scoti, the non-Roman island Christian.

If *Prosper* had made these entries in the *Chronicon*, he would have entered them as the same event, and in the same year. (2) The *Contra Collatorem* was finished in 432,

if not earlier. In that he writes that Ireland had become Catholic, and speaks of its conversion as one of the glorious deeds of Celestine. Some say this was an idle boast of Prosper. That is not likely in a controversial work; but, boast or no boast, could Prosper, a man of sense, have written that Palladius was ordained for Ireland in 431, and that in 432 Ireland had become Christian? There would be no incoherence in making the boast in 432, if Palladius, that is Patrick, had in 432 been nine years engaged in his mission.

The year in which Celestine sent Germanus can, however, be determined with great accuracy. It must have been the first or second year of Celestine's pontificate. Prosper, *Contra Collatorem*, writes:—

Celestine, knowing that to those already condemned the only remedy that could be offered, was that they should repent, not that their case should be judged anew, caused Celestine, who was asking a new hearing, to be driven out of Italy, and *with just as little delay (nec segnore cura)* did he take care to deliver Britain from the same infection when he drove out from that far-away abode in the ocean some enemies of grace, keeping their hold on the land that brought them forth; and having ordained a bishop for the Scoti, while engaged (*dum studet*) in keeping the Roman island Catholic, made the non-Roman island Christian.

It was in the first year of Celestine's pontificate Celestius was sent out of Italy; therefore it was in that or the following year Germanus was sent to Britain. The words *nec segnore cura* are not the same as *nec minore cura*. The former words imply that the sending of Germanus was as early as the expulsion of Celestius. How could Prosper have used the words *nec segnore cura*, if it was only nine years after Celestine expelled Celestius from Italy that he expelled, or tried to expel, Pelagianism from Britain, if he waited to the very end of his life before he took action, and then only by the intervention of Palladius, against it. If it was only at the end of his life Celestine took action against Pelagianism in Britain, that action could hardly be alleged as a proof of Celestine's hostility to it.

Nearly every writer who mentions Prosper's account of the mission of Germanus notices how different that account

is from the one given by Constantius, a difference of which no satisfactory explanation can be given, if they both speak of the same mission.

In Prosper's account it is Palladius is the originator of the mission : in the account by Constantius it is the British bishops. In Prosper's account it is Celestine sends Germanus, and as far as we see Germanus alone : in the account by Constantius it is the Synod of Troyes sends Germanus, and with him Lupus. In Prosper's account Celestine alone is mentioned, the Synod of Troyes unnoticed : in the account by Constantius the Synod of Troyes alone is mentioned, and Celestine is unnoticed. Every circumstance related about the mission mentioned by Prosper, and the mission mentioned by Constantius, shows that those were two distinct missions. The mission mentioned by Constantius, seeing that Lupus was engaged in it, could not have been earlier than 429. Why did not Prosper mention the mission of Germanus under the date of 423 ? A probable answer is sufficient. It is probable that he had not heard of it until he came to Rome, which was in 431. The genuine *Chronicon* of Prosper most probably ended in 433, and the additions to it are by a *secunda* and a *tertia manus*. Some *secunda* or *tertia manus*, or probably a still later *manus*, inserted in the *Chronicon* at 429 and 431 the mention of the mission of Germanus, which is there found. The Irish writers place this mission of Palladius in the year 431; but their authority is *nil*, for it is evident that they are simply echoes of this erroneous entry in the *Chronicon*. What could they know about Consuls Bassus and Antiochus ? and all their synchronisms are merely exercises, puerile exercises, in addition and subtraction.

That false date of 431 has given rise to various embarrassments, and is the sole and only foundation alleged by those who deny the Roman mission of Patrick. They say, Palladius having been sent in 431, and Patrick not having been sent until after the failure of Palladius, he could not have been sent by Celestine. It was to this mission, in 423, Patrick refers in the 'Confessio' when he says, 'I was in Britain with my relatives,' and then goes on

to relate the troubles that surrounded him on the occasion of his ordination as Bishop for Ireland. One of those troubles was that a friend brought up against him a fault which thirty years before he had told that friend, and told him in consequence of his distress of mind about it. It was a fault he had committed when, at fifteen years of age, he was being dragged along on his journey as a captive from home to Ireland. If he told it from distress of mind, he must have told it as soon as he returned from captivity; he could not have told it earlier, unless we make the improbable suppositions that this friend was a fellow-captive, and escaped at the same time as Patrick. Patrick, therefore, when he told it was about twenty-two years of age. It was before he was deacon, he says; but he does not say how long; at any rate his mentioning that date shows it was not during his captivity. Patrick would then be about fifty-two years when it was upcast to him, and that would make the year of his coming on his mission about 524.

He intimates in the 'Confessio' that his *juventus* was over before he came to Ireland. 'You know how I have conducted myself among you, a *juventute mea*,' not '*ab ineunte juventute*,' but a '*juventute*' which means after. ('*Surgit ab his solio*.'¹ After these words he rises from his throne.) *Juventus* did not terminate until the fiftieth year. That age fifty-two, and the date 424, harmonizes perfectly with the correct date of his death, and the number of years he laboured in Ireland, the dates given by the non-mythical authors. Setting aside all those testimonies that give him a lifetime of one hundred and twenty years, and all testimonies which introduce calculations having their origin in that absurdity, we find the best testimonies make the time of his labours in Ireland to be thirty-five years, and the time of his death 458. Nennius says Bridgid lived sixty years after Patrick. Now Bridgid died 518. Giraldus Cambrensis gives 458 for the date of his death. Baronius and Petavius say he lived eighty-two years; which, as he was born in 372, would make his death 454. The *Annales Senatenses* put his death in 458. His

¹ Ovid.

death can hardly be put at any other date; for Benignus, his successor in the see of Armagh for ten years, died in 468.

429. Germanus again in Britain with Lupus, Bishop of Troyes. They went at the request of the British bishops, and commissioned by the Synod of Troyes, perhaps without any further commission from Celestine, except one given in 423 to Germanus. This is the mission described by Constantius.

447. Germanus again in Britain with Severus, a disciple of Lupus. This year, or the year after, was, probably, the time Patrick wrote the 'Confessio.' Patrick had been twenty-four years in Ireland, and had converted the country. The 'Confessio' shows that an appeal had been made to him to exercise his zeal and apostolic gifts in Britain, an appeal from an authority he could with difficulty disobey. It was in 448 Germanus died, and such an appeal to Patrick would be what we would expect from the bishops who had requested Germanus to visit Britain. St. Patrick's answer is, that God had chosen him for the Irish mission, and put him under an obligation to remain in Ireland; that the Spirit declared distinctly to him (protestation), that if he left Ireland he would be guilty of sin, his work would go to ruin, and he would lose the people which he had gained in a land so far away from his own. As he could give only his own testimony for those statements, it became necessary to back up that testimony by narrating these events in his life which showed he had been thus specially designated and called, and among other things the unlikeliness that he would come of his own choice, or from any worldly motive. The proof, he proposes to give he describes in the following :—

Behold then with wonder (*admiramini*), all ye who fear the Lord, great and little, teachers (*domini*), untaught (*ignari*), and powerful in persuasion. Listen and examine (that you may see) who was it called me forth from amidst those who were acknowledged to be learned in science (*sapientes*), learned in law, mighty orators (*potentes sermone*); who was it put it into my mind (though I was unworthy beyond anyone in the world) to do my best for the benefit of that race to which Christ had transferred me as a gift that he had made them for my lifetime, unless on my part there was a failure (*si dignus fuero*).

II.

The copy of the 'Confessio,' in the *Book of Armagh*, is said by the transcriber of it to have been taken from Patrick's own autograph. If so, the autograph must have been over three hundred years old, and the manuscript which was assumed to be Patrick's autograph must have exhibited signs of being a considerable age. That same autograph was the one from which, probably, all the other copies of the 'Confessio' we now know of were taken. The transcriber in marginal notes frequently complains of the illegible condition of the manuscript. Hence, where there is a difficult reading we may not have what Patrick wrote, but only the transcriber's guess. For instance, in the passage in which we read: 'I, Patrick, had for my father Calpurnius, Deacon, son of Potitus, Presbyter,' it is possible that Patrick wrote Decurionem, and that Deaconem is the transcriber's guess, not what Patrick wrote; that guess would come more readily to him as he would assume that presbyter meant priest. In that assumption he would be wrong.

The word presbyter in the 'Confessio' does not mean priest. It is a very unfounded assumption to assume offhand that anywhere it means priest. It is found seventeen times in the Vulgate of the Old Testament, and in not one of those times does it mean priest. Presbyter as a common noun means elder; as a title, means a member of the presbyterion, that is the governing body. Senatus, Gerousia, and Presbyterion are identified by Hesychius. If the presbyterion (the council) was an ecclesiastical one, the members of it would, in fact, be priests. If it was not a Church Council, the presbyteri composing it would not be priests. The 'presbyterion' is not a presbyterion of priests in the following case: 'And as soon as it was day they gathered the presbyterion (the supreme council) of the people (*laos*), and they brought Him up into their council"¹ (*sunedrion*), where sunedrion (the supreme council), and presbyterion are identified.² 'As the high priest doth witness to me and the whole presbyterion' (the supreme council). That the high priest did

¹ Luke xxii. 66.² Acts xxii. 3

not preside in the presbyterion in his capacity of priest, is shown by the incident in chapter xxii., verse 5, where Paul says he did not know that the president of the assembly was the high priest. Du Cange quotes the Life of St. Meginrad, of the fourth century, the period of Patrick, to show that sometimes presbyter meant Count.

The word presbyter is found six times in the New Testament, and in not one of these times does it mean priest, not even in the text in James v. 14: 'Let him call in the presbyteri of the Church.' The fact that the oil of Extreme Unction must be blessed (*necessitate Sacramenti*) by a bishop, shows that Extreme Unction is an episcopal Sacrament as much as Confirmation, the administration of which was extended to all priests, as Confirmation in the Eastern Church is to all priests, and in the Western Church to some. Presbyter in the New Testament means a priest who was a ruler of other priests, a priest who was a member of the presbyterion, the supreme council, that governed the priests. When Patrick wishes to say priests he writes '*sacerdos*.' 'We were not obedient to our priests (*sacerdotibus*) who taught the way of our salvation.'¹

Coroticus who has no reverence for God or God's priests (*sacerdotibus*), to whom He has given that supreme and divine power, that whom they bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.²

Patrick calls those whom he ordained not presbyteros, but 'clericos.' On the other hand, in the two places in which presbyteri is found it has no connection with priestly duties.

It is the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send (and they send) suitable holy presbyteri to redeem baptized captives.³

The various reading, 'viros' for 'presbyteros,' shows that in the estimation of the transcriber, who changed 'viros' into 'presbyteros,' or 'presbyteros' into 'viros,' presbyter did not mean priest.

And I sent a letter by a holy presbyter, whom I had taught from infancy; and I sent with him clergy (*clerici*), asking them for a little of the plunder; that is to say (*vel*), some of the captives they had taken.⁴

¹ Conf. 1.

² Letter to Coroticus, 7.

³ Letter to Coroticus, 7.

⁴ Letter to Coroticus, 2.

Now in this passage Patrick's words exclude the word presbyter from meaning priest; for if he was a priest he would be one of the clergy. So clearly is this the case, that Stokes and Wright find it necessary in their translation to put in the words with (other) clergy, but *other* as they indicate by the brackets is their own, not Patrick's. Presbyter, therefore, in the mind of Patrick is not an ecclesiastical title; the word 'sanctus' does not intimate that it is, for he uses the word 'sanctus' about all the Roman citizens; and it appears that in Patrick's time, and for many years after in Ireland, 'sanctus' had much the same meaning as reverend now has, or venerable, or right worthy.

The proper and the only translation of presbyter in the 'Confessio' is senator, or commissioner, or some word corresponding to the Roman title patrician.

Stokes moralizes on this passage about married clergy. Very interesting, but having no connection with the passage here.

Patrick tells us¹ he was of noble family:—'I was noble according to the flesh;' 'I was born of a father who was a decurio;' 'for the benefit of others I bartered my noble birth.' Now, it is simply incredible that in the opening of the 'Confessio,' where he is telling the rank and position of his father and grandfather, he should omit their nobility, and mention nothing about them, but what is quite compatible with their being emancipated slaves. What use or purpose could it serve to tell who his father and grandfather were, if he had nothing to say about them, but that the one was a priest, the other a deacon? How does that illustrate the subject of the 'Confessio'? In the 'Confessio' he assumes that it is *known* he was of noble family. 'It was not my grace, but God who conquered, that I should give up my noble birth for the benefit of others.' Now that assumes that he had mentioned his nobility when he mentioned his birth. But his nobility he certainly did not mention, if he said that

¹Letter to Coroticus, 5.

his father was a deacon and his grandfather a priest. If there was evidence adduced that he did say so, the statement is so improbable that the evidence for it should be sifted most suspiciously. But there is not a shred of evidence for it. The ancient Irish, though they do not give the word 'decurionem,' yet do establish that some such word, not 'diaconem,' was what Patrick wrote. They give no support to, they repudiate the notion, that Patrick's father was a deacon; and as the choice lies between 'diaconem et decurionem,' if he did not write the former, he must have written the latter.

The following extracts give the testimony of the Irish writers:—

(1) In a manuscript quoted by Cardinal Moran as a valuable manuscript, 'Calpurn was his father's name, a noble sagart; Fotid was his grandfather's name; Deochon his family.' 'Deochon' here is not deacon. (2) *Fiacc*: 'Patrick was the son of Calpuirn mic Otide ho Deocain Odisse.' It is quite gratuitous to say that Deocain has any other meaning here than in the previous quotation. (3) *Tripartite Life*: 'Calpurnn was his father's name, he was a noble presbyter; Potid was his grandfather's name, whose title was deacon.' (4) *Leabhar Breac*: 'Calpurn was his father's name, a high priest was he; Otid was the name of his grandfather, he was deacon.' (5) *Book of Lismore*: 'Potaide, deacon, was his grandfather.'

These five quotations, as is seen from their transferring the word deacon from the father to the grandfather, belong to the same original authority, and it would be gratuitous to take the word deacon in them in any other sense than what the first gives; therefore, they all repudiate the word 'diaconem.' Vita 2nd, and Vita 3tia, and Vita quarta have nothing about presbyter or deacon. The Vita quinta, Probus, is the only one that speaks of Calpurnius, deacon, son of Potitus, presbyter. That mention coming in about the middle of the tenth century, if it be not an addition by a much later hand, is far too late, so late as to prove the very opposite of the statements; for if Calpurnius was known to be a deacon, how could that strange fact have

escaped all the earlier writers. So there is absolutely no evidence that it ever was heard of in the early Irish Church that Patrick's father was a deacon. It was certain he was a 'decurio.' There is no absolute impossibility that the same person should be a 'decurio' and a deacon; but there is no setting aside the fact that, except in this improbable instance, antiquity shows no case of a 'decurio' being a deacon. 'Modern research,' no doubt, will discover such cases; for modern research in an emergency can accomplish anything.

Lanigan says: 'St. Patrick mentions his country under the name of Britanniae;' and in another place says: 'St. Patrick calls his country Britain.' George T. Stokes says, St. Patrick, in a general way, speaks of Britain 'as his place of birth and the residence of his parents.' Cardinal Moran says: 'Our apostle himself calls Britain his country.' All that is utterly and absolutely false. St. Patrick does not say or intimate that Britain was his country; he does not speak of it as the place of his birth, or the residence of his parents; on the contrary, he conveys distinctly, that it is not the place of his birth, and is not the residence of his parents. In only three places does he mention Britain:—

Iterum post paucos annos in Britannia eram cum parentibus, meis qui me ut filium exceperunt et ex fide rogaverunt me ut vel modo post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli nunquam ab illis discederem.¹

G. T. Stokes translates: 'I was in Britain with my parents, who received me as a son,' &c. Now the English word 'parents,' means father and mother; but the Latin word *parentes*, means relatives, and it is dishonest to translate it father and mother. Patrick says, 'who received me as a son.' Does not that expression prove he was not the son of these relations? If these relations were his father and mother, what nonsense would it be to say they received him as a son, unless it were insinuated that Patrick had been guilty of some shocking enormities for which he ought to have been repudiated.

¹ Confess. 10.

The real position of affairs was, that Patrick had associated himself with his relatives, Germanus and assistants; and that they, when they were going on their mission to Britain, in 423, insisted that Patrick should go with them. G. Stokes translates *nunquam ab illis discederem*: 'I should never leave them *again*,' which is a grossly incorrect translation; for, by introducing the word *again*, it is insinuated, or rather stated, that Patrick had left them before, and by his own action; nothing at all of which is contained in the word *nunquam*. It may be said, it is not proved yet that Patrick was with Germanus in Britain; but if he was, then his words, 'I was in Britain with my relatives' would be fully verified; and, therefore, those words do not show that his relatives had their residence in Britain, nor do they contain the slightest intimation that his relatives, much less his parents, had their residence in Britain.

And I have testimony from brethren of mine of no small consideration (*aliquantis*) testimony given, before that altercation (*defensionem*), that I was not present, nor was (even at all) in Britain; and (accordingly) it could not have had its origin from me, that he, in my absence, was postponed to me (*pulsetur pro me*).

This translation is as close to the words as are the translations of it usually given; and, at all events, this passage does not show that Patrick says Britain was his country. The only other place in which Patrick mentions Britain is s. 19:—

Unde autem possem etsi voluero dimittere illos, et pergere in Britannias etsi libentissime paratus irem quasi ad patriam et parentes, et non id solum sed etiam usque ad Gallias visitarem, fratres meos, &c.

That passage is by G. Stokes translated:—

Wherefore, though I could wish to leave them, and had been most willingly prepared to proceed to Britain, as to my country and parents, and not that only, but even to (go) as far as Gaul to visit the brethren, &c.

Observe, that though this 'Confessio' is written at the end of Patrick's long life, still his father and mother (according to this translation) are alive. Observe, that this translation for *meos fratres*, gives not *my* brethren, but *the* brethren. Observe, that the sentence as thus

translated, makes no sense, for the words 'though I could wish to leave them,' require an apodosis which is not found. A more correct translation would be: 'Now, taking into consideration what I have said (*unde*), how could I leave them even if my heart was with it (*voluero*), and go to Britain, even if I was as cordially (*libentissime*) prepared to go as (*quasi*) I would be (cordially prepared) to go to my country and relations, and (as I would be prepared to go) not to Britain alone, but as far as Gaul to visit my brethren.'

All that Patrick here says about Britain comes to this: that he would go to it as readily as to his country and his relatives, if he was free to go. How can anyone take out of that, that he says Britain was his country, and the residence of his relatives. To do so, *quasi* must be translated not 'as if it was,' which is its correct meaning, but 'since it is,' a meaning which it never has. Facciolati gives as follows the meaning of *Quasi*:—'*Quasi—omnino similitudinem significat vel veram vel cogitatam tantum vel effectam; adeoque simulationem.*' Now 'similitudo,' resemblance, comparison, always implies two objects, and objects really distinct. Whether Patrick compares Britain with his country, or his willingness to go to Britain with his willingness to go to his country, it comes to the same thing. He makes a comparison, and thereby says clearly, Britain is not his country, nor the residence of his parents. Could not an Irishman, who has made his residence in Paris, write, 'I would go to America as willingly as I would go to Ireland'? Would that show that America was his country? Could he not take an excursion some time with his friends from Ireland to America, and write, 'I was in America with my relatives'? Would that show America was his birthplace?

The account the 'Confessio' gives of Patrick's being made captive shows that Britain was not his country:—

I was taken to Hiberione in captivity with so many thousand men, in accordance with our deserving, because we departed from God, and kept not His precepts, and were not obedient to our priests who admonished us for our salvation. And the Lord brought down on us the wrath of His indignation, and dispersed us among many nations, even to the ends of the earth (*ultimum terrae*), where now my lowliness is seen among foreigners.

'Dispersed among many nations' and 'even to the end of the earth' are Scriptural expressions, as is 'wrath of the Lord's indignation.' See Acts i. 8: 'And you shall be witnesses to Me, even to the uttermost parts of the earth' (*ultimum terrae*).

Therefore, Patrick's country must have been a country with regard to which Ireland could be called 'the uttermost ends of the earth;' and a country between which and Ireland lay 'many nations.' Now if Britain was his country—if his birthplace was in Glasgow, or in Bristol, if he and his fellow-captives, so many thousands of them, had been transferred only to Antrim, that is, within sight of the land of his birth, how could he say that they had been scattered over 'many nations, and to the 'uttermost parts of the earth'? If he was only taken from Glasgow to Antrim, he might well have mentioned his captivity as a visible judgment, and a manifestation of God's indignation; but he could not have laid so much stress on the vast distance to which they were taken. Patrick, at the time he wrote the 'Confession,' must have been seventy years of age. He had been in France, and Britain, and in Rome; he was writing for men of position and learning. Could he have said, if he only meant that he and his fellow-captives were taken from Britain to Ireland, 'we were dispersed among many nations'? Where were in Ireland the 'many nations'? To say that they were scattered to the uttermost parts of the earth, if only taken away a journey of a day or two, would be a childish exaggeration which we cannot fairly attribute to him.

The account the 'Confessio' gives of his escape from captivity, and his return to his own land, shows that Britain was not his country. We may assume that it was in Antrim he was when the message came to him: 'Behold thy ship (*navis*) is ready. And it was not near, but, perhaps, two hundred miles away.' The ship, then, must have been on the southern or the western coast. The greatest breadth of Ireland is two hundred and six miles, and the length three hundred and six; but that two hundred miles would take him from Antrim to Bun-Mahon, the mouth of the Mahon, which flows into Dungarvan Bay. After three days' sailing

the ship fetched (*cepit*) land. A ship will sail in ordinary circumstances one hundred and twenty-five miles in the twenty-four hours. The distance from Ireland to Spain is about four hundred miles. Those who make him land in Britain invoke calms and tempests to help their theory. After they landed:—

We made our journey through a desert for twenty-eight days, and food failed them, and hunger prevailed over them, and one day the captain (*gubernator*) said to me: 'Pray for us, for we are perishing with hunger; for it will be a difficult matter for us ever to see again a human being.' But I said: 'Turn with faith to the Lord my God, for nothing is impossible to Him, that He may send this day food for us in our path until you are satisfied.' And so it came to pass. Behold! a herd of swine came in the path before our eyes, and they killed many of them, and they remained there two nights much refreshed; and their dogs were filled, for many of them had become exhausted, and left half dead along the way. From that day forth they had food in abundance. They also found wild honey, and offered me part of it.

The extreme length (meridional) of England is three hundred and six miles, the extreme breadth about three hundred and fifty-nine miles. Could men in straits from hunger have travelled in England twenty-eight days, and have begun to despair that they would ever see a human face? The hogs they met were, of course, wild hogs. There might have been at the time in England wild hogs in droves; but it is very unlikely. But the wild honey, in such abundance as to help the dietary of hungry men, was it ever heard of in England since or before? The whole description requires the country in which they made the journey to be some part of the Continent, and a southern part. Cantabria was famed in Roman times for its pigs.¹ Mondonedo, situated on the Sierra d' Infestia, was the ancient Britonia. It was long well known for its cattle fairs.² That Britonia is within a few miles of the port which vessels trading between Spain and Ireland would frequent. It is just due south from Dungarvan harbour. From Dungarvan harbour to the port

¹ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*, 611.

² Malte Brun's *Geography*.

belonging to Britonia a vessel would hardly ever be out of sight of land, for half way on would be seen Ushant soon after losing sight of Land's End. That is a consideration that would determine sea courses before there was a compass.

To be continued.

EDWARD O'BRIEN, D.D., P.P.

THE CONGREGATION OF IRISH PRIESTS IN BORDEAUX

A.D. 1602-1617.

WHEN the Apostolic Nuncio, John Baptist Rinuccini, on his arduous mission from Pope Innocent X. to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, safely reached our shores, in October, 1645, and landed on the banks of the river Kenmare, within the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe, the Bishop, Dr. Riccard O'Connell, who was then engaged on his episcopal visitation, in a distant part of his diocese, having been informed of the arrival of the Nuncio, hastened to meet him, and overtook him on the confines of Kerry, as the Nuncio sped on his journey to the City of Limerick. Here the Bishop cordially welcomed him, making him a present of a fine Kerry horse for his journey; and then, as the historian of the Nunciature tells us, the Nuncio with effusive joy, embraced the Bishop, saluting him as the *primitia* of the Irish episcopacy, the first and earliest of them he had met in Ireland.

In reference to this cordial reception of the Nuncio by Dr. O'Connell, the Dean of Fermo pronounces a high eulogium on the Bishop: 'Nunquam deinceps nec latum unguem ab officio degeneravit, a signal testimony from such a source, that the Bishop of Ardfert never swerved 'one nail's breadth' from the kindly offices he paid the Nuncio on his first welcome to him, and that in those kindly relations with the delegate of the Holy See, he remained faithful to the end, throughout that crucial period of our history, when some

of his episcopal brethren proved sadly faithless to the friendly professions of their early reception of the Nuncio.

This worthy Bishop of Ardfert, on whose unswerving loyalty to the Nuncio the historian of the Nunciature bestows this high commendation, had ruled his diocese during many years in the most trying and difficult times—first as Vicar Apostolic for more than thirty years, and next as bishop for twelve years before his saintly death as a martyr prisoner in the hands of triumphant Cromwellians, at Killarney, in 1653. Notwithstanding those signal services, and the merits of a long and laborious life spent among our Catholic ancestors in Kerry, not so very long ago, it is strange and surprising how completely his memory had fallen into oblivion amongst us, and how little is known of his life and history either in local or even family¹ tradition, or in the general history of Irish Catholic affairs in his time. Since I first got some few and faint inklings of the life and character of Dr. Riccard O'Connell, I have been, as opportunity served, seeking out more information of the details of his history. In this search I have been materially assisted by Mr. Gustavus F. Hancock, of the Public Record Office, London, whose acquaintance I happily made some years ago, soon after the publication of the last volume of the valuable series of *Calendars of Documents, Ireland*, of which Mr. Hancock was the editor in succession to the late Mr. Sweetman, who died before his work of editing that volume was complete. In this volume is contained the 'Ecclesiastical taxation of the dioceses of Ireland,' made in and after 1291, the deciphering of the time-worn parchment rolls of which was a work of great difficulty, especially the membranes containing the taxation of the dioceses of Ardfert and Killaloe.

When I had read the portion of the published *Taxatio*, noting the *valor* of the dignities, benefices, &c., of the diocese of Ardfert, I was able to judge how far Mr. Hancock had improved upon the readings of Mr. Sweetman as he had

¹ He belonged to that branch of the O'Connell Sept in Iveragh from which the famous Liberator sprung a few generations later.

left them; and I saw at once that his elaborate list of *corrigenda* was a great advance towards a correct identification of the ancient churches, &c., in my own diocese. With the aid of these *corrigenda* I succeeded in identifying with few exceptions, the ancient rural deaneries, parish churches, abbies, &c., of Ardfert diocese, and I sent the list I made out—with the modern names, to Mr. Hancock, for which he thanked me, and in return sent me, by official authority, a free copy of the valuable Calendar.

Having thus made the acquaintance of so accomplished an archivist as Mr. Hancock, and experienced his great kindness in this matter, I told him of my quest for traces of the history of Dr. Riccard O'Connell, and earnestly requested his assistance therein by letting me know of any references to the name of the bishop he may have met in documents, foreign or domestic, that he had examined. He kindly promised, and within a short time sent me interesting extracts from papers in the Record Offices, which may be styled the archives of British spydom, containing reports and informations from the horde of spies and informers employed at home and abroad, and paid by the British Cabinets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps the most interesting trace of Dr. O'Connell I got from Mr. Hancock was an entry of his name in a copy of a pamphlet, or *brochure*, in old French, among the Carew MSS., which had been sent to Lord Carew, about 1619, from Bordeaux, by one of his host of spies. This *brochure* contained a list of over two hundred Irish priests, secular and regular, who had founded, or had formed part in, a congregation of such priests in the City of Bordeaux between the years 1602 and 1617. The spy's letter has been preserved, and, as Mr. Hancock sent me a copy, I give the characteristic document as follows:—

Right Honb^{ble} and my very good lorde (Carew), I have wrythen twoe severale lettres unto y^r ho^r, the first by one Jhon Gib of Lithe [Leith], sent from Bourdyous; the seconde by one James Well, a riche merchante's son of Edinburghe, that I delivered him in Rochelle, with a book printed in Bourdyous, the authoure, Derby M'Carthye, together with a tretise delyvered

unto O'Soulyven, now in Spain: the book discoveringe the nombre of pristes made in the Colledge of Bourdious, with a proclamation translated out of Englshe into Freinshe, eche of them being printed for no good einde.

(Signed)

JAMES TOBIN.

Mr. Hancock sent me the entry of Dr. O'Connell's name as he found it in the list: 'P. Rickard O'Connell, prestre theologien, Ardferten.' The diocese being designated, I requested my kind correspondent to send me the names of priests marked 'Ardferten' on the pamphlet, which he did without delay. I found the number to be twenty-one, all the names of old and respectable families within our ancient diocese of Ardfert, except, perhaps, one: 'P. Jacques Valteri, prestre theologien, Ardferten.' This Ardfert priest, James FitzWalter, was very probably a nephew of the then lately deceased Bishop of Ardfert, Dr. Michael FitzWalter, who died in Spain towards the close of the year 1599; and who, though the family belonged to the City of Limerick, had this nephew ordained priest for his own diocese of Ardfert.

How numerous must have been the priestly exiles from this diocese throughout the various cities and colleges of France, Spain, Belgium, &c., at this time, whereas in this one congregation of Irish priests at Bordeaux we find that twenty-one Ardfert priests had been educated, or ordained, or sojourned for some time between 1602 and 1617, to prepare for their perilous missions at home in Kerry and Desmond; nor is it surprising to learn, from 'Propaganda Papers' of a later date, that in 1633, when a petition was presented to the Propaganda for the promotion of Dr. Riccard O'Connell, then Vicar Apostolic, to the episcopate, it was stated:—

There are almost an hundred priests, secular and regular, in the diocese, the precise number being—secular priests, 52, 6 of whom are doctors in sacred theology; 12 Dominican Fathers, all preachers or professors; 7 Franciscans, besides lay brothers, &c.; 1, or at most 2, priests of the Order of St. Bernard, 12 Augustinians, all theologians and preachers.¹

From this authentic statement of the liberal provision made by so many devoted priests, for the spiritual wants

¹ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. i., p. 184.

of the Catholic people in the diocese of Ardfert, during those calamitous times, when every Irish priest exercised his ministry, at the imminent risk of life or liberty, we may justly infer that other dioceses in Ireland were similarly blessed with a supply of priestly labourers for the sanctification of the faithful Catholics therein, in no less abundance. We have remarkable evidence of this in that chapter¹ of his *Catholic History* in which Philip O'Sullivan-Bere eloquently describes the munificent efforts and sacrifices made by kings, princes, nobles, and peoples in the Catholic nations of Europe, as well as by the various Orders of Clergy and Religious therein, to provide spiritual aid for the Irish Catholics at home, by defraying the expenses of educating for the priesthood, and sending back to Ireland, when ordained priests, so many of those devoted Irish exiles, with a result which he states in this somewhat exaggerated strain :—

Itaque in religionibus, seminariis, et etiam parentum expensis, Iberni sacerdotes et religiosi educati, Iberniam *catervatim inundantes*, damnum illud quod Angli intulerunt, religiosos domus et gymnasia sacra evertendo, compensant et resarciunt, quamvis non omnino, magna tamen ex parte.

Among the Colleges which sent forth those returning 'crowds' of devoted priests, that, as he tells in rather mixed metaphor, like 'surging waves' spread over Ireland, he makes special mention of the congregation or college of Irish priests at Bordeaux, in the following terms : 'Ac certe Burdigalense Seminarium Cardinali Francisco Surdicensi Burdigalo Archiepiscopo Mecaenate et Dermisio Mac Carrha rectore, incredibiles fructus diu profert.' To this reference in the text to the Bordeaux College, the editor (Dr. Mathew Kelly) appends this interesting note :—

Forty Irish priests exiled for the faith, landed at Bordeaux about the year 1600. They gave an account of the state of Ireland to Florimond Raimond, which he published in his *History of the Heresies of the Sixteenth Century*. They had no regular college at Bordeaux, until Anne of Austria established one by

¹ *Historiae Catholicae*, tom. iv., lib. i., cap. xvii

letters patent in 1654. Previously to that time they had the Church of St. Eutropius,¹ and casual revenues sufficient for the support of forty priests or students, who did not, however, live in community. A singular event first attracted the royal favour to them. During the troubles of Anne of Austria's regency the King of Spain sent 5,000 Irish troops to aid the rebels (the Ormists of Bordeaux). A detachment under the command of Colonels M'Carthy and O'Scanlon, was advancing to Bordeaux, when they were met by the Rev. Cornelius O'Scanlon and Dermot M'Carthy, Superiors of the Irish ecclesiastical body in that city, and brothers respectively of the two Colonels. The result of the interview was that the Colonels resolved not only to stand neutral themselves, but to use their influence with the other detachments of their countrymen. Word was sent to Colonel Dillon and to another commander in Perigord, who adopted the same course, and neither the promises nor threats of the Spanish officers could induce them to fight against the Regent's troops. Anne rewarded this conduct by endowing the seminary.²

Long before this endowment was made, or the Irish College of Bordeaux was regularly established under these very interesting circumstances, the congregation of Irish priests alluded to in this note, and commended so highly by Philip O'Sullivan-Bere, for having, under the patronage of the illustrious Cardinal de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and the presidency of a noble Irish priest, Father Dermot MacCarthy of Muskerry—who had founded it some years before he wrote his *Catholic History*—'long borne incredible fruit' in the education of Irish exile priests, issued this pamphlet or *brochure* as an appeal to the charitable to enable its members to provide support and maintenance for the large number of Irish exile priests and students, who had applied for succour in any way. To render this appeal more effective, a full list is given of the priests or other Irish refugees, who had been, 'received, supported or educated' at the expense of the congregation during the early years of its existence, from 1602 to 1617.

I had already received the names of the priests of the

¹ This Church of St. Eutropius, the gift of the generous Cardinal de Sourdis, remained the property of the Irish College of Bordeaux until 1793, when a law was passed ordering the sale of all property belonging to 'subjects of nations at war with France.' The church was then sold, but the college itself escaped confiscation at the time.

² *Notice sur le Séminaire Collège des Irlandais à Bordeaux.*

Ardfert diocese who had thus partaken of the generous hospitality of the Congregation, and I wished to ascertain the names of the exile priests from other dioceses in Ireland, who had, in like manner, been partakers of its noble charity. I, therefore, requested Mr. Hancock to procure a complete copy of the *brochure* as it lay in the Record Office, offering to pay the expense. He very kindly undertook to send such a transcript; but like a generous son of Wexford as he is, would accept no payment. He carefully collated the copy with the printed original, and made needful corrections where the copyist was at fault. It is a very important document, full of interest to an Irish priest, from beginning to end, containing the names of two hundred and thirteen priests, secular and regular, from several dioceses in Ireland, chiefly from all the dioceses of Munster, except Killaloe, who had been exiles from home and family and country, because they loved their faith more than fatherland, during the woeful period of the proscription and persecution of the Catholic people of Ireland, in the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth and the early years of that of the wretched James the Pedant.

It was truly a fearful exodus—that of so many thousands of the noblest, the bravest, and the best of an ancient Catholic nation, driven forth, for conscience' sake, wanderers over the face of Europe, 'in want, distressed, and afflicted,' of whom, alas! in many cases, 'the world'—whose charity they sought, but found not—'was not worthy.'

All honour to the city of Bordeaux, its clergy and people, against whom such reproach lies not, who welcomed and succoured those afflicted exiles of Erin, who had, in large numbers, craved its hospitality, and special honour to its illustrious Archbishop, Cardinal De Sourdis, who was the munificent patron of this congregation of Irish priests, organized and maintained by the zealous and devoted Father Dermot (MacCallaghan) MacCarthy, of Muskerry, in concert with other devoted refugee priests who were his colleagues in founding and supporting this excellent institution for many years before the afterwards famous Irish College of Bordeaux was regularly organized or endowed.

From the statement in Old French prefixed in the *brochure* to the catalogue of the names of the priests who had been aided in any way by this congregation, we learn that many of them had already gone back to Ireland, and had been long labouring there, 'constantly and courageously in the vineyard of the Lord, with a success greatly blessed by God, in the maintenance and propagation of the Catholic faith.' Among those who had thus returned to labour on the Irish mission, at the peril of their lives or liberties, were at least two priests of the diocese of Ardferf, viz., Dr. Rickard O'Connell, who was Vicar-General there in 1610, and Father Edward Rice, who was reported by one of the official spies to be working on the Ardferf mission in 1613, according to a 'List of sundry priests in county Kerry' in that year, contained in a MS. in Library T.C.D. There may have been other priests who had returned to the Ardferf mission, in like manner, from Bordeaux, whose names are in this catalogue, but of whose labours there we have no record. When this interesting *brochure* finds a place, as it richly deserves, in the pages of our I. E. RECORD, and when the names of those devoted priests, on its catalogue, from the various dioceses to which they belonged, will be carefully scanned in those dioceses, I trust that the presence of some, perhaps of many of them, who had partaken of the charity of this Bordeaux congregation, and had returned in the early years of the seventeenth century, to labour on the Irish missions at home, may be traced and ascertained by some clerical readers in the several dioceses. I have no doubt that, were the history known of those returned priestly exiles, who, during those years of fearful proscription, when the executioner, at the behest of English heresy, was actively at work, and the scaffold 'ran red' 'with the blood of Irish missionary priests,' 'had borne the burden of the day and the heats,' in labouring 'constantly and courageously in the vineyard of the Lord' at home in Ireland, it would be found that some, perhaps many, of the priests named on this Bordeaux catalogue, had, after their devoted labours in Ireland, suffered imprisonment and death for the Catholic faith,

and had thereby attained the martyrs' glorious crown, like many of their priestly brethren had done long before and long after the date of this catalogue. Hence, when conning over the names of those heroic Irish priests, who, under the auspices of this noble congregation in Bordeaux, were prepared and ready to imperil their liberties and their lives for the 'maintenance and propagation of the Catholic faith' in Ireland, I feel disposed to address them, as St. Philip Neri once addressed some clerical students in Rome, who were preparing for the English mission, where many Catholic priests had already suffered martyrdom under Elizabeth's reign; and with all due reverence and affection I salute them: *Salvete flores martyrum*.

DENIS O'DONOGHUE, P.P., M.R.I.A.

[COPY.]

STATE PAPERS, *Ireland*, 1615-1625.

Number 733, vol. 235, 55.

On title page was printed: 'CATALOGUE DE QUELQUES CLERCS.' in large letters, with the rest of first paragraph as far as 'Romaine.'

At foot the imprint: A. Bordeaux, Par Pierre de la Court, Rue Saint Jammes, 1619.

CATALOGUE de quelques clercs ecclesiastiques Hibernois, qui ont esté receus, nourris et eslevez aux lettres en la reguliere congregation, establee par Monseigneur l'illustrissime et reverendissime Cardinal de Sourdis, Archevesque de Bordeaux, Primat d'Aquitaine, &c., en la ville et cité de Bordeaux depuis seize ans: le nombre desquels s'est tellement acreu, qu'ils se sont despartis, les uns à Tholose, Cahors, Aux, et Agen, exiliez de leur pays, pour la foy catholique, apostolique, et Romaine.

Premierement Dermotus Cartæus Prestre de Muscry, du diocese de Corque, ville et cité d'Hirlande, fut auther de la Congregation d'iceux, Hibernois, l'an 1602 au mois de Septembre, en la ville de Bordeaux, sous les auspices, ayde, faveur, et autorité de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Sourdis, &c. A l'imitation duquel plusieurs autres fidelles chrestiens les ont charitablement assistez, jaçoit qu'ils eussent esté bannis de leur pays, et entierement desnues de moyens et commoditez temporelles; lesquels, par la grace de Dieu, et l'ayde de leur bien-facteurs ont si heureusement reussy, que travaillans continuellement et courageusement en la vigne de sa divine Majesté, ils ont monstré, et font voir journellement, Dieu benist grandement leur travaux en Hirlande, à la manutention et propagation de la religion

orthodoxe : les noms, fonctions, et qualitez des confreres de laquelle sont cy dessous escrites.

Pere Eugenius Cartæus du diocese de Cluanen ; abbé de Fermoy, qui a esté superieur du college Hibernois dix ou douze ans à St. Jacques de Gallice.

Pere Patrice Commerforde, du diocese de Vatterfordien, Augustin Reformé.

Frere Thomas Butler, fils du Baron de Dunebuiné du diocese de Cassellen.

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¹ Total, 215.

Ceste congregation a tousiours eu les exercices de charité en quelque particuliere recommandation, leur maison seruant la plus-part du temps de retraite à toute sorte de personnes, Catholiques Pelerins, et autres : et encores à plusieurs pauvres Religieux et Seculiers de leur nation lors qu'ils passent ; à l'entretenement desquels elle se sent tous les jours plus foulée, et despend presque plus chasque année, que non pas pour la nourriture et entretien de tous ceux desquels les noms sont couchez en ce present catalogue, quoy qu'en grand nombre.

Finis.

NOTE.—The numbers marked for different dioceses are : Cork, 30 ; Waterford, 28 and 2 M.Ds. ; Cloyne, 23 ; Ardfert, 21 ; Ross, 18 ; Meath, 15 ; Cashel, 14 ; Limerick, 13 ; Ossory, 7 ; Dublin, Wexford, and Kildare, 5 each ; Tuam, 3 ; Connaught, 1 ; Killaloe, 1 ; Ulster (dioceses not marked), 19.

¹ Written on margin.

WAS ST. AUGUSTINE AN EVOLUTIONIST ?

IN two recent numbers of the I. E. RECORD¹ opposite answers were given to this question. It seems to me that in these two articles, and a third, in May, the studious reader will find ready to his hand sufficient materials to enable him to arrive at a satisfactory decision. I shall, therefore, confine my references, as far as possible, to the pages of the I. E. RECORD, merely completing a few of the extracts. But we must start with a definite idea of what evolution means, and a good knowledge of the terminology of the *De Genesi ad Litteram*.

Evolution.—The definitions quoted² are confessedly inadequate, and the one constructed from them by Father Coakley is so vague and diluted, that no genuine evolutionists would accept it. The various schools even of theistic evolutionists cannot agree to a common definition. What, then, shall we do? It seems to me that we can only describe the system by its most generally recognised features; namely, mutable, transformed, and derived species.³

THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE 'DE GENESI AD LITTERAM'

1. *Creation.*—This term is used for the two creations so often mentioned in these papers, although the second is only the visible reproduction of the first. But the husbandman is not a creator,⁴ because he only works on materials created by God.

2. *Conservation.*—Our saint says:—⁵

God is not like a builder, who, having built a house, goes his way, and leaves it to itself. No, for the world could not last a

¹ Feb., April, 1899.

² Page 344.

³ I said that St. Augustine never uses the word evolution in any sense, and Father Coakley admits this (p. 355). Here, then, is an evolutionist that knew not the very term! He knew the bird came from the egg, the ear of corn from the grain, the oak from the acorn; but he does not call this evolution. Even if he did, it would be no proof that he thought a sheep was evolved from a plant, or man's body from an ape.

⁴ ix. 26

⁵ Page 106.

single moment if God withdrew His direction. Hence, when the Lord says, 'My Father worketh until now,' He means a certain continuation of His work, by which He preserves and administers the whole creation. It might be otherwise understood if He had said 'operates now.' In that case we need not understand it as of the continuation of His work. But it is quite otherwise when He says 'until now.' This is from the time of His work in creating all things . . . Hence it is manifest that, if God ceased a single day from the work of ruling what He created, they would instantly lose the natural activities by which they move and vegetate so as to be natures at all, and to continue in the *genus* to which each belongs; they would even cease to exist at all.

3. *Rationes causales*.—In the first creation they are real entities, but immaterial and invisible.¹ They are, therefore, without activity for any material effect; but, even if endowed with active powers, they could not produce new species. In the second creation they are both active and passive. For instance, seeds, acted upon by earth, heat, and moisture, germinate and spring up into the flora we behold, and the same holds for the fauna.

4. *Species*.—God created immediately species and *stirpes*, as in the case of man, endowing them with powers to produce individuals of their kind to perpetuate the species. Thus:² 'The elements of this corporeal world have their definite forces . . . Hence wheat cannot produce beans, or beans wheat; cattle cannot produce men, or men cattle.'³

5. *Mediate Creation*.—St. Augustine does not recognise this at all. On the contrary, he has a special dissertation⁴ to prove that these second causes cannot be called deputed creators or creators in any sense; and that God by *conserva-*

¹ Page 104.

² Page 108.

³ For species he often uses the word *creaturae*, but more generally *naturae* (see pp. 105, 109, 350, 351, 352). 'Ipsarum enim *naturarum* Deus est auctor et conditor' (ii. 30). 'Ut in *naturis* nulla sit quae non ab illo sit' (viii. 44). 'Conditionem spiritualis et intellectualis *creaturae* . . . In qua *natura* intelliguntur omnes Angeli . . . Quia non primo cognovit rationalis *creatura* . . . Ut prius fiant in cognitione rationalis *creaturae*, ac deinde in genere suo . . . Deinde coelum factum est, ut esset ipsa coeli *creatura* in genere proprio. Sic et discretio vel species aquarum atque terrarum, sic *naturae* lignorum et arborum, sic luminaria coeli, sic animantia orta ex aquis et terra (ii. 16).

⁴ ix. 23-30.

tion, is the real and sole Creator. We have already seen¹ what a very low degree of causation he allows to second causes, and we know that conservation is an immediate act of God, of which no creature is capable. What an immense field of creationism this opens up.

6. *Various terms.*—In the *De Genesi ad Litteram* the saint makes free use of abbreviations and equivalents. Thus he uses *causaliter*, *rationaliter*, *potentialiter* for *rationes causales*. He calls the first creation the invisible, 'omnia simul, quando factus est dies, sexdierum, a quo Deus requievit.' The second creation he calls the visible, 'non omnia simul, in suo tempore, per temporum moras, per numeros temporum, in quibus adhuc operatur.'

Let us now apply our selected test to the Augustinian extracts contained in the three articles already indicated. That this test is perfectly fair and unquestionable, is clear from Darwin's and Huxley's definitions of evolution,² which contain, or certainly imply, the mutability, transformation, and derivation of species. Herbert Spencer's abstract definition could be of no practical use to us in a concrete question. The question before us regards altogether this visible organized universe in which we live, not any mere abstraction. Have the species we see around us been evolved from other species, or even from a few primordial germs? this is the question raised by evolution; did St. Augustine answer *Yes*, is the question now before ourselves.

The Augustinian passage most relied on by evolutionists is that beginning *sicut autem*.³ But the studious reader can easily see that there is not the slightest trace of technical evolution in the passage. The material seed of the second creation is compared to the immaterial *rationes* of the first; the former germinates and develops into a beautiful tree, but of its own kind; the latter is developed into visible forms, but of their own kind, too, as we see constantly repeated in these extracts: where does evolution come in here? The comparison was meant to illustrate how things very great and beautiful may be contained *potentially* in

¹ Page 107.

² Page 344.

³ Page 351.

things very small and imperceptible, not how one species may produce another, or how one primordial germ may produce several species. The question of the activity or inactivity of the invisible *rationes* does not come in here at all; but we must not forget the saint's warning¹ against pressing the analogy of seeds too far. There is after this extract a comment so full of confusion that one wonders how so able a man could have penned it.

In the extract itself, and still more, in the context, the two creations are kept perfectly distinct; but here the writer confounds them, attributes to the second what only belongs to the first, turns the immaterial *rationes* into material germs, and thus arrives at an apparently evolutionary conclusion. For instance, he says: 'From this it would appear that there was no distinction in time between the creation of the universe and the creation of whatever things are contained in it.' Now, in the extract itself this applies only to the first creation, but he applies it to the second. This is all the more incomprehensible when we see on the previous page the words, *non intervallis temporum sed connexione causarum* applied to the first creation only, and clearly meaning that there was no interval of time between the creation of matter and its invisible *rationes causales*, or between these *rationes* themselves. But between this and the formation of the visible organized universe, millions of years may have elapsed, *temporalis cursus*;² and thousands between successive species, *per numeros temporum*. Does not all this agree exactly with what we have learned since about the revolutions of our globe, and the succession of species during geological time?

Another passage much relied on is that beginning *jam nunc*;³ but here, again, there is not a trace of technical evolution, unless we take germination, generation, &c., for evolution. On the contrary, there is a very strong protest against mutability of species.

Another passage, beginning *in qua distributione*,⁴ is said, 'not merely to have inculcated the doctrine, but to have

¹ Pages 104-107.

² Page 349.

³ Page 350.

⁴ Page 51.

anticipated the terminology of the evolutionists.' But here we only find the two creations and the *rationes* passing from the first to the second by the immediate agency of the Creator. Surely, this is not technical evolution. The word *evolvitur* happens to come in for once, but not to inculcate technical evolution, as the reader can see,¹ where the whole passage is given in English.

These are the strong passages. What must be thought of the others? Take that which begins *qua propter*;² it refers entirely to the first creation, with one or two allusions to the second. Surely, there was no technical evolution in that period. Take that which begins *quid est hoc*;³ it regards altogether the first creation. That which begins with a *qua conditione*, on the same page, is not claimed directly for evolution, but for the activity of the first *rationes*. Now, it has not a single word in favour of this activity, but it has three against it; namely, *movens*, *plantavit*, *creat*. It is quite clear that *illa ipsa* to which *movens* refers, are these very *rationes*, and that God is the sole agent. It is also clear that Paradise was formed by God from these same *rationes*, for the trees of the second creation had not as yet appeared, as the reader can see from the context.⁴ The *ista* referred to before *creat* are also the same *rationes*. It is clear from the context that *a Deo* is understood after *finitus est* in the sentence which immediately follows, and this is another item against the activity theory. But even if these *rationes* were active like those of the second creation, how could it be of use to an evolutionist unless they could produce new species? This power, whether active or passive, our saint constantly denies them. That which begins *aliter ergo*,⁵ simply affirms the two creations. That which begins with *sed rursus*,⁶ simply affirms the two creations of man; it is given in English.⁷ It teaches the immutability, immateriality, and invisibility of the first *rationes*. That which begins *nunc autem*⁸ describes the first creation and its relation to

¹ Page 104.

² Page 350.

³ Page 349.

⁴ Page 105.

⁵ Page 351.

⁶ Page 352.

⁷ Page 104.

⁸ Page 352.

the second. There is no trace of evolution, for the *evolventa* are manifestly the *rationes* of the first creation created *simul*, and which God was to transfer (*impleret effectis*) Himself to the visible creation. He here calls these *rationes quasi semina*, and insists on their immutability before and after their transfer.

Our last extract, *veruntamen*,¹ simply endeavours to reconcile the second creation of Adam with the theory of the *rationes causales*; there is not a word to suggest evolution, but there is a word *formaturus*, to suggest the sole agency of God in the transfer of the *rationes* from the first to the second creation, the operation in which the second act of creation consisted. Here, again, the fixity of species is insisted upon.

These are the passages selected by a very able writer to prove that St. Augustine was an evolutionist. He sums up his argument in these words:—

These are some of the passages mainly relied on by evolutionists; some of them have, however, been quoted in favour of the other side. We, none the less, submit that their natural interpretation, and, consequently, St. Augustine's meaning, is that God, simultaneously with the creation of the world, created all living things, not in the perfect species now known to us, but in certain primordial forms from which, in the course of ages, under the administration of Providence operating through secondary causes, all existing organisms are evolved. That this proposition faithfully represents the mind of Augustine will be evident by comparing its various clauses with the passages quoted; and by comparing it with, say Darwin's definitions, it will be likewise seen to embody the essential elements of the evolutionary hypothesis.

We have here repeated the very same confusion already adverted to. The two creations are comfounded, and the immaterial *primordial forms* of the first, are identified with the material germs of the second which produce, not new species, but individual flora and fauna of their own kind. The writer has evidently mistaken the meaning of the passage,² in which the words *involveris primordialibus*

¹ Page 353.

² Pages 104 and 352.

occur. It is quite clear from the context that they are not the material germs of the second creation, but the *rationes causales* of the first.

Having openly and fairly tested all the extracts adduced, I am, of course, expected to deliver my verdict. Well, without a moment's hesitation, my verdict is, 'not proven.' I will go farther, and say, that these extracts prove the very contrary, in two ways : first, they insist upon the fixity of species ; and, secondly, they teach the doctrine of special creation. The passages in which fixity is insisted on having been already indicated, let us, therefore, come at once to the second point.

Could we but include the two creations, everyone should admit that St. Augustine was the greatest creationist the world has yet seen. For, beyond all doubt, everything in the first creation was specially created by God. But, evolutionists deal only with this visible, organized universe in which we now live ; and we must, therefore, contract our definition of a creationist to that already given.¹ One may teach creationism in two ways, directly and indirectly ; but he must be called a creationist in each case if he asserts the doctrine clearly. Evolution was not discussed in St. Augustine's time ; he never treated these evolutionary questions expressly ; and, therefore, we can only learn his doctrine inferentially from words and sentences that dropped incidentally from his pen. While examining the above extracts, I could not help admiring the wonderful accuracy of his ideas and words in discussing the great problem of the creation. How easily some incautious evolutionary word or sentence might have dropped from a writer's pen in such circumstances ; but no such thing happened to our saint. But, as regards creationism, we have in his writings a world of his *obiter dicta*. We must remember that in St. Augustine's system the initial creative act in the second creation consisted in the transfer of the invisible *rationes* to the visible universe. This he invariably calls creation as being a continuance, by the same Creator, of the original

¹ Page 103.

creative act *ex nihilo*. For a similar reason he very commonly uses the word creation in reference to conservation.

Let us now see whether there is any creationism, direct or indirect, in these selected extracts; and let us first take the direct creationism.

In the extract *a qua conditione*,¹ *illa ipsa* are the invisible *rationes*, *movens* is their transfer to the visible universe, and God is the sole agent; surely, this is direct creationism. *Administrans* is the subsequent conservation. In *finctus est* we have another case of direct creationism, for *a Deo* is clearly understood.

In the extract *quapropter*² we have another instance in the word *explicaret*, for the context itself shows that *tempus* means *Deus in tempore*.

In the next extract, *jam nunc*, we have creationism directly asserted in the words *multa facere*; for the *generarum* are the invisible *rationes*.

It is asserted again in the words *movet itaque*; for *universa creatura* includes the two creations. The meaning is, that God moves His whole creation, transfers the invisible *rationes* to the visible universe, then conserves them with all their powers, and thus unfolds (*explicat*) and develops the ages which He had as if folded up in it (*universam creaturam*). *Conditi* is a typographical error for *condita*. The writer's comment on this extract runs thus: 'The evolution of the seminal ratios is evidently governed by the same Providence which traces the courses of the stars, and the ways of the sounding storm, and does not require immediate intervention.' We have here the same confusion already adverted to; the two creations are confounded; and germination, generation, &c., are taken for evolution.

In the extract *sed rursus*,³ we find creationism directly asserted in the words *ille de limo, illa de costa ejus*; for God is the sole agent in the whole passage, and we know aliunde that the saint held the immediate creation of Adam and Eve.

In the next passage *nunc autem* we find creationism

¹ Page 349.

² Page 350.

³ Page 352.

directly asserted in the words *post impleret effectis*. Here we see God Himself translating the *rationes* from their causal state into the visible universe.

In the extract *verumtamen*¹ we have creationism directly asserted in the words *de limo formaturus erat hominem*.

Here, then, we have creationism directly asserted eight times in the very passages selected to disprove it, and to prove evolution.

Not to weary the reader, I shall take only one specimen of the saint's indirect assertion of creationism. In the passage *aliter ergo*,² he says: '*aliter autem nunc sicut ea videmus quaeper temporalia spatia creat, sicut usque nunc operatur.*' There is question here primarily of conservation; but we have already seen what pains the saint took to show that conservation is only the continuance of the initial creative act. Therefore, in his terminology the direct mention of conservation implies the indirect mention of creation. Now this initial act of the visible creation is an immediate act of God, and of God alone. There are several instances of this indirect mention of creationism in these extracts. Their importance arises from the fact, that in St. Augustine's mind conservation was never separated from the initial creative act.

Father Coakley says:³ 'If his (St. Augustine's) works are saturated by creationism, how is it that it could not be discovered by Suarez and St. Thomas?' And then⁴ he gives an alarming list of theologians who asserted that St. Augustine was not a creationist. He may add my humble name to the list, for I hold, and have always held and said, that he was not a creationist in their sense. That is, he did not teach that God created, in the six days, this visible, organized, universe, with its flora and fauna, as we now behold them. But he constantly maintained that God, outside that period, created immediately all the visible species of this organized material universe. This is the creationism of evolutionists. This is the creationism with which the *De Genesi ad Litteram* is so saturated that it is

¹ Page 353.
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² Page 351.

³ Page 348.

⁴ Pages 355-357.

found in the very passages quoted against it. This is the creationism that breaks out spontaneously in the saint's discourses to his people. Thus: 'Universam igitur creaturam non utique Deus per aliquam creaturam sed solus fecit.'¹ Again:—

Vides cœlos, magna opera Dei sunt, videsterram; Deus fecit seminum numeros, diversitates germinum, multitudinem animalium . . . Undique tibi resonant omnia conditorem; et ipsae species creaturarum voces sunt quadam creatorem laudantium.²

Again: 'Naturae omnes per ipsum facto sunt.'³ Again: 'Clamat coelum Deo, tu me fecisti, clamat terra . . . Ipse fecit, ipse regit.'⁴ The saint repeats the same doctrine indirectly in nearly every one of these beautiful discourses on the Psalms. It would be hard to blame the Catholics of Hippo, if they thought their bishop a decided creationist.

I beg to remind the reader, once more, that I am not discussing the merits or demerits of evolution, or of St. Augustine's theory of the creation. My sole object is to ascertain his views regarding creationism and evolution.

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

¹ Page 109.

² *Enarratio*, Pe. xxvi. 12.

³ Ps. lxxviii. 5.

⁴ Ps. cxlviii. 15

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

CAP. VI.—*De sacris imaginibus et indulgentiis*

REGULA XV.—*Imagines quomodocumque impressae Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Beatae Mariae Virginis, Angelorum atque sanctorum, vel aliorum servorum Dei, ab Ecclesia sensu et decretis diffformes, omnino vetantur. Novae vero sive preces habeant adnexas, sive absque illis edantur, sine ecclesiasticae potestatis licentia non publicentur.*

AFTER having safeguarded against corruption, the Sacred Scriptures and the morals of the faithful, and after having condemned what might lead to disorder within legitimate societies, the legislator now turns his attention to the interior, as it were, of the Church, and considers its garb or its decoration. The garb of the Church will belong to two different departments: to art, in its outfit and ornamentation, and to liturgy in the performance of its sacred ceremonies. Accordingly, he considers sacred images in Chapter VI. and Liturgy in Chapter VII.

There is a very close connection between faith and sacred images; so that as the main purpose of the present legislation was to preserve purity in faith and morals, it was necessary to secure truthfulness in sacred images. Sacred Images represent to us in concrete and palpable form, the abstract truths of our faith. Let us take examples: the statue of Moses by Michelangelo, is the emblem of a man of God; strength portrayed in every lineament; strength of limb; strength of mind; and, above all, strength of will—because God was with him. Again, who cannot touch and almost feel the virtues of charity, faith, religion, prudence, and justice when he gazes on the statues of Canova in St. Peter's? In painting we find the same concrete expression: the Transfiguration by Raffael, shows us at a glance the three stages of the life of grace, and the relations existing between them. The picture is divided into three parts: the uppermost part, representing Christ and the two prophets, is a symbol for us of the just in

heaven, rapt outside themselves and immersed as it were in the contemplation of God. The second part, representing the three chosen Apostles, is a symbol of religious perfection in this life, so far inferior to that of the just in heaven, that the Apostles veil their faces because the eye cannot bear the contrast. The lowest part represents human life with all its cares and miseries and temptations sustained by a lingering hope of assistance from the ministers of religion and from Christ in heaven to whom the sufferers point from below. In a word, by means of sacred images the Church takes us by the hand and leads us, as it were, into the store-room of her ideas. If there be anything among them that should not be there, it will only lead us to a misconception. The Church, therefore, to save us from error, must consult the truthfulness of sacred images.

Rule XV. treats of the sacred images of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin, of the angels and saints, and of the other servants of God. It absolutely proscribes all stamped images of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin, of the angels and saints, or of any of the servants of God that deviate from the universal feeling and decrees of the Church. Images of the same, which may hereafter be stamped, shall not be published without the permission of ecclesiastical authority, whether they have prayers annexed to them or not.

It will be remarked that the rule makes a distinction between the images stamped before the publication of the present constitution and the images that may be hereafter stamped. As a different provision is made for each of those classes of stamped images, we shall treat of them in separate paragraphs.

§ 1.

1. The first part of the rule treats of images stamped before the publication of the present constitution; for the qualifying term used is '*impressae*' and not '*imprimendae*.' It refers to stamped images of every description: '*quomodocumque impressae*.' Hence engravings, photographs, lithographs, phototypes, and daguerreotypes are all included. Although '*imago*' in its generic sense may include water-

colours, oil paintings, or statues, yet we believe that in its specific sense here the term does not include such works of art. We are led to this conclusion by the following reasons :

(1) There is a great difference between an 'imago impressa' and an 'imago picta,' or 'exsculpta.' An 'imago impressa' is got almost instantaneously on a prepared surface from the object to be represented ; an 'imago picta' or 'exsculpta,' however, is obtained only by the slow and gradual realization of the mental conception of the artist. Hence the legislator would seem to have excluded paintings and pieces of sculpture by reason of the words employed, 'imagines impressae.' (2) The legislator speaks in the second part of the rule of images having prayers annexed ; and who ever saw oil paintings or statues having prayers annexed to them. (3) Finally, the legislator speaks about the publication of images ; paintings and statues are not *published*, but *exhibited*. Nor does the adverb 'quomodocumque' interfere with this interpretation, for it may indeed have been used to designate the various kinds of stamped images mentioned by us.

2. All stamped images made before the publication of the present constitution that deviate from the feelings and decrees of the Church are proscribed to all by the present rule. But how are we to know when it is that they do so deviate ? We have some general principles and some rules regarding special subjects to guide us.

The Council of Trent has pointed out in general terms the direction in which artistic genius must look for inspiration when dealing with sacred subjects. In the XXV. Session the Holy Council teaches that the body of the faithful are instructed and confirmed in the faith by pictures and other sacred images which record the mysteries of our redemption ; that they reap great spiritual fruits from the contemplation thereof, not only because they are thereby reminded of the great benefits and gifts that have been conferred on them by Christ ; but also because the miracles which God has wrought through His saints, together with their salutary examples, are thus laid before their eyes. They are, in consequence, moved to return thanks to God,

and to change their manner of life in order to imitate the saints; and they are, moreover, excited to adore and to love God, and to practise piety.¹

The Sacred Council would, therefore, attribute to sacred images three effects: instruction of the intellect, retention by the memory, emotion of the will. Aristotle teaches² that when we gaze on an image we feel our souls stirred by two emotions. The first draws us towards the image as a work of art, and we are pleased or displeased with it, according as it is in harmony or discordant with our tastes. The second emotion draws us towards the thing represented by the image; and this emotion is really the very same in kind as if the object represented were truly before our eyes. Let us apply this to the present case: we are stirred with two emotions by the sacred images in our churches. The first emotion is aroused by the images as works of art; and this emotion is purely æsthetic. The second emotion is aroused by the *objects* represented by the sacred images; and this emotion is purely religious. The sacred image, therefore, determines in a certain way the object of our religious emotion; it is the medium through which we gaze on the sacred object; if the image is true, our emotion tends in the right direction; if it is false, we are led astray.

Gazing, therefore, on the sacred object through the medium of the sacred image, we are *instructed*, we are *reminded*, we are *moved*. Sacred images may be our books, our symbols, or our preachers: they may be our books, for we can read in them at a glance what occurred long ages ago; they may be our symbols, because they bring into touch with our senses what oftentimes surpasses even our understanding; and they may be our preachers, laying con-

¹ Illud vero diligenter doceant episcopi, per historias mysteriorum nostræ redemptionis, picturis vel aliis similitudinibus expressas, erudiri et confirmari populum in articulis fidei commemorandis, et assidue recolendis; tum vero ex omnibus sacris imaginibus magnum fructum percipi non solum quia admonetur populus beneficiorum et munerum quæ a Christo sibi collata sunt; sed etiam quia Dei per sanctos miracula et salutaria exempla oculis fidelium subjiciuntur, ut pro iis Deo gratias agant, ad sanctorumque imitationem vitam moresque suos componant, excitenturque ad adorandum ac deligendum Deum, et ad pietatem colendam.

² *Lib de Memor et Remin*, cap. 2.

stantly before us the strongest motives of stirring ourselves up to the practice of piety and to a better life. As we would, therefore, have our words to be true, so we must have those sacred orators speak the truth. As the words from our lips, the light of our eyes, and the movement of our limbs must give faithful expression to the thoughts in our mind, so must the works of the sacred artist give faithful expression to the mind and the feelings of the Church. The sacred artist must not, therefore, allow his fancy to run at random; he must keep it within the limits of Catholic doctrines, the Sacred Scriptures, the dogmas of the Catholic faith, and the traditions of the Church. We must, therefore, condemn any sacred work of art that gives false expression to any Catholic truth, as we would condemn a speaker who would utter a falsehood.

3. But had we nothing to guide us except the general teaching of the Council of Trent, we should occasionally find ourselves sad at loss to apply the present rule. Benedict XIV. in his Bull *Sollicitudini*, 1745, has laid down very particular rules for the guidance of sacred artists, and those rules supply us with everything required for the application of the present rule. In the said constitution he enumerates the principal sacred subjects, and indicates the general lines on which they are to be treated. We shall here repeat the suggestions of the Pontiff.

The first of sacred subjects is the Most Holy Trinity. The Persons of the Most Holy Trinity may be represented in one group or in separate tableaux. Those images of the Most Holy Trinity may be permitted, that represent God the Father in the form of an old man,¹ having in His bosom God the Son made man, and the Holy Ghost between them in the form of a dove. Those also may be permitted that represent God the Father, and God the Son, slightly separated from each other, and God the Holy Ghost between them in the form of a dove. Artists, however, are to be condemned who make images of the Most Holy Trinity after their own fancy; as, for instance, those who would

¹ Dan. iii.

represent a man with two heads, and between them a dove : or those who would represent the Blessed Virgin as bearing in her womb the Three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity, as if all Three assumed human nature.

In separate tableaux the Three Persons may also be represented. The Father may be represented as walking through Paradise, or talking to Adam, because Adam is recorded¹ to have heard the voice of the Lord walking in Paradise. He may be represented as leaning on a ladder reaching to heaven, as Jacob is recorded to have seen Him in sleep. He may be represented as surrounded with all the signs of majesty and power, as He manifested Himself to Moses.² He may be represented as a king sitting on his throne, as Isaias beheld Him,³ or as an old man wrapped in a mantle, as Daniel contemplated Him.⁴

God the Son may be represented, separate from the other Persons, in all the stages of human development, because 'The Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us.'⁵

The Holy Ghost may also be represented apart from the other Persons. He may be represented in the form of a dove, because He is recorded⁶ to have descended on the head of Christ in the form of a dove. He may also be represented in the form of tongues of fire, because it was thus He descended on the heads of the Apostles. It is, however, forbidden to represent the Holy Ghost in the form of a young man separate from the other Persons.

After images of the Most Holy Trinity, come those of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Benedict XIV. approves of the custom in existence from Apostolic times, of representing her as clothed in a garment of a rosy or purple colour, with a mantle of azure blue. It is forbidden to represent the Virgin as clothed in the religious habit of any particular order or congregation.

The Church has always presented to the eyes of the faithful, the angels under the forms in which they are

¹ Gen. iii.

² Exod. xxxiii.

³ Isaias vi.

⁴ Dan. vii.

⁵ John i.

⁶ Luke iii.

⁷ Act. ii

recorded in Holy Writ to have appeared to men. Hence they will generally be represented as youths, beautiful in appearance, clad in white, girt round the loins, and sometimes as supplied with wings; all this expresses the ministry they hold from God, and some of the qualities they possess. They may also be represented as children rapt in contemplation; and this manner of representation symbolizes the purity of their minds, and the transport of their affection.

Canonized saints are to be represented with diadems; the beatified are not to be represented with diadems, but only with rays of glory; the servants of God who are neither canonized nor beatified, are not to be represented with either diadems, rays, aureolas, or with suplicants at their feet, because such would betoken honour and invocation.

By such indications are we to know whether or not any image of a sacred subject deviates from the feeling and decrees of the Church.

§ 2.

The legislator is more severe with regard to sacred images stamped and published after the publication of the present constitution than he is with regard to those that had been stamped before its publication. Images stamped before its publication are proscribed only when they deviate from the feeling and decrees of the Church; those published after it are all forbidden to be published, even though they should be conformable to the feelings and decrees of the Church without the permission of ecclesiastical authority.

But what is the ecclesiastical authority here spoken of? It is the Bishop: for the Council of Trent, after having spoken of sacred images in the manner to which we have already alluded, proceeds to say—that if any abuses should have crept in with regard to sacred images, it is the ardent desire of the holy Synod that they should be corrected, and that no images be made that might give false expression to any of the dogmas of faith, or that might lead the illiterate into error. And with regard to the point at issue it has—*‘Postremo tanta circa haec diligentia et cura ab episcopis adhibeatur, ut nihil inordinatum, aut praepostere, et*

tumultuarie accommodatum, nihil profanum, nihilque inhonestum appareat, cum domum Dei decet sanctitudo.¹

And here a question of practical import presents itself: What if stamped images of sacred objects, perfectly in harmony with the feeling and decrees of the Church, have been published without the permission of the local bishop: are the faithful forbidden to buy them? We believe that the faithful may buy them, even though they have been published without the permission of the bishop—provided, as we have already implied, that they contain nothing hurtful to the feelings or contrary to the decrees of the Church. We are led to this belief, (1) from a consideration of the end the legislator had in view in framing the present rule. It was to preserve the faithful from falling into error regarding the truths of our faith, as they might easily do from gazing on false and fictitious representations. Now, where would such danger be if the said pictures were in perfect concord with Catholic truth? (2) From the words used by the legislator: *non publicentur*. These words refer to the act of *publishing*, and not to the act of *buying*; and since the law is penal, we are not to suppose that the legislator meant more than what he has actually expressed. (3) Lastly, we believe that if the legislator wished to prohibit the faithful from buying such images, he would have clearly expressed so. Compare, for instance, the present clause with a similar clause of Rule 13:—

Reg. 13. Vel quae (scripta) novas inducunt devotiones, etiam sub praetextu quod sint privatae, si publicentur absque legitima superiorum ecclesiae auctoritate proscribuntur.

Reg. 15. Novae vero sive preces habeant adnexas, sive absque illis edantur, sine ecclesiasticae potestatis licentia non publicentur.

In Rule 13, two things are most clearly expressed—(a) that such books are not to be published without ecclesiastical permission; (b) that if they should be so published, they shall be proscribed. In Rule 15, one only of those two is

¹ We shall afterwards see that where there is question of episcopal permission and approbation, any one of the bishops within the area where publication is to take place, may give the desired permission.

expressed—that such are not to be published without ecclesiastical permission.

The faithful, however, are to be warned against buying novel images of sacred objects, unless they bear the episcopal sanction. The illiterate cannot always know those that give expression to false doctrine; the approbation of a Bishop gives them a pledge of their orthodoxy.

Reg. 16. — *Universis interdicatur indulgentias apocryphas, et a sancta Sede Apostolica proscriptas vel revocatas quomodocumque divulgare. Quae divulgatae jam fuerint de manibus fidelium auferantur.*

1. After having treated in the preceding rule of sacred images, the legislator turns to indulgences, and to them he devotes two rules. Rule 16 is a short simple prohibition; it reduces to a nut-shell all that was about indulgences in the old legislation. It absolutely forbids any person to publish apocryphal indulgences, or those that have been proscribed or recalled by the Holy See; if any such should have been published they shall be taken out of the hands of the faithful.

It will be well to keep before our minds the different elements that enter into the definition of indulgences, in order that we may see clearly from what part of the doctrine thereof, the present rule with its explanation, hangs. The first element that enters into the definition of indulgences is the 'causa finalis'; and under this head comes all the doctrine regarding the nature of the effects produced by an indulgence, which is the remission of the 'reatus poenae temporalis,' which sometimes remains, after the 'reatus culpae' has been forgiven. Then comes the 'causa formalis,' or the form which this remission or abolition of the temporal punishment assumes; and under this head comes the doctrine regarding the amount of remission obtained—whether plenary or partial, &c. Then comes the 'causa materialis ex qua: ad instar' or the source from which indulgences derive their efficacy; and under this head comes the doctrine treating of the application of the merits of Christ and His saints to our souls; then the 'causa

Materialis in qua : ad instar ' and here comes the doctrine regarding the persons who may gain indulgences, and the conditions required to be fulfilled. Lastly, comes the 'causa efficiens ;' and under this head comes the doctrine regarding the power of granting indulgences. Now it is from this last point that the present rule with its explanation hangs : and not so much to the power of *granting* the indulgence, as to the manner in which it is *published*.¹

The concession of indulgences is an act of jurisdiction, and he only can grant an indulgence to the universal body of the faithful who has jurisdiction over the entire Church. Bishops, however, have limited powers, and can grant indulgences to a part of the faithful. On their shoulders is laid a portion of the solicitude of the government of the Church. They are taken by the Supreme Pontiff into a kind of brotherhood with himself ; and accordingly, whereas in his encyclicals he styles the universal faithful as his sons, he styles the bishops his brethren. As lieutenants hold the place of the supreme ruler within particular districts, so bishops hold the place of the Pontiff within their particular sees. Their power of granting indulgences is, therefore, limited, and is so according to the will of the Supreme Pontiff.

The merits of Christ and of His saints constitute a spiritual treasure in the Church ; the Supreme Pontiff is the master of the household, and on his shoulders carries the keys of this treasure. He opens it with his will ; when he opens there is no one to close it, and when he closes it there is no one to open. Now the Pope could not attend in person to the entire administration of this spiritual treasure ; he requires assistance. To lend this assistance, the Congregation of Indulgences has been established, and through the medium of this Congregation he generally makes known to the faithful what treasure he dispenses to them, and by means of the same Congregation, he keeps an account of what treasure he has already dispensed or recalled.

Now, should anyone publish among the faithful a fictitious

¹ Cf. St. Thomas supplementum Ques. xxv. et seqq.

document testifying to the concession of an indulgence, that had not really been granted by the Supreme Pontiff—that should be called an apocryphal indulgence (*ἀποκρύπτω*). If he were to publish an indulgence that had been condemned by the Pope—either on account of the abuses that had crept into the preaching of it, or into the manner of gaining it—it should be called an ‘*indulgentia proscripta*.’ If he were to publish an indulgence that had already been recalled by the Supreme Pontiff, it should be called an ‘*indulgentia revocata*.’ The present rule absolutely forbids the publication of such indulgences, and prescribes that if any such have heretofore been scattered amongst the faithful, they should forthwith be admonished of their deception.

But how are we to know when an indulgence is apocryphal, condemned, or recalled? The Congregation of Indulgences has published collections of the various indulgences that have been granted by the Holy See, together with the conditions under which they may be gained; and from these collections we may know which indulgences are true, and which are false.¹

REG. 17.—*Indulgentiarum libri omnes, Sumaria, libelli, folia, &c., in quibus earum concessioniones continentur, non publicentur, absque competentis auctoritatis licentia.*

1. The preceding rule refers to the publication of false indulgences; the present rule refers to documents *in which true ones are published*. It prescribes that all books, pamphlets, leaflets, &c., in which the concessions of indulgences are contained, are not to be published without the permission of competent authority. The end of the rule is, to prevent false teachers from abusing the faith of the people, and to secure that neither the excessive zeal of some, nor the malicious intentions of others, bring the

¹ But since new indulgences are granted from time to time by the Holy See it may so happen that a particular indulgence of recent concession is not contained in these collections. We may, however, keep *au courant* with the Congregation of Indulgences by becoming associated with the *Acta S. Sedis* issued monthly in Rome, wherein all the decrees of the month may be read. The Congregation of Indulgences will always be the final court of inquiry.

spiritual treasure of the Church into contempt or derision.¹

Two things are required, in the interpretation of this rule: to explain the terms *Summaria*, *libelli*, et *folia Indulgentiarum*, and to show to what authority we are to refer for permission to publish such works.

2. *Libri*.—Since indulgences are granted under the form of decrees, *libri*, in which their concessions are contained, are books containing the decrees by which the various indulgences have been granted.

Summaria.—Are naturally books summarized; hence in the present context they are compendiums in which the various indulgences that have been conceded are enumerated, and extracts from the decrees by which they have been granted, cited.

Libelli.—Are *libri* on a small scale; they will contain an enumeration of some few indulgences, with the decrees by which they have been granted.

Folia.—Are leaflets of a certain number of pages, according as the standard sheet of paper has been folded in 4°, 8°, 16°, or 24°; they will contain one or two indulgences, with some remarks to commend them to the faithful.

3. *Absque competentis auctoritatis licentia*.—What is the authority here spoken of? If we wish to publish for the spiritual welfare of the faithful, a book of indulgences, or of pious works that have been enriched by the Holy See with indulgences, to what authority are we to apply for approbation and permission?

In the *Decreta de lib prohib*, of the old legislation, it was distinctly stated that we were to recur in such a case to the Congregation of Indulgences.

¹ This rule would seem to have been taken from 'Decreta de libris prohibitio nec in Indice relatis,' § iii., n. 12. The point of difference will be seen from a collation:

DECRETUM.

Indulgentiarum libri omnes Diaria, summaria, libelli folia, &c., in quibus earum concessiones continentur non edantur absque licentia S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum.

REG. 17.

Indulgentiarum libri omnes. Summaria, libelli, folia, &c., in quibus earum concessiones continentur, non publicentur absque competentis auctoritatis licentia.

But the new legislation on the point would seem to have become somewhat vague, owing to the fact that the words 'absque licentia S. Cong. Indulgentiarum' have been changed to 'absque competentis auctoritatis licentia.'

The question under discussion has been proposed to the Congregation of the Index for solution. We give the question with the answer of the Congregation:—

Utrum in decreto No. 17, Decretorum generalium nuper a S. S. ; D ; N. Leone Papa XIII. editorum verba hæc: 'non publicentur absque competentis auctoritatis licentia,' ita sint intelligenda, ut in posterum Indulgentiarum libri libelli, folia, &c., omnes ad solos locorum ordinarios pro impetranda licentia sint referendi; an vero subjiciendi sint censuræ S. Indulgentiarum Congregationis aut Ordinarii loci, 'secundum normas ante novam Constitutionem officiorum ac Munerum stabilitas?'

Res.: ad 1^m partem: Negative.

„ 2^m „ : Affirmative.

Datum Romæ ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Indicis Congregationis die 7 Augusti anno 1897.

A. Card. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

FR. MARCOLINUS CICOGNANI, O.P., *Secret.*

The answer of the Congregation simply amounts to this: that we are to apply to the same persons for permission and approbation, as we should have applied to, before the publication of the Leonine Constitution. Now, to whom should we have applied according to the old legislation? In some cases the bishops had power to grant permission for the publication of such books; in the majority of cases, however, the Congregation of the indulgences alone had such power. In order, therefore, to define exactly the rights of those two bodies we shall now state briefly the leading facts in the history of the legislation on the point.

The Council of Trent in the XXII. Session put in the hands of bishops the entire power of approving and permitting the publication of indulgences within their respective sees.¹ In the XXV. Session, the Council laments over the fact, that indulgences had been in many cases abused, and had been preached, not for the spiritual welfare of the

¹ Indulgentias vero, aut alios spirituales gratias, quibus non ideo Christi fideles decet privari, deinceps per Ordinarios locorum, adhibitis duobus de Capitulo, debitis temporibus publicandas esse decernit.

faithful, but for the purpose of lucre ; owing to this the very word indulgence had become in the mouths of heretics a term of reproach against the Church. In order to safeguard the spiritual treasure of the Church from such abuse and such derision, the Council imposes on all bishops the obligation of inquiring diligently if there be any abuses with regard to indulgences within their dioceses, and if there should be, to bring them before the notice of the Provincial Synod ; after having had counsel with the other bishops of the province they are required to lay the matter before the Holy See in order that measures be taken suitable to the requirements of the Universal Church.¹

Many obstacles, however, prevented those disciplinary measures of the Council of Trent from being fully carried into effect. In the first place, in many countries there were no provincial synods such as those spoken of by the Council ; secondly, as the faith became more and more propagated in distant countries, there were many bishops far away from the Supreme Pontiff, who could be reached by letters from Rome only at long and rare intervals ; and lastly, as many bishops had few opportunities of recurring to the Holy See, they might reasonably entertain doubts about the authenticity of many indulgences. Hence those disciplinary measures, while they placed much power in the hands of the bishops, failed to produce the happy results intended by the fathers of the Council.

It was to realise the wishes of the Council of Trent that the Congregation of Indulgences was instituted on July 6th, 1669, by Clement IX. This Congregation was to assist the Supreme Pontiff in the administration of the spiritual treasure of the Church ; it was to examine and supervise the publication of indulgences, and correct any abuse that should creep into either their application or publication.

Thenceforth we had two bodies in the Church invested with almost similar powers—the bishops, and the Congregation of Indulgences. The bishops held their power from

¹ Sess. xxv. ; *Decretum de Indulgentiis* :—Mandat omnibus episcopis, ut diligenter quisque hujusmodi abusus ecclesiae suae collegat, &c.

the Council of Trent; the Sacred Congregation held its power from Clement IX. The bishops held their power, but for the most part did not exercise it; the Sacred Congregation held it, and exercised it too. Dualism, however, generally begets friction, and sooner or later leads to a decisive issue for one side: and so it was in the present case. In 1859, *i.e.*, nearly three hundred years after the said power had been conferred on the bishops of the entire Church by the Council of Trent, two doubts which brought the question to a close were proposed for solution, by the Bishop of Perigueux in France, to the Congregation of Indulgences.¹ The Bishop asked (*a*)—if, according to the legislation on the Index, the Ordinary might approve and give permission for the publication of books of indulgences, even in cases where he was certain of the authenticity of those indulgences, without having previously consulted the Congregation of Indulgences; (*b*) if, this approbation and permission be forbidden to the Ordinary, only in such cases as he should be doubtful of the authenticity of the said *Indulgences*? To those

¹ The following is the question of the Bishop, with the answer given by the Congregation:—

Die 22 Januarii, 1858.

BEATISSIMO PATER,

In decretis de liberis prohibitis quae post Regulas Indicis addita sunt haec leguntur . . . § III., n. 12. *Indulgentiarum libri omnes, Diaria, Summaria, Libelli, Folia, &c., in quibus earum concessiones continentur, non edantur absque licentia Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum.*

Cum vero circa hujus Regulae interpretationem plura dubia exorta sint, ad pedes Sanctitatis vestrae provolutus, Episcopus Petrocorensis et salutensis in Galliis ad ipsa efflagitat humillime:—

I. Utrum praefata Regula ita intelligenda sit, ut nulla Summaria, Catalogi, Folia Indulgentiarum ipsa auctoritate Ordinarii imprimi possunt, absque speciali licentia Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum, etiam quando ipsi certo constat authenticas esse illas Indulgentias, verbi gratia, quia pene se habet Catalogos aut Summaria Romae impressa?

II. An vero haec impressio et evulgatio solum prohibeatur Ordinario quando non ipsi certo constat jam a Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum evulgatos fuisse hos Indulgentias?

Res:—Articulus 12 § III., decretorum post Regulas Indicis editorum ita esse intelligendum, et in praxim deducendum, ut si agatur de edenda concessione abijus Indulgentiae, vel Summarii Indulgentiarum quod ex Brevi Apostolico, vel Rescripto desumendum est, aut de Summario ex auctoritate Sacrae Congregationis jam vulgato in potestate ordinarii sit concedere eorundem Indulgentiarum concessionem typis imprimendi (dummodo pro aliquo elencho non sit specialis et expressa prohibitio); e contra vero si sermo sit de Summario, vel antes collecto, sed nunquam approbato, vel nunc primum in diversis concessionibus colligendo, requiritur expressa S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum licentia. Cf. P. Pennacchi, p. 143.

doubts the Congregation answered, that (a) if the indulgences in question have been taken from an Apostolic Brief or Rescript, or from a summary already published with the permission of the Congregation of Indulgences, the Ordinary has power to grant the required permission ; (b) if, however, the Indulgences be taken from a summary that has either never been approved of, or that is now for the first time to be published, permission must be gained from the Sacred Congregation.

This, is then, the legislation, to which the Congregation of the Index would seem to have referred in the Response already cited by us. We see that the power given bishops by the Council of Trent has been slightly restricted by subsequent legislation. At present where there is possibility of doubt regarding the authenticity of the indulgences, permission must be obtained from the Congregation of Indulgences ; where, however, there is no possibility of error, nor ground for doubt, the bishops still retain the power of granting approbation and permission.¹

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

¹ Under the light of this decision of the Congreg. Indulgentiarum, we may now see why the legislator has slightly changed the wording of the old decree in the new rule. If he left the wording as it was ('*abque licentia S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum*') he would not have expressed the limited power that the bishops still retain. By having changed the words slightly (to '*abque competentis auctoritatis licentia*') he has given due scope both to the Congreg. Indulgentiarum, and to the bishops within the limits defined by the said Congregation in its reply to the doubts of the Bishop of Perigueux.

THE TRIALS OF SOME IRISH MISSIONERS

II.

HAVING had a long and bitter experience of missionary life, as a Discalced Carmelite, in Ireland, Father Patrick of St. Brigid devoted his services to the Catholics of London from the year 1654 until some time after the Restoration. But, meanwhile, he was always hoping against hope to be permitted to return to his native country again, as we learn from the many letters which he addressed to his Superiors-General, and which form the greater portion of the series now submitted to the reader. Father Patrick invariably wrote in Latin, although he knew Italian, French, and Spanish, equally well.

The future missionary left Ireland when quite a boy, about the time of Father Edward's death. For, as we have seen from previous letters, even during the reign of Charles I., the children of Catholic parents had to be sent abroad for their education; and yet for such violation of the law the penalty of high treason was incurred. When of an age to decide on his vocation this young student, like so many of his fellow-exiles, found himself called to the cloisters of Carmel. And having chosen the Brown Habit of the Teresian Friars, in order that he might sanctify himself by observance of the restored primitive Rule, he was affiliated to the Irish province of Discalced Carmelites. It would seem that he had much success in the Schools during his collegiate course. Still he must have keenly felt that he was not yet prepared to take part in the work of the mission; for just then (A.D. 1641-1647) the Fathers of the Order in Ireland had entered on their glorious struggle; and those three Teresian confessors, to whom we have referred, had already secured the martyr's palm and crown. Of the nine monasteries, which the Discalced Carmelites had founded in this country, but few remained intact on Father Patrick's arrival, in the year 1647;

perhaps in Limerick alone, or amid the ruins of the old Abbey of Loughrea, might he have sought a temporary refuge at the beginning of his career as an Irish missionary.

Dreadful were the hardships, perils, and privations, which he had to undergo for six long years, attending to the spiritual needs of his persecuted countrymen at imminent risk of his own life. In his letters to Rome there is repeated allusion to this period ; as if the memory of it were some terrifying dream that could still cause him a thrill of horror, so narrow had been his escape on many a time from death by the halter or sword. Yet, there is a note of triumph, too, in those references, especially when Father Patrick speaks of the fervour of the suffering people, who, unmindful of the rain and cold, came in crowds, night after night, to the missionaries for the consolations of their faith. It was only at midnight, and in places most remote, that the Sacred Mysteries could be celebrated with any safety, so vigilant was the watch of the Puritans. And many a touching incident of heroic loyalty to duty on the part of the priests, and of loving devotedness to their proscribed clergy on the part of the Irish people, is to be met with in all authentic documents relating to the history of those dread times.

In the year 1653, Father Patrick repaired to Belgium to consult his superiors on matters pertaining to the welfare of his mission : in the meantime he had entrusted his charge to one of the other Discalced Carmelites then in Ireland. His report on the state of the country was at once forwarded to Rome, where it excited deepest sympathy with those at Cromwell's mercy. The Superiors-General spoke of all those patiently borne trials as the people's grand victory in the cause of truth ; and they highly commended Father Patrick's own eagerness to return to Ireland ; but, for the present, they could not comply with his wishes in this respect, and decided that he should proceed to London, and await their further instructions there. He obeyed in that beautiful spirit of filial submission, so evident from all his letters. It was still early in the year 1654 when he arrived in London. The Puritan persecution seems to have been then at its fiercest ; according to Father Patrick, scarcely a

day passed without some priests, secular or regular, being seized and thrown into prison to suffer tortures of the most inhuman kind. If they succeeded in escaping the fury of the fanatical soldiers, the members of the Catholic clergy were forced into immediate exile. In these circumstances Father Patrick thought it would be cowardly of himself to adopt the latter alternative, and return to the Continent; on the other hand, he was assured that it would be sheer rashness to attempt a journey to Ireland. Hence, he proposed to remain in London, and do what he could for the Catholics of that city, taking his chance of arrest with his brother priests still on the English mission. His superiors approved of this decision; they promised, moreover, to represent his case to Propaganda (which Sacred Congregation, it may be said, had originated with the Discalced Carmelites—the Ven. Fathers Thomas of Jesus and Dominic of Jesus Mary having been primarily instrumental in the establishment of the same), in order that he might receive the assistance granted to missionaries when the faithful of countries under heretical rule were too poor themselves to contribute to the support of their clergy. For at that time the Catholics in England, as well as in Ireland, were in extreme want; neither dared they so much as harbour priests without incurring grievous penalties. However, by making it worth their while to keep silent, Father Patrick and many of his companions found a very secure refuge among some of the Puritans themselves.

For the next two years he had to contend with numerous troubles; but his greatest trial, judging from his letters, was, as has been said, his not being able to return to the labours of the mission in his native land. He soon became known to, and very popular among, the Catholics of London. A number of them assisted regularly at Mass in his place of refuge, employing, of course, the most effective means of eluding the watchful Puritan spies. When writing, in June, 1656, to congratulate Father Isidore of St. Dominic, on his having been elected General of the Discalced Carmelites, Father Patrick gave a brief sketch of his own life in London since the year 1654. His new Superior had

previously alluded to the 'harvest of souls' already reaped by our missionary in Ireland; and now Father Patrick informed him of some recent conversions, which he called 'flowers of the month of May.' He said that he had ventured to open a little chapel, close to his lodgings, on the first of last November (1655), and dedicated it to 'All Saints;' and he never hesitated to officiate there, just as freely as if there were no persecution, in England. In order to meet the wants of the faithful dependent on him, he had to offer the Holy Sacrifice twice every morning—an extraordinary privilege which he could exercise in virtue of those special faculties granted to the Irish Discalced Carmelites by Pope Urban VIII. He also preached in this humble chapel; and was very frequently called upon to administer the sacraments, and could do so by reason of another favour of the same Pontiff to the members of his Order in Ireland. Nevertheless, it was with exceeding great difficulty he could manage to support himself, as his people were too poor even to make the usual offering for Mass. This, however, could not have caused him much anxiety, seeing that he always endeavoured to lead the monastic life, conforming to the austere Carmelite Rule, and to the Constitutions of his Order. He believed that it would be useless for him to preach to others, if he did not avail himself of this means of sanctifying his own soul. From the same letter it appears that Father Patrick succeeded in getting another of the Irish Teresian Carmelites—Father Agapitus of the Holy Ghost, who had, likewise, a most eventful missionary career—a position with a nobleman, living at a distance of about twenty miles from London. Father Agapitus hoped to be able to pass safely thence to Ireland; and Father Patrick could only regret that obedience did not permit himself to be his companion on this occasion.

Later on in the same year, 3rd of October, 1656, we find him writing to remind Father Isidore that the late General, Father Joachim, had bade him stay in London until he, Father Isidore, should appoint a new field for the exercise of his missionary zeal. Otherwise, he would have gone back to Ireland with Father Agapitus, that country having

a first and most sacred claim on his services. But the General's wish should be law to him, for he knew that obedience was the source of all merit. The thought of a violent death had no terror for him at all; and he wondered whether the dangers to be encountered in his native land could be more dreadful than the miseries which he had to endure in London.

Writing again, on the 21st of November, 1656, Father Patrick asked whether he might try to collect funds for the Irish mission, as he was now more sanguine of being soon able to share the labours of his brethren in Ireland once more. He had not heard of Father Agapitus since his departure from London, but had been informed that Father Laurence of St. Thomas passed through that city a short time previously, with the intention of joining the other Discalced Carmelite fathers on the Irish mission. In a postscript to this letter he said that it was almost certain Cromwell would accept the Crown. Then, he made a pathetic reference to the condition of the Catholics, whose priests were being pursued through the country every day, one of them lying in prison, at present, under sentence of death.

Father Patrick's next letter was also dated from London, 26th June, 1657. He wrote to tell the General how consoled he had been by having heard from him on the 2nd of the same month. Father Isidore had finally decided that he should undertake the work of the mission in the Orkney Isles, and in this letter Father Patrick expressed his hearty readiness to obey. Information had reached the Superiors at Rome that there were a great many of the faithful of Ireland in those islands, together with a number of Scotch and English Catholics; and they considered Father Patrick best suited for so arduous a task, and appointed a Father Cyril to be his fellow-labourer: this religious was still in the Eternal City, but was to set out for London with the least possible delay. There were only two Irish Discalced Carmelites in the English metropolis at that time—our missionary and a Father Patrick of St. Columbanus, who had recently come thither from Holland.

Despite his trials and difficulties, Father Patrick of St. Brigid succeeded in winning the respectful esteem of many of the Puritans during the past three years ; so much so, he could now confidently assure the General, that not one of those with whom he was acquainted would, knowingly, betray him.

He wrote to Father Isidore again on the 13th of November, 1657, to deplore the abandoned state of the country, whose people, stricken with spiritual blindness, were the willing slaves of luxury. All the more reason why God's servants should atone for such sinfulness by a spirit of penance and prayer. As for himself, he was fortunate when he could procure something to eat once a day, and was quite content with the bare ground for his bed, even in a season of rigorous cold. He seemed to take a holy pride in speaking of his little chapel, which could actually boast of a silver chalice and pix, and a new set of vestments, presented to him on the last feast of St. Teresa. He was most anxious to have everything becoming that was near the Tabernacle, wherein he kept the Blessed Sacrament constantly preserved. Yet, for all his treasures, he found it no easy matter to obtain the simplest necessities of life, owing to reasons which the General already knew ; and especially since no assistance could be sent to him from the Sacred Congregation because of an epidemic then raging in Rome. It gave him much distress to allude to two converts who, out of six lately received into the Church, had not persevered. But it was some comfort to mention that 'a lady of rank' had renounced heresy in his chapel, in presence of the faithful assembled there, on the 11th of this month, the Feast of St. Martin of Tours. It also grieved him to announce the death of Father Patrick of St. Columbanus, of whom he had spoken in a former letter.

A month from that date (11th of December, 1657) he furnished the Father-General with a further account of the progress of the persecution in England. Six priests were captured by the soldiers in the suburbs of London within the past few days. They were at once cast into the common prison, where, later on, they were joined by three or four

more. They were not allowed to speak among themselves or to others, except in presence of their jailors, and in the English tongue. Some of them belonged to the secular clergy, one being a prelate; the remainder were members of the various religious Orders. An aged Discalced Carmelite, Father John Baptist, was one of this little band of confessors. Father Patrick was told on good authority that he himself had been betrayed and denounced and eagerly sought for on the same occasion. But he had escaped betimes, having taken up his abode in the safer asylum of a generous Puritan's home; and he succeeded in removing all his books and the sacred vessels and vestments to this new lodging. He had heard sad news from Ireland also. The priests were now persecuted there with heartless cruelty; Father Laurence of St. Thomas being one of the first victims. This Religious had been engaged on the work of the mission only a few months when he was arrested, and kept a prisoner in Drogheda.

It was said that that furious outbreak against Catholic priests in London was mainly due to the publication of a pamphlet, purporting to contain 'Private Instructions' for the Jesuits; but, in reality, a tissue of monstrous calumnies. There was an absurd rumour to the effect that certain Catholics, who were envious of the fathers of the Society, and anxious to expose their intrigues, had translated this tract from the original French. If so, observed Father Patrick, they had to taste of the fruit of their own malice; for with the Puritans the honoured name of 'Jesuit' was a term of reproach for every priest; and when the clergy were persecuted, those professing the same faith were rarely spared. However, all such reports were only so many devices whereby the fanatics tried to weaken the confidence of Roman Catholics in their priests. (By a singular coincidence, I have a copy of this infamous pamphlet by me as I write; and an autograph note of the Duke of Sussex informs us that— whoever the author of the original work may have been— no less a personage than the Hon. and Rev. Henry Compton, afterwards Bishop of London, was responsible for the translation.)

Meanwhile, Father Patrick of St. Brigid was devoting himself to the duties of the mission in London. He appears to have had perfect reliance on the loyalty of his host, to whom, however, he allowed liberal terms for his lodging and support. In concluding this letter, he requested Father Isidore to pray that God would send a speedy end to the trials which he had to endure, should it be for His own greater glory; or to grant him the needful fortitude when summoned to face death in the cause of Catholic truth.

On the 1st of January of the following year (1658), he wrote to say that the violence of the persecution had not yet abated: day and night, unceasingly, diligent search was being made for priests and other 'malignants,' as the doomed Roman Catholics were called. Of the nine priests already captured, one was the Discalced Carmelite mentioned, a Jesuit, a Benedictine, two Franciscans, and four secular priests. Five of them were still detained in a prison adjoining St. James's Palace; the others had been sent to a fortress outside London. Father Patrick was also told that the soldiers had paid a visit to his former hiding-place on Christmas night; and were savage when they discovered that he had been warned in time, and fled. The Discalced Carmelite who was imprisoned at Drogheda, Father Laurence of St. Thomas, had managed to communicate with him, and gave a good deal of information concerning Ireland. Many priests had been seized in various parts of that kingdom, and the condition of Irish Catholics there was deplorable in the extreme. There was no news of Father Agapitus, or of any of the other Irish fathers. As a matter of fact, at that precise time a number of them were actively engaged in their sacred charge throughout the country, and several of them were in prison, like Father Laurence himself. Father Patrick had also heard that Parliament was to meet on the 21st of this month (January); and its first Act, it was said, would be to crown Cromwell king. In this letter he spoke in praise of his host, who, although a Puritan, was an honest and generous man. Being a bookseller, no one commented on the number of people frequenting his house. Yet they were mostly Catholics who could thus

come quite openly to assist at Mass in Father Patrick's room, where he still offered the Holy Sacrifice twice each day. Our missionary had arranged, moreover, to meet a greater number of the faithful daily in another secure place not far away; and he thought that there was no danger of their being surprised by the soldiers so long as they were not betrayed. Both he and his poor people were in sore straits for want of the means of livelihood; in fact, he did not know how he could live, were it not that his host had allowed him credit; and he could only hope that Providence would soon enable him to pay off this debt which urgent necessity had compelled him to contract.

In a brief note, dated the 17th February, 1658, Father Patrick sought permission to accompany 'a noble lady' to a convent in Belgium wherein she was most anxious to take the veil. She was afraid to venture on so perilous a journey alone, and had implored him to help her to correspond to the holy vocation, which God had given her, and see her safely to her future home. Sure that she would persevere in her resolution to become a nun, he had promised to write for the requisite sanction of his superiors at Rome. And in case his request was granted, he wished to know whether it would be necessary for him to remove his beard, and have the monastic tonsure made before going on the Continent. The only other item of general interest in this note is a remark on the state of turmoil into which all England had been thrown by the unexpected dissolution of Parliament on the 4th of the same month.

Father Patrick had been in London nearly four years, when, on the 9th of July, 1658, he answered a letter from Father Isidore which had only reached him that morning after a delay of seven months; indeed, considering the difficulties of transmission in those days, it is a marvel that it had come to hand at all. He told the General he had just heard from Father Anselm, one of the most zealous of the English Teresian missionaries, that Father Cyril, who was to have been his companion to the Orkney Isles, could not come to London; consequently, Father Patrick was waiting the General's further pleasure, being prepared to go not only

to the Orkneys, but to death itself at the call of obedience. Still he confessed that he did find it hard to have to remain so long in London; as an Irishman, naturally he would prefer to spend his life in the service of that dear country which he always fervently commended to the prayers and special solicitude of his superiors. And he was now convinced more than ever that he could not possibly run any greater risk by returning to Ireland; for up to the present he had been obliged to change his place of refuge at least eleven different times in order to evade his enemies.

Towards the end of this year, 26th of November, 1658, the burden of his lot was lightened a little, and he explained under what circumstances in a lengthy letter to the General. After all the painful struggles of the past four years, God had come to his aid in quite a wondrous way. The late chaplain of the Duke of Etruria's envoy at the Protector's (Richard Cromwell's) Court was a pious and learned Franciscan who had died recently, leaving vacant an office which many of the missionaries in England would gladly accept, as it insured protection and the means of support to the priest holding it. At first Father Patrick did not like to apply, as he was unknown to the ambassador, and fancied it would be useless to take any steps in the matter without having some influence with that nobleman. Then, he goes on to say how he had been able that year to keep the Feast of St. Teresa very solemnly. The Archbishop of Armagh—Dr. Edmund O'Reilly—came to administer Confirmation in his humble chapel on the same occasion, when most of the girls and women, who received the Sacrament, took the name of Teresa, a daughter of one of the great English nobles being among the number. During the Octave he was walking by the residence of the Etrurian ambassador one day, and, acting on the impulse of the moment, he called and asked whether the deceased Franciscan had been yet replaced. He was informed that the chaplaincy was still vacant, as certain political reasons prevented the Duke's representative granting the office to a British subject. Father Patrick requested an interview with the nobleman himself, and, addressing

him in Italian, said he wished to know whether the objections urged against the other candidates would hold in his case also; for although an Irishman by birth and in heart, most of his life had been passed on the Continent—either in Italy, France, or Spain. To his great surprise, the Envoy told him that he might have the position if he pleased. He at once availed himself of such unhopèd-for good fortune; and now submitted his action for the Father General's approval. Thus, at last, had he a guarantee of the means of livelihood and protection; and, better still, he would have constant opportunity of meeting and attending to the spiritual wants of many Catholics from Ireland, France, and Italy, while continuing to administer to the faithful of England; nay, he even looked forward with eagerness to the possibility of his making a number of conversions amongst the Puritans. But he would only undertake to hold this office, pending the decision of his superiors, and so long as the exercise of it did not interfere with his own rule of life, which was firmly based on obedience.

His next letter, and the last of this series, was dated from the 'Royal Prison of Westminster' (Gatehouse), where Father Patrick and another Discalced Carmelite, Father Thomas of Jesus, had been held captive since the 21st of June, 1663. It helps us to fill up an interval of five years of his life of which we have no other record; and shows us that for all his bright visions of a more peaceful future when he was writing to the General in November, 1658, those five years were by no means free of vicissitudes and trials. These, however, Father Patrick attributed to the enemy of man's salvation, who left nothing undone to harass those zealous for the good of souls. It was the age of feigned Papist plots, and these Carmelites were two of the victims. The grievous charge against them was the fact of their being Irish priests, who had dared to preach publicly; to celebrate Mass daily; and to instruct boys and young men in the Catholic faith to the very serious detriment of the religion of the State. And as arch-conspirators they were both arrested the same morning in the King's name, bearing the evidence of their guilt upon them. Father Thomas was

removing the sacred vestments, after having offered the Holy Sacrifice; and Father Patrick was still clothed in the habit of his Order—even to the very sandals: a heinous crime in the eyes of the law. They were not permitted to change their monastic garb for a secular dress, and forthwith were led in triumph through the streets of London. Father Patrick could have no idea what their fate would be; for the King (Charles II.) had to conciliate such fanatics as Compton; but he blessed God, who had deemed him worthy to suffer 'these chains' for the Gospel; while his whole life, since he first came to London, should be his only answer to the calumnies which his enemies were sure to invent.

Truth, however, prevailed in this instance, also; and the trials of Father Patrick of St. Brigid did eventually cease before the close of his long missionary career. He died on the Continent, towards the end of the seventeenth century; and his memory is revered in various monasteries of the Order abroad even to the present day.

JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C.

DOCUMENTS

PROCLAMATION OF THE JUBILEE FOR THE HOLY YEAR,
BY POPE LEO XIII.INDICTIO UNIVERSALIS JUBILAEI ANNI SANCTI MILLESIMI NONIGEN-
TESIMI

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI UNIVERTIS CHRISTIFIDELIBUS PRAESENTES
LITTERAS INSPECTURIS SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDIC-
TIONEM

Properante ad exitum saeculo, quod, annuente Deo Nos ipsi prope totum emensi vivendo sumus, animum volentes induximus rem ex instituto maiorum decernere, quae saluti populo christiano sit, ac simul curarum Nostrarum, qualescumque in gerendo Pontificatu maximo fuerint, extremum velut vestigium ostendat. JUBILAEUM MAGNUM dicimus, iam inde antiquitus in christianos mores inductum, decessorumque Nostrorum providentia sancitum; quem tradita a patribus consuetudo *Annum sanctum* appellat, tum quod solet esse caeremoniis sanctissimis comitator, tum maxime quod castigandis moribus renovandisque ad sanctitatem animis adiumenta uberiora suppeditat. Testes Ipsi sumus quanto opere is ad salutem valuit qui postremo actus est ritu solemn, Nobis videlicet adolescentibus Leone XII. pontifice maximo; quo tempore magnum tutissimumque religioni publicae theatrum Roma praebuit. Memoria tenemus ac videre propemodum etiam nunc videmur peregrinorum frequentiam: circumeuntem templa augustissima, disposito agmine, multitudinem; viros apostolicos concionantes in publico; celeberrima Urbis loca divinis laudibus personantia: pietatis caritatisque exempla edentem in oculis omnium, magno Cardinalium comitatu, pontificem. Cuius recordatione memoriae ex temporibus iis ad ea, quae nunc sunt, mens acerbius revocatur. Earum quippe rerum quas diximus, quaeque si in luce civitatis, nulla re impediante, peragantur, mire alere atque incitare pietatem popularem solent, nunc quidem, mutato Urbis statu, aut nulla facultas est, aut in alieno posita arbitrio.

Utcumque sit, fore confidimos ut salubrium consiliorum adiutor Deus voluntati huic Nostrae, quam in eius gratiam glori-

amque suscepimus, cursum prosperum ac sine offensione largiatur. Quo enim spectamus, aut quid volumus? Hoc nempe unice, efficere homines, quanto plures nitendo possumus, salutis aeternae compotes, huiusque rei gratiâ morbis animorum ea ipsa, quae Iesus Christus in potestate Nostra esse voluit, adhibere remedia. Atque id a Nobis non modo munus apostolicum, sed ipsa ratio temporis plane videtur postulare. Non quod recte factorum laudumque christianarum sit sterile saeculum: quin imo abundant, adiuvante Deo, exempla optima, nec virtutum genus est ullum tam excelsum tamque arduum, in quo non excellere magnum numerum videamus: vim namque procreandi alendique virtutes habet christiana religio divinitus insitam, eamque inexhaustam ac perpetuam. Verum si circumspiciendo quis intuetur it partem alteram, quae tenebrae, quantus error, quam ingens multitudo in interitum ruentium sempiternum! Angimur praecipuo quodam dolore, quotiescumque venit in mentem quanta pars christianorum sentiendi cogitandique licentia deliniti, malarum doctrinarum veneno sitienter hausto, fidei divinae in se ipsi grande munus quotidie corrumpant. Hinc christianae taedium vitae, et late fusa morum labes: hinc illa rerum, quae sensibus percipiuntur, acerrima atque inexplebilis appententia, curaeque et cogitationes omnes aversae a Deo, humi defixae. Ex quo fonte teterrimo dici vix potest quanta iam in ea ipsa, quae sunt civitatum fundamenta perniciēs influxit. Nam contumaces vulgo spiritus, motus turbidi popularium cupiditatum, caeca pericula, tragica scelera, nihil denique sunt aliud, si libet caussam introspicere, nisi quaedam de adipiscendis fruendisque rebus mortalibus exlex atque effrenata decertatio.

Ergo interest privatim et publice, admoneri homines officii sui, excitari consopita veterno pectora, atque ad studium salutis revocari quotquot in singulas prope horas discrimen temere adeunt pereundi, perdendique per socordiam aut superbiae caelestia atque immutabilia bona, ad quae sola nati sumus. Atqui huc omnino pertinet annus sacer: etenim per id tempus totum Ecclesia parens, non nisi lenitatis et misericordiae memor, omni qua potest ope studioque contendit ut in melius humana consilia referantur, et quod quisque deliquit, luat emendatrix vitae poenitentia. Hoc illa proposito, multiplicata obsecratione auctaque instantia, placare nititur violatum Dei numen, arcessere e caelo munerum divinarum copiam: lateque reclusis gratiae thesauris, qui sibi sunt ad dispensandum commissi, vocat ad spem veniae universitatem

christianorum, tota in eo ut reluctantes etiam voluntates abundantia quadam amoris indulgentiaeque pervincat. Quibus ex rebus quid ni expectemus fructus uberes, si Deo placet, ac temporis accommodatos?

Augent opportunitatem rei extraordinaria quaedam sollemnia de quibus iam, opinamur, satis notitia percerebuit: quae quidem sollemnia excessum undevicesimi saeculi vicesimique ortum quodam modo consecraverint. Intelligi de honoribus volumus Iesu Christo Servatori medio eo tempore ubique terrarum habendis. Hac de re excogitatum privatorum pietate consilium laudavimus libentes ac probavimus: quid enim fieri sanctius aut salutarius queat? Quae genus humanum appetat, quae diligat, quae speret, ad quae tendat, in unigenito Dei Filio sunt omnia: is enim est *salus, vita, resurrectio nostra*: quem velle deserere, est velle funditus interire. Quamobrem etsi numquam silet, imo perpetua viget omnibus locis ea, quae Domino nostro Iesu Christo debetur, adoratio, laus, honos, gratiarum actio, tamen nullae gratiae nullique honores possunt esse tanti, quin longe plures ei debeantur longeque maiores. Praeterea num paucos saeculum tulit immemori ingratoque animo, qui divino servatori suo pro pietate contemptum, pro beneficiis iniurias referre consueverint? Certe ipsa ab eius legibus praeceptisque vita discrepans plurimorum argumento est flagitiosae ingratissimaeque voluntatis. Quid quod de ipsa Iesu divinitate Arianum scelus non semel renovatum nostra vidit aetas? Macti itaque animo, quotquot populari incitamentum pietati consilio isto novo pulcherrimoque praebuistis; quod tamen ita efficere oportet, nihil ut Iubilaei curriculum, nihil statuta sollemnia impediat. In proxima ista catholicorum hominum significatione religionis ac fidei id quoque propositum inerit, detestari quaecumque impie dicta patratave memoria nostra sint, deque iniuriis, augustissimo Iesu Christi numini praesertim publice illatis, publice satisfacere. Nunc autem, si vera quaerimus, genus satisfactionis maxime optabile et solidum et expressum et inustum notis veritatis illud omnino est, deliquisse poenitere, et pace a Deo veniaque implorata, virtutum officia aut impensius colere aut intermissa repetere. Cui quidem rei cum tantas habeat annus sacer opportunitates, quantas initio attigimus, rursus apparet oportere atque opus esse ut populus christianus accingat se plenus animi ac spei.

Quapropter sublati in caelum oculis, divitem in misericordia Deum enixe adprecanti, ut votis inceptisque Nostris benigne

annuere, ac virtute sua illustrare hominum mentes itemque per-movere animos pro bonitate sua velit : romanorum Pontificum decessorum Nostrorum vestigia sequuti, de venerabilium fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium assensu, universale maximum-que Iubilaeum in hac sacra Urbe a prima vespera Natalis Domini anno millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono inco-handum, et ad primam vesperam Natalis Domini anno millesimo noningentesimo finiendum, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Nostra, quod gloriae divinae, animarum saluti, Ecclesiae incremento bene vertat. indicimus per has litteras et promulgamus, ac pro indieto promulgatoque haberi volumus.

Quo quidem Iubilaei anno durante, omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere poenitentibus et confessis sacraque Com-munione refectis, qui beatorum Petri et Pauli, item Sancti Ioannis Lateranensis et Sanctae Mariae Majoris de Urbe Basilicas, semel saltem in die per viginti continuos aut interpolatos dies sive naturales sive ecclesiasticos, nimirum a primis vesperis unius diei ad integrum subsequentis diei vespertinum crepusculum com-putandos, si Romae degant cives aut incolae : si vero peregre venerint, per decem saltem eiusmodi dies, devote visitaverint, et pro Ecclesiae exaltatione, haeresum extirpatione, catholicorum Principium concordia, et christiani populi salute pias ad Deum preces effuderint, plenissimam peccatorum suorum indulgentiam, remissionem et veniam misericorditer in Domino concedimus et impertimus.

Quoniamque potest usuvenire nonnullis ut ea, quae supra praescripta sunt, exequi, etsi maxime velint, tamen aut nullo modo aut tantummodo ex parte queant, morbo scilicet aliaque causa legitima in Urbe aut ipso in itinere prohibiti; idcirco Nos pia eorum voluntati, quantum in Domino possumus, tribuimus ut vere poenitentes et confessione rite abluti et sacra Communione refecti, indulgentiae et remissionis supra dictae participes perinde fiant, ac si Basilicas, quas memoravimus, diebus per Nos definitis reipsa visitassent.

Quotquot igitur ubique estis, dilecti filii, quibus commodum est adesse, ad sinum Roma suum vos amanter invitat. Sed tem-pore sacro decet catholicum hominem. si consentaneus sibi esse velit, non aliter versari Romae, nisi fide christiana comite. Prop-terea posthabere nominatim oportet leviorum profanarumque rerum intempestiva spectacula, ad ea converso potius animo quae

religionem pietatemque suadeant. Suadet autem imprimis, si alte consideretur, nativum ingenium Urbis, atque eius impressa divinitus effigies, nullo mortalium consilio, nulla vi mutabilis. Unam enim ex omnibus romanam urbem ad munera excelsiora atque altiora humanis delegit, sibi que sacravit servator humani generis Iesus Christus. Hic domicilium imperii sui non sine diuturna atque arcana praeparatione constituit : hic sedem Vicarii sui stare iussit in perpetuitate temporum : hic caelestis doctrinae lumen sancte inviolateque custodiri, atque hinc tamquam a capite augustissimoque fonte in omnes late terras propagari voluit, ita, quidem ut a Christo ipso dissentiat quicumque a fide romana dissenserit. Augent sanctitudinem avita religionis monumenta singularis templorum maiestas, principum Apostolorum sepulera, hypogea martyrum fortissimorum. Quarum rerum omnium qui probe sciat excipere voces, sentiet profecto non tam peregrinari se in civitate aliena, quam versari in sua, ac melior, adiuvante Deo, discessurus est quam venerit.

Ut autem praesentes Litterae ad omnium fidelium notitiam facilius perveniant, volumus earum exemplis etiam impressis manu tamen alicuius notarii publici subscriptis ac sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eandem prorsus adhiberi fidem, quae ipsis praesentibus haberetur, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae indictionis, promulgationis, concessionis et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono. Quinto Idus Maii, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA *Pro-Dat.*

A. Card. MACCHI.

VISA.

De Curia I. DE AQUILA, e *Vicecomitibus*,

Loco ✠ Plumbi

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CUGNONIUS.

Anno a Nativitate Domini Millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono, die undecimo Maii, festo Ascensionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini

nostri Leonis divina providentia Papae XIII., anno vicesimo secundo, praesentes litteras apostolicas in atrio sacro sanctae Basilicae Vaticanae de Urbe, adstante populo, legi et solemniter publicavi.

Ego JOSEPH DE AQUILA, *e Vicecomitibus*
Abbreviator de Curia.

DELEGATION OF JURISDICTION

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

NON SUSTINETUR CONSUETUDO VI CUIUS QUILIBET SACERDOS DELEGATUS AD OMNIA SACRAMENTA ADMINISTRANDA, ASSISTIT ETIAM OMNIBUS MATR. DIOCESEOS. EXCIPIUNTUR ORDINARIE VICE-PAROCHI

BEATISSIME PATER,

Hodiernus Archiepiscopus N. N. ad matrimoniorum fidelium suae iurisdictionis validitatem procurandam, ut par est, intentus, et ad pedes S. V. provolutus, quae sequuntur humillime exponit.

In ista Dioecesi certo viget decretum Concilii Trid. de clandestinitate Cap. *Tametsi*. Pluribus autem abhinc annis inter clerum sparsa est opinio quod valide fidelium matrimoniis quilibet sacerdos dioeceseos, sacrum ministerium exercens absque *speciali* Ordinarii aut parochi delegatione, assistere valeret, vi facultatis generalis ei concessae administrandi omnia sacramenta quae ordinem episcopalem non requirunt.

Plurima ergo celebrata sunt, toto istius temporis spatio, matrimonia coram sacerdotibus, qui nec ab Ordinario, nec a partium parochis delegati erant ut dictis matrimoniis assisterent.

Ex indubiis testimoniis certo apparet Praedecessorem meum dictae opinioni adhaesisse atque repetitis vicibus pluribus sacerdotibus privatim declarasse dictam opinionem tuto sequi posse.

Porro dictam plurium sacerdotum istius dioeceseos opinionem, nullo probabili fundamento niti, erroneam esse et decreti Concilii Trid. Cap. *Tametsi* subversivam infrascripto Archiepiscopo videtur. Persuasum habet Ordinarium non posse delegare omnes sacerdotes dioeceseos ut assistere valeant quibuscumque matrimoniis sponsorum, qui in variis parochiis legitimum habent domicilium aut quasi-domicilium. Insuper etiamsi ius illud illi competeret, compertum est illo conceptis verbis et ex officio nunquam usum fuisse Archiepiscopum praedecessorem.

Liceat ergo sequentia dubia proponere :

I. An facultati generali administrandi omnia sacramenta, quæ ordinem episcopalem non requirunt, includatur facultas assistendi omnibus matrimoniis fidelium dioeceseos?

II. Quatenus negative, quid faciendum sit in casu ad revalidanda multa matrimonia contracta absque præsentia parochi proprii aut sacerdotis legitime delegati?

Feria IV, die 7 Septembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali coram EEmis ac RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis superscriptis dubiis, præhabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Ad I. Negative, nisi agatur de vice-parochis, qui ex consuetudine dioecesis habitualiter delegati censeantur pro propria parocchia.

‘Ad II. Supplicandum SSmo pro sanatione in radice ad cautelam huiusmodi matrimoniorum usque ad diem publicationis præsentis decreti per Archiepiscopum.’

Sequenti autem feria IV, die 9 eiusdem mensis Septembris in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Not.*

DEFECTS IN ORDINATION

I.

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

SACERDOS N. DUBITAT AN DUM FORMA AB EPO PROFEREBATUR, TETIGERIT PATENAM, QUAM CERTO ANTEA TETIGERAT : ACQUIESCAT

BEATISSEIME PATER,

N. N. sacerdos meminit se rite, iuxta indicationem caeremoniarum magistri, digitos accommodasse ad contactum instrumentorum in sua Ordinatione ad Presbyteratum; sed in actu, quo manus ab ipsis instrumentis retraxit, dubitavit, aut saltem non recordatus est an dum forma ab Episcopo prolata fuit immediate

tetigerat patenam nec ne. Quod dubium initio sprexit, fretus consilio alicuius viri prudentis; sed postea valde anxius ob hanc rem de valore suae ordinationis, ad tranquillitatem animi nunc humillime petit a S. V. quomodo se gerere debeat.

Feria IV, die 14 Decembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali coram EEmis ac RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoeque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Acquiescat.

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 26 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

II.

CASUS CIRCA UNIONEM MORALEM INTER MATERIAM PROXIMAM ET FORMAM IN S. ORDINATIONE

BEATISSIME PATER,

Sacerdos N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humiliter exponit quod dum sacrum presbyteratus ordinem recipiebat, Episcopus non habuit manum extensam super ordinandos dum recitabat verba *Oremus, fratres charissimi* etc., sed de hoc monitus, illam elevavit et extensam habuit per aliquod tempus; sed dum id ageret, iam recitata fuerat dicta oratio, nec constat utrum dum manum tenuit, extensam, submissa voce verba supradicta iterum recitaverit.

Quaerit itaque humiliter quid agere debeat ad propriae conscientiae quietem consequendam.

Feria IV, die 14 Decembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali habita coram EEmis ac RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoeque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Acquiescat.

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 16 eiusdem mensis et anni, in

audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Adessori impetita, SS. D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

III

ITERETUR SECRETO SUB CONDITIONE ORDINATIO IN QUA, EX INADVERTENTIA, CALIX TRADITUS FUIT ABSQUE VINO

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N., ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter exponit:

Nuper, in collatione generali Ordinum, sabbato Quatuor Temporum Adventus, accidit ut presbyteris ordinandis traditus sit, una cum patena et hostia, calix *absque vino*, ex mera Caeremoniariorum inadvertentia. Res processit omnibus nesciis, nec nisi vespere nota fuit, quum iam recessissent omnes ordinati, qui nec hodie defectum suspicantur.

Quare humiliter orator anceps quaerit :

I. An possit acquiescere ? — Et quatenus negative ;

II. Quid agendum in praxi ?

Et Deus &c.

Feria IV., die Ianuarii, 1899.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, habita ab EE.mis ac RR.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, prae-habitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Ad I. et II. Ordinationem esse iterandam ex integro sub conditione et secreto quacumque die, facto verbo cum SS.mo, ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis celebratis a sacerdotibus ordinatis ut in casu.’

Feria vero VI, die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori impetita, facta de his omnibus SS.mo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, SS.mus resolutionem EE.morum Patrum adprobavit et gratiam concessit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

INDULGENCES FOR CERTAIN PRAYERS IN HONOUR OF THE
SACRED HEART

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII. ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

CONCEDITUR INDULG. 200 DIERUM TOTIES QUOTIES RECITANTIBUS
UNAM EX QUATUOR SEQUENTIBUS ORATIONIBUS IN HONOREM
SS. CORDIS EUCHARISTICI ¹

LEO P. P. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Dilectus filius Eduardus Thomas Sacerdos et Vicarius Generalis Dioecesis Parisiensis enixas nobis preces humiliter adhibuit, ut fidelibus nonnullas orationes in honorem Cordis Eucharistici Iesu Christi devote recitantibus partialem ducentorum dierum indulgentiam largiri de nostra benignitate velimus. Nos autem quibus nihil antiquius est, neque magis gratum, quam ut christiani populi pietas erga Sacratissimum Christi Cor et amoris Sacramentum, potiora in dies incrementa capiat, votis hisce annuentes, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius Auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu ubique terrarum existentibus, qui quolibet anni die, quovis idiomate dummodo fidelis versio sit iuxta exemplaria, quae in Tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservari iussimus, quamlibet recitaverint e quatuor sequentibus precibus; nempe precem Cordi Eucharistico Iesu, quae gallice incipit per haec verba *Cœur eucharistique de Jésus, doux compagnon de notre exil*; Consecrationem Cordi Eucharistico Iesu scilicet *Jésus, Maitre adorable*: Orationem Iaculatoriam *Cœur eucharistique de Jésus, qui brûlez d'amour pour nous*; tandem emendationem honorificam eidem Eucharistico Sacro Cordi Iesu *Cœur eucharistique de mon Dieu*, quoties id egerint contrito saltem corde, toties iis in forma Ecclesiae consueta de poenaliū dierum numero ducentos expungimus. Verumenimvero praecipimus ut harum Litterarum exemplar ad Secretariam transmittatur Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositam, ut iuris est, nec non volumus ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesen-

¹ Ante hanc concessionem, Indulg. 200 dierum concedebatur semel in die tantum recitantibus has quatuor orationes simul.

tibus, si forent exhibitate vel ostensae. Tandem elargimur fidelibus iisdem liceat, si malint, partialibus hisce relaxationibus labes poenasque vita functorum expiare. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Anulo Piscatoris, die VI Februarii MDCCCIC, Pontificatus Nostri anno Vigesimo primo.

L ✠ S.

ALOIS Card. MACCHI.

✠ Fr. Card. RICHARD, *Arch. Parisiensis*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ELEMENTA PHILOSOPHIAE AD MENTEM D. THOMAE. By
Father Mancini, O.P. Romae: 1899.

THIS work is one of the most valuable contributions to Catholic science that has been made for some years. It may, perhaps, be best described as a philosophical treatise, every word of which is written in exact conformity with the desires of our Holy Father Leo XIII. In several encyclicals the Pope has manifested his will that all students of philosophy should take St. Thomas as their guide. He has also, on more than one occasion, expressed his expectation, that professors thoroughly conversant with the Thomist system should publish introductory treatises and commentaries suitable to the various needs of the present day.

Father Mancini, who has been teaching these twenty years in the very centre and source of Thomist life, the Minerva College in Rome, gives such a clear exposition of St. Thomas's whole system, that those who master his *Elementa Philosophiae* will have no great difficulty in understanding the *Summa*, or any other work of the Angelic Doctor. What Goudin and Guerinois did for the seventeenth century, Zigliara and Mancini have done for the nineteenth.

In the work before us all the questions commonly discussed in Catholic schools are explained as fully as the limits of an introductory treatise admits. Where everything is good, it is not easy to descend to particulars; but we may remark, that in the treatise on Ontology the errors of Rosmini are ably refuted. And in the difficult problem of ascertaining (as far as man can) the relations between divine prescience and human liberty, we observe that the two great commentators of St. Thomas recommended by the Pope are followed, namely, Cajetan and Ferrariensis. The numerous quotations from St. Thomas that occur throughout the work are particularly useful: they will familiarize the reader with the language of the Angelical, and facilitate his study of the *Summa*. In regard of every one of them, the student may be perfectly certain that it is their genuine meaning which Father Mancini explains and defends.

The work consists of three substantial volumes: the first containing Logic; the second containing Psychology and Ontology; and the third Ethics. It is intended for a three years' course, as the author takes care to state. The wisdom of this arrangement will commend itself to all that have experience in teaching theology to young ecclesiastics. They know that only those students who have read a good course of Philosophy are able to understand lectures on the more abstruse questions of theology.

R. W.

LA FOI, ET L'ACTE DE FOI. Par R. P. Bainvel, S.J. Paris :
P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette.

THIS interesting little volume contains abundant proof, if such were needed, of a peculiar genius in the French language for simple and clear exposition of the most difficult and obscure subjects. Faith, certainly, that is, the investigation of the habit or act of faith, is neither easy nor clear in its processes; and Père Bainvel attacks the question in one of its darkest corners, where the intellect obscurely beholds God's authority, and, without analyzing the intrinsic value of this testimony, passes on to hold the truth revealed thereby with a certainty to which natural unaided reason is quite unaccustomed and disproportionate. How is this done, and when done? how is the process reasonable? These questions, and particularly the latter, are treated beautifully by the rev. author. It is to be regretted that when writing, he had not seen the later edition of Mazzella's work, *De Virtutibus Infusis*, in which, as some of our readers know, the Cardinal abandoned the opinion of Suarez on this point, to elaborate another more in accordance with St. Thomas. We would have wished to hear our author's mind on this somewhat newer theory of faith. In answering the second question he is delightfully simple, and draws his defence from the unhesitating assent which children, and, indeed, all reasonable men, grant to the teaching of parents and superiors, even though no analysis of the speaker's or teacher's authority be actually undertaken by, or possible to those who so believe. Why, then, cannot we, grown up men and women, but children in contrast with the hidden things of God, be moved by a habit divinely infused to assent with a like simplicity to our great uncreated Teacher and Father? We were not a little surprised that Père Bainvel, in treating of this latter question, and quoting the Angelic Doctor in support of his contention,

actually missed the body of article 3, in 2, 2^{ae} q. 2, of the *Summa*, in which St. Thomas explicitly propounds our author's theory. With one criticism we must close our remarks on a little book that would need, and deserves, a complete article for its due examination. On p. 180, he states that his explanations do not bind him to give a distinct reply to the question, whether the authority of God, as it enters into the assent of faith, is utterly beyond the reach of man's natural reason? We venture to say that the explanations of Père Bainvel are utterly unnecessary, save in the hypothesis of an affirmative reply. As we think this latter the true one, it seems to us that persons who feel interested in this subject should carefully peruse this little volume; for if its explanations be true, it would be most unwise not to utilize the simple theory from which they spring in defence of our glorious faith. Père Bainvel promises other kindred volumes if the present be well received by the public. Anxious, as we are, to see those volumes, we must pray that the French reading public is very different from our own, whether Irish or English.

P. S.

LA VIE DU DOGME CATHOLIQUE. R. P. De la Bane, S.J.
Paris: Lethielleux, 1899.

L'ESTHETIQUE DU DOGME CHRETIEN. R. P. Jules Souben.
Paris: Lethielleux, 1899.

LE PRETRE EDUCATEUR. R. P. Lecuyer, O.P. Paris:
Lethielleux, 1899.

THREE pretty octavo essays, of about three hundred pages, on super-average paper, their type a healing balm to the victim of modern micro-printing, comfortably furnished with indexes that are not mere fraudulent imitations of the genuinely efficient article, and each for the modest consideration of an average three francs. Such are our first impressions of the above works. A moral seems to be, that the Catholic publishers of Paris, in enterprise, scientific up-to-dateness, and consideration alike for the æsthetic and financial susceptibilities of their customers, are models not unworthy of the attention of their kith and kindred here at home. What avails the plaintive cry to encourage home manufactures, when the veriest pamphlet among them, often but a few pages, in ragged type and cover of coarse paper, roughly glued to its lean shoulders, that would not exceed half a franc abroad, is dignified with the forbidding cost of a shilling and upwards?

So much for form. As for matter, if there is little positive to blame, there is not much to praise.

Of our three essayists, the Jesuit father traverses that region of theological thought so ably pioneered, in the recent past, by two great Cardinals, Franzelin (*De Divina Traditione*), and Newman (*Development of Christian Doctrine*). He follows faithfully in his predecessor's footsteps; and such monumental works as theirs, Hurter's *Compendium*, and Scheeben's *Dogmatik*, are his standard authorities. Of course, it is so much to his credit that he makes no new and startling discoveries; but we have failed to discern any notable ability, or originality of treatment even, that would justify us in a strong commendation of his work to the notice of our readers.

Not so, however, with the remaining essays. Professor Souben's work is not an exposition of Christian doctrine; his aim, as he says himself, has been, *mettre en lumière la beauté interne du Christianisme*, and the result of his efforts is decidedly praiseworthy—an infinite variety of beautiful and striking reflections on the leading dogmas of our faith, clothed in the sparkling, fresh, and vigorous garb of the author's native language, and well calculated to inspire all students of dogma with a true appreciation of the nobility of their pursuit, and the sublime grandeur and beauty of the queen of sciences, Catholic theology.

But if there is much of truth in the first of these essays, and more of beauty in the second, truth, beauty, and goodness are alike conspicuous on every page of Père Lecuyer's valuable lectures. His words may be few, but they are golden, and we unreservedly commend them to the notice of that numerous and indefatigable body of clergy to whose care has been entrusted the education of the youth, secular and clerical, of these countries. Theirs is a difficult task, a grave responsibility; yet it is strange how few have written for their guidance and assistance. All the more opportune, then, are these conferences of an eloquent son of St. Dominic, himself an expert in the department of education. No mere *a priori* twaddle from the study chair are they, but the carefully sifted and formulated experiences of a lifetime, preached to the clergy of the archdiocese of Rheims in the course of annual retreats. From the Archbishop of that historic see, both the author and his work have merited particular and cordial approbation: and we can only echo the hopeful wish of his Grace, that this work may be often and studiously meditated by all priests devoted to the training of youth.

J. W. B.

LE RECIT DE LA CREATION de Hummelaner, Traduit de l'Allemand. Par l'Abbé Eck. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette. 3.00 cents.

Few Catholic exegetists are more competent to write a complete and erudite treatise on the 'work of the six days' than Father Hummelaner, one of the most valued contributors to the *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*. He has written for that series a Commentary on Genesis; he published over twenty years ago an essay on the Bible narrative of creation; and he now takes up the subject anew, in order to present to the public the best Catholic opinion of the last fifteen years upon this perennially important question. He passes in review some twelve or thirteen systems, all built up for the purpose of establishing a harmony between Genesis and science. He has no mercy for the Period theory. The Hebrew word, *yom*, has, he believes, no other meaning than 'civil day of twenty-four hours' or 'time when.' The latter meaning is excluded in the context by the words 'morning' and 'evening.' When confronted with the objection that the three days preceding the formation of the sun and moon must have been other than civil days, he replies that all six days must have been of the same duration, and that the difficulty has nothing to do with the length of the days, but with the source of light. In like manner, he has an answer to the argument taken by patrons of the Period theory from the meaning of 'the seventh day.' In the case of the latter, he contends, the absence of the expression 'evening and morning,' sufficiently indicates a metaphorical sense, just as the silence of Scripture with regard to the genealogy of Melchisedech warrants St. Paul in proving therefrom the eternal priesthood of Christ. Having demolished to his own satisfaction the reasons adduced in favour of the hypothesis which had hitherto commended itself to most minds, he proceeds to prove that its postulates will not tally with the findings of geology. Not only do the strata not disclose six sharply-marked periods of development to correspond to the six days so clearly and so precisely distinguished in Genesis, but in the prepaleozoic strata more than twenty thousand species of animals are found side by side with a few species of plants, while the fruit-bearing kinds mentioned by Moses do not appear until we arrive at the mécozoic and caenozoic formations. In other words, the remains of animals are found to be contemporaneous with the remains of plants; showing that we cannot place

the 'green herb' of the third day before the living things of the fifth. Father Hummelaner also maintains that the Period theory can assign no place to the work of the fourth day, and even declares its explanation of the first and second days' work a direct contradiction of the nebular hypothesis. In fine, he believes that the true explanation of the 'six days' is to be found in the *vision* theory. God revealed creation substantially as it took place, assigning to its completion six civil days for the purpose of vividness. This method of reconciling Genesis and science supposes that the order laid down in the sacred text was not that followed *ex parte rei*, but rather that which was manifested to the mind of the recipient of the divine illumination.

There is nothing very novel in this view of Father Hummelaner; it is but a modification of the opinion assigned to St. Augustine. But must we adopt it? Are we driven to abandon the Period theory? It does not at all seem so clear that we are. I think Father Hummelaner is himself too strongly influenced by that fear of the natural sciences which he condemns in others, and his references to the defenders of the Period theory betray the vehemence of an advocate rather than the impartiality of a judge. The first day's 'voidness and emptiness' may well be identified with the state of the primal nebular mass; the 'firmament' of the second day may mean the comparatively clear space between the solid earth and the cloud-canopy which must have developed in the cooling process; the 'sun and moon' of the fourth day mean these luminaries *as they now are*; and there is little serious difficulty in still maintaining that the paleozoic, mesozoic, and caenozoic strata correspond to the work of the third, fifth, and sixth days. It may be objected that 'the green herb, and such as may seed' could not have appeared before the sun; but the lowest kind of plant, and the lowest kind of animal, protophyte and protozoon, as they are called, do not require the sun's special activity for their development. More than that, there are herbaceous trees, rich in pith, which require no more conditions for their life than those which then prevailed—a warm soil, great humidity, an atmosphere saturated with carbonic acid gas. The presence of animal fossils in the silurian and devonian strata, and similar apparent discrepancies, may very naturally be accounted for as the results of seismic disturbances. These strata that seem to create a difficulty are comparatively insignificant. They constitute but an extremely small portion of the earth's crust, and should not,

therefore, in view of our knowledge of earthquake action, force us to give up a time-honoured and otherwise satisfactory opinion. The arguments taken by Father Hummelaner from the expression 'evening and morning,' and from the word 'day,' are far from irrefragable. The great point to be established in connection with the word 'day' is admitted by him; for he states, that it can, and often does, mean a period of duration other than one of twenty-four hours. The terms 'evening' and 'morning' in this connection are undoubtedly very strange; but there seems to be on valid reason for saying that they may not, as well as 'day,' admit of some peculiar meaning here.

While refusing to adopt the views of the author, we cannot withhold our meed of praise for the fulness and the clearness with which he has treated the subject. His brochure is a valuable contribution to Biblical literature, and will raise him still higher in the estimation of scholars.

E. N.

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THE SACRED HEART IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

A STUDY IN SCRIPTURE TRANSLATION

IT is unnecessary to insist upon the importance of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, or upon the advantages to be derived from it. These are topics familiar to the readers of the I. E. RECORD, topics upon which they have to address their congregations not infrequently. But, I believe, it is not too much to say, that the Sacred Heart of Jesus occupies, perhaps, the most important place among recent devotional and doctrinal developments in the Church of God.

The question naturally presents itself, How far is this modern devotion foreshadowed in the writings of an earlier period, or founded in the Christian sentiment of past ages? And, above all, we are naturally moved to ask, How far is this devotion supported by the language of Scripture? The first of these questions is too wide to admit of discussion at present; but a few observations may at least be made as to the mode of conducting such an inquiry.

The reader will remember that Father Dalgairns, in his work on *Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus*,¹ quotes as follows from the well-known letter from the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, which is preserved to us in Eusebius,² and which is said to date from about the year 178:—‘He

¹ Page 63.

² *Ecc. Hist.*, Book v., ch. i.

(the martyr, Sanctus, deacon of the Church of Lyons) was bedewed and strengthened by the spring of living water which flows from the *Heart* of Christ.'

The Greek word used in this passage is *νῆδος* *nedýs*; but in translating it 'heart' Father Dalgairns follows, not only Neander, the Protestant historian, but also Professor Torrey, his Protestant translator. And here two considerations naturally present themselves. First, it is obvious that 'heart' is not the 'literal' translation; *i.e.*, it is neither the primary, nor the predominant meaning of the word *nedýs*: the meanings assigned to the latter, indeed, are those of 'stomach, belly, paunch, bowels, womb.'¹ But, secondly, it seems equally obvious that 'heart' is the only proper—it might also be said, the only possible—translation. The reason is plain; and is found in the very nature of a translation, properly so called, as opposed to the schoolboy's 'crib.' The 'crib' gives the 'literal' meaning of each individual word in a phrase, but does not, and cannot, convey the real sense of a passage; while a translation, if worthy of the name, endeavours to produce in the minds of those who may read or hear the rendering the very ideas, feelings, and associations which are expressed in the language of the original. Let us take a simple example, such as the Latin phrase *os durum*. The 'crib' may be justified in turning this into 'hard mouth'; but this somewhat 'horsey' expression is in no sense a translation. To translate the Latin words, we must employ some such English phrase, as 'brazen-face.' Similarly, *radices montium* does not, at least normally, mean the 'roots of the mountains'; and he who should venture to render Horace's *favete linguis* as 'favour with your tongues,' would certainly not succeed in conveying the meaning of the poet. In short, as already observed, a translation should reproduce, as closely as possible, the ideas and sentiments of the original; this is its first and most important function. If it can, at the same time, imitate the phraseology of the original by giving the equivalent for the particular words employed, so much the

¹ Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v.

better; but it must never sacrifice sense or sentiment to mere words.

According to the principles here laid down, the translation already quoted from Father Dalgairns is worthy of all commendation; and the word 'heart' is rightly employed by him to render the Greek *nedýs*. But if this be so, it will immediately occur to one, that there must be a number of similar passages in the literature of the early Church, passages in which the devotion to the Heart of Jesus is foreshadowed; if only the proper translation be adopted, and if the true sense of the originals be not obscured by a false literalism. However, it has been already intimated, that my present purpose is not with early Christian literature in general: my object is a more limited, but a more important one; namely, to apply the principles just enunciated to the text of the New Testament. If the principles themselves are sound, surely we can, or rather we should, apply them to the words of Holy Writ. We may now proceed to answer the question: What support does Sacred Scripture give to devotion to the Heart of Jesus? The Heart of Jesus is apparently alluded to in only a single passage, and the allusion is found in the well-known words of our Saviour Himself: 'Learn of Me, because I am meek, and humble of heart.'¹

It may be noted, in passing, that our Catholic Version intimates that the meekness and humility of Christ are set before us, not directly as *the lesson* to be learned from Him, but rather as *the reason*, or *encouragement* for becoming His disciples. This is the view of our Saviour's words rightly adopted by Maldonatus, as well as by most modern commentators. But, for our present purpose, it is more worthy of remark that a *direct* reference in the above text to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in our modern sense of the phrase is by no means certain. The heart is regarded by us 'as the seat of the affections'² (to use a common phrase); and in

¹ Matt. xi. 29.

² How far the words 'the seat of the affections' are applicable to the human heart in general, and to the Heart of Christ in particular, is a matter that cannot be here discussed. I may refer the reader to the little work of Père Riche, the Sulpician, *De Sacro Cœur et le Précieux Sang de Jésus*, (see specially, ch. i.).

this capacity the Heart of Jesus is proposed to us by the Church as the symbol, or rather as the *embodiment*, of Christ's love and tenderness, and consequently as a fitting object of our worship and devotion. I may here reproduce the words of Father Dalgairns :—

The Church uses human language, and assumes for her own purposes that common mode of speech, infinitely varied, and to be found in every nation under the sun, by which we employ the word 'heart' when we talk of love. . . . Whether from this common witness of all languages we are right or wrong in inferring that the heart is the exclusive organ of human affection, at all events it is quite sufficient for our purpose that it should be, what it certainly is, the chief emotional centre of our being. . . . In one word, then, the object of our adoration is the very Heart of Jesus ; and the reason why we select it for adoration is, because it thrilled and palpitated with the emotions of His love ; and, like that of every other human being, is taken as the symbol of joys, griefs, and affections, which in some way or other it really felt.¹

In Matt. xi. 29, however, the word 'heart' seems to refer to the mind rather than to what we commonly understand by the heart, and this for two reasons. In the first place, because in the language spoken by our Saviour (*i.e.* in Aramaic), such a reference would be the more natural one. The Aramaic word ܠܒܐ, *libba* (in Syriac, *lebo*), corresponds to the Hebrew לב, *leb*, or לבב, *lebab*, which in itself denotes the seat of the intellect rather than that of the emotions ; and this consideration acquires especial force, when we remember that we have, in St. Matthew's Gospel, a document originally written in Aramaic. In the second place, the qualities which our Saviour here attributes to His 'Heart' are such as we most naturally associate with the mind. Our ordinary mode of expression—when uninfluenced by the phraseology of Scripture—is sufficient proof of this assertion. Thus, we commonly speak of people as having a 'proud mind,' or an 'humble mind,' as being 'haughty-minded,' or 'humble-minded.' Such a phrase as 'meek-minded' is not, indeed, in common use ; but expressions indicative of an opposite character, such as 'fierce-minded,' or 'bloody-minded,' are quite natural. Anyone

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

with a proper sense of English idiom will at once perceive a certain strangeness of expression, if 'heart' be substituted for 'mind' in these phrases.

At the same time, it would be going too far to assert that Matt. xi. 29, contains no reference to the Heart of Jesus. A great deal of latitude is allowed as to the precise sense in which both the Hebrew לב, *leb*, or לבב, *lebab*, and its Greek equivalent, *καρδία*, *kardia*, may be used; and it is hardly possible to draw any hard-and-fast line. In English, too, we observe something similar in the use of the words *heart* and *mind*: the meaning of one term sometimes approaches indefinitely near to the ordinary sense of the other; while occasionally the two words seem practically interchangeable. Thus, in the phrase 'to learn, know, or recite *by heart*,' the reference is to the mind rather than to the emotions; in the phrase, 'to lay a thing to heart,' the reference may be described as being of a mixed character; while, in the closely allied phrase, 'to take a thing (very much) to heart,' the feelings rather than the intellect are obviously referred to. Again, we cannot overlook the fact, that in the text in question a reference to the Heart of our Saviour, if not directly expressed, is, at least, clearly involved. This appears from the character of the passage as a whole, taken in its full depth of meaning. Still, the word here used is not, perhaps, the word that we should have expected, and is certainly not the most expressive word that might have been employed, if the sense were precisely that which is conveyed by our word 'heart.'

What, then, is the term that we should expect to find in biblical language as the equivalent of 'heart'? The answer to this question must be drawn from a study of the peculiar idiom of the Bible. In the Old Testament 'the seat of the affections' is referred to by a number of different terms. Sometimes the word 'reins,' or 'loins' is found in this sense, being used to render the Hebrew כִּלְאֵי־יֹתֶם, *kělāyōth*, or מֹתְנַיִם, *mothnayim*. Thus, the word *kělāyōth* is rendered: 'Thou art near in their mouth, and far from their *reins*'¹: cf. Is.

¹ Jer. xii. 2.

xxix. 13, and Matt. xv. 8. Similarly, 'And my *reins* shall rejoice when thy lips shall speak what is right.'¹ As to the word *mothnayim*, it is rendered thus: 'And thou, son of man, mourn with the breaking of thy *loins* (Hebr. *bēshibrōn mothnayim*; Vulg. in *contritione* lumborum), and with bitterness sigh before them.'² Another word employed in a similar sense is *בֶּטֶן*, *beten*; e.g., 'Verba susurronis quasi simplicita, et ipsa perveniunt ad intima *ventris*,'³ where Luther's German version actually gives *herz*, 'heart.'⁴ Compare Prov. xxii. 18, where the Septuagint has *kardia*. Another noteworthy example is Hab. iii. 16. Here we may appropriately refer to the Hebrew word *גֶּרֶב*, *qereb*, which is variously rendered by the Vulgate, but is sometimes translated *cor*; e.g., '*Cor* eorum vanum est.'⁵ Similarly, in Prov. xxvi. 24.

Two Hebrew words, which claim special attention, still remain, namely *מֶגֶחִים*, *mēghīm* and *רַחֲמִים*, *rachāmīm*, both of which are frequently found in such a context that the translation 'bowels' is utterly inappropriate. Even the Vulgate and our own version sometimes render *mēghīm* 'heart'; thus: 'Deus meus volui, et legem tuam in medio *cordis* mei.'⁶ But the same rendering might have been adopted in Jer. xxxi. 20, as also in the similar phrase, Lam. ii. 11, in both of which passages the Vulgate has *viscera*.

As to the Hebrew word *rachāmīm*, it also is translated *viscera* in passages where everyone must feel that the only appropriate rendering is 'heart.' Thus: 'Festinavitque quia commota fuerant *viscera* ejus super fratre suo.'⁷ Compare 3 Kings iii. 26; and Ps. lxxvi. 10, where the Vulgate has:

¹ Prov. xxiii. 16.

² Bzech. xxi. 6.

³ Prov. xxvi. 22.

⁴ In connection with these passages I cannot help calling attention to John vii. 38, which should surely have been rendered: 'Out of his *heart* shall flow rivers of living water.' Our present version is so repellant—if not absolutely repulsive—that it is practically impossible to make use of this beautiful text in its existing form. I am far from having sympathy with those who habitually decry our Catholic English Bible; but this, surely, is a deplorable instance of false literalism.

⁵ Ps. v. 10.

⁶ Ps. xxxix. 9.

⁷ Gen. xliii. 30.

'Aut continebit in ira sua *miser cordias suas*,' but which might be at the same time more literally and more forcibly rendered: 'Or will He, in His anger, close up His *heart*?'

In Prov. xii. 10: 'Novit justus jumentorum suorum animas; *viscera* autem impiorum crudelia,' the Protestant version has achieved an undoubted bull, which, however, usually passes for an epigram. We read: 'The *tender mercies* of the wicked are cruel.' In the original there is nothing about 'tenderness;' and the sense simply is: 'The *heart* of the wicked is cruel.'

From the above examples it must be sufficiently evident that we need not expect to find in the Vulgate anything like uniformity of rendering with regard to the words of the Hebrew text. At the same time it is equally clear that the word *viscera* must sometimes be taken in the sense of 'heart,' especially when we observe that it represents the Hebrew *rachāmim*.

If we now turn to the New Testament, we find that the word *viscera* occurs eleven times. In Acts i. 18, it is used in narrating the fate of the traitor Judas. Here, of course, it occurs in its proper physical sense, and calls for no special remark. But in the other ten passages, namely, Luke i. 78; 2 Cor. vi. 12, vii. 15; Phil. i. 8, ii. 1.; Col. iii. 12; Philem. vv. 7, 12, 20; 1 John iii. 17, it is certainly not used in a 'literal' or physical sense; it refers rather to the feelings and emotions.

In the Old Testament the Vulgate employs *viscera* to represent six different Hebrew words. In reference to three of these, however, the Vulgate usage is either exceptional or incorrect; so we may pass them over. See Job xvi. 14, xxi. 24, xxxviii. 36. With regard to the remaining three Hebrew words, the usage is as follows:—

(1) In seven passages *viscera* represents the Hebrew *qereb*: 3 Kings xvii. 21; Ps. l. 12; Is. xvi. 11, xix. 3; Jer. xxxi. 33; Ezech. xi. 19; Hab. ii. 19.

(2) In five passages *viscera* represents the Hebrew *mêghîm*; 2 Paral. xxi. 19; Is. ix. 15; Jer. xxxi. 20; Lam. ii. 11; Ezech. iii. 3.

(3) In three passages *viscera* represents the Hebrew

rachāmim; Gen. xliii. 30; 3 Kings iii. 26; Prov. xii. 10. These three passages have been already considered.

So far, then, the Vulgate *viscera* might leave us to choose between three different Hebrew words. When, however, we turn to the Greek text of the New Testament, our choice is practically determined to the word *rachāmim*. In every case in which the Vulgate New Testament has *viscera*, the original has *σπλάγχνα*, *splānchna*; and the usage of the Septuagint favours the view that *splānchna* represents *rachāmim*, as in Prov. xii. 10.¹ The natural conclusion, therefore, is that *viscera* in the New Testament may be taken as the equivalent of the Hebrew *rachāmim*.

This conclusion is rendered absolutely certain by an examination of the Syriac text. In all the cases under consideration, with the exception of Philem. vs. 12,² the Syriac New Testament presents us with the word *rachme*, the exact equivalent of the Hebrew *rachāmim*. We are, therefore, justified in asserting that *viscera* in the New Testament represents the Hebrew *rachāmim*. Now, we have already seen that in all cases where *viscera* in the Old Testament is the equivalent of *rachāmim*, these words are to be rendered by the English word 'heart.' We are, therefore, forced to conclude that *viscera* and *splānchna* in the New Testament correspond most nearly to 'heart' in English. In some cases, perhaps, the idiom of our language may require that we should employ some more paraphrastic expression; but, speaking generally, 'heart' is the only word which will convey the ideas, sentiments, and associations of the Greek and Latin terms. Such, indeed, is the

¹ The only other text in point is Prov. xxvi. 22, where *splānchna* represents the Hebrew *beten*. In Jer. li. 13 (its only other occurrence), it may represent a possible *mighim*, as read by the Septuagint; but our present Hebrew text has a different reading. In later Hellenistic works we notice indications of an increased tendency to employ *splānchna* in the sense of *rachāmim*.

² In this passage the Syriac adopts the somewhat peculiar rendering *yaldo*, 'son,' or 'offspring.' In reference to the Syriac version of the other passages, it is right to mention that, while the same two words *rachme*, and *rūchofo*, are employed to translate the Greek *σπλάγχνα*, *splānchna* and *οἰκτιρμός*, in Col. iii. 12, and Phil. ii. 1, in the latter text the words are reversed. Still, the occurrence of *rachme*, even in this passage, is none the less significant. On the other hand, it should be noted that when the Syriac wants to represent the Greek *splānchna*, taken in a material sense, as in Acts i. 18, it employs a different word, *gawweh*, 'his bowels, or entrails'

rendering actually adopted by the Revised Version in the four passages, Col. iii. 12, Philem. vv. 7, 12, 20; but it is equally appropriate in other cases. It is the meaning adopted by Protestant commentators, such as Ellicott and Lightfoot, in Philip i. 8; and in this last text especially we should have no hesitation in rendering: 'For God is my witness, how I long after you all in the *heart* of (Jesus) Christ.' Almost equally striking is the passage, Luke i. 78. Here, according to Semitic idiom, the principal substantive has an adjective addition, expressed by the genitive relation. Compare the well-known text, Acts ix. 15, where St. Paul is called a *vas electionis*, i.e., 'a vessel (instrument) of choice,' or 'a chosen instrument.' We should, therefore, translate: 'Through the *merciful heart* of our God, in which (*i.e.*, through which, or according to which) the Orient from on high hath visited us.' Here, indeed, the direct reference is to the Heart of God, but of God who becomes incarnate for the redemption of men. The passage is of especial interest, as it serves as a link between those texts of the New Testament in which the Heart of Christ is expressly mentioned (Matt. xi. 29, Phil. i. 8) and those of the Old Testament which refer to the Heart of God.

From the foregoing observations it appears that we must recognise in the New Testament the germs of devotion to the Sacred Heart, clearly and forcefully presented in the ordinary idiom of Holy Writ. This, of course, is what we might have expected. What can be more natural, for instance, than that St. Paul, the ardent lover of his Divine Master, should speak to us of the Sacred Heart of Jesus? His writings breathe the spirit of tender devotion to the Sacred Humanity; he was the Apostle of the Precious Blood; can we wonder that he should also be the Apostle of the Sacred Heart?

The above has been written with the object of drawing attention to a fact which, however tacitly admitted, is seldom if ever expressly noticed. Without at all intending to advocate too free a treatment of our received English text, I may venture to suggest that the translations of Luke i. 78, and of Phil. i. 8 here given, might be sometimes

adopted in the pulpit, or, at least, that the real sense of the passages should be explained to the people. It is true that the word 'bowels,' on account of its frequent employment in similar contexts, may convey a proper meaning to the priest; but I greatly doubt whether it can do so to the congregation at large. Indeed, its repellant associations seem to render this very unlikely, and I suspect that our present rendering 'can only pass without censure when it passes without observation.' Whether we consider its original derivation, or its present signification, it has a very poor claim to be regarded as the equivalent of 'heart.' It properly refers to 'the small intestines,' so that it has not even the merit of being a true 'literal' translation of the Latin *viscera* or of the Greek *spláchna*, for both of these terms are wider in meaning, including what are sometimes called 'the nobler viscera,' *i.e.*, the heart, &c.

There may be some who would incline to defend the present use of the word 'bowels' by appealing to 'old English' usage; but I believe that—apart from more or less direct Scripture quotation—such usage cannot be generally established. The expression in question was never more than a foreign intruder in the language, whose introduction was due to a forced and false literalism. According to Murray's *New English Dictionary*, the earliest occurrence of 'bowels' in the sense of 'heart' is in the translation of the Bible usually ascribed to Wyclif, and dating from the year 1382. This is a significant fact; but it is equally significant that, according to the same authority, the next occurrence is not until about sixty years later, *i.e.*, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, c. 1440. Nay, for a century afterwards the expression must have been felt to be harsh and strange, for Tyndale, Coverdale, and other translators avoided it, using the phrase 'heart root' in its stead, when referring to the person of our Saviour.¹

But, whatever be the opinion entertained on the question of the propriety of the words employed, it is, at all events advisable that we should bring home, both to our own minds

¹ Phil. i. 8.

and the minds of others, the full significance of texts like those referred to. It is, surely, both consoling and instructive to reflect that we are at one with the Apostles and their contemporaries, not only in our faith in Christ, but also in the feelings with which we regard His Sacred Humanity, and even in the very modes of expression which indicate the strength and vividness of our belief in our Incarnate God.

GERALD STACK.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK

III.

THE translations of the 'Confessio' that are ordinarily current and accepted, represent Patrick as saying, 'I had for my father Calpornius (a deacon), a son of Potitus (a presbyter), who dwelt in the village of Bannavem Taberniae, for he had a small farm hard by the place where I was taken captive.' In the text there is nothing to justify the addition 'who dwelt,' Benavem is written in some copies Banavem or Banaven or Bonaven. Probus who clearly copies from the 'Confessio,' writes at Bannave. Now, it is a strange and most important fact, that in none of the lives, except in that attributed to Probus, and in the life by Joceyln, at the end of the twelfth century, is Bannave mentioned; but all with the exception of Fiacc mention Tabernae, though with significant variations of spelling. *Vita Secunda*.:—

He was born in Campo Taburne, so called because the Roman armies once placed their tabernacula there during the winter cold, and from thence it was called Campus Tabern; that is, Campus Tabernaculorum.

That explanation shows that the author was perplexed by the word Taburne. *Vita Tertia* says:—'Patrick was born in illo oppido Nemther. He was born in Campo Taburniae;' and then goes on to give the same explanation as in the *Secunda*. Hence it is called Campus Taburni.

Vita Quarta repeats the same, omitting about the winter, and adding that in the *lingua Britannica* Campus Tabern is the same as Campus Tabernaculorem. Joceyn says: 'There was a man, Calphurnius by name, son of Potitus Presbyter in the canton (*pago*), Taburnia dwelling near the town Empthor, bordering on the Mari Hibernico. On the other hand, all mention Nemthur, or Empthor, as the place of his birth. Fiacc: 'Patrick was born in Nemthur.' *Vita Secunda*: 'Patrick was born in that town, Nemthur by name.' *Vita Tertia*: 'Patrick was born in that town, Nemthor by name. He was reared in Nempthor.' *Vita Quarta*: 'Patrick was born in that town, Nemthor by name, which put into Latin would be heavenly tower, and was reared in the town Nemthor by name.' *Vita Quinta* (Probus), who mentions Bannave, does not mention Empthor, but says Bannave belongs to the province Nevtriae; he has found that out. *Vita Sexta*: 'There was a man Calphurnius . . . dwelling beside Empthor.' *Vita Septima*: 'Patrick was reared in Nemthor.' *Leabhar Breac*: 'At Nemthur was he born, Patrick was reared at Nemthor.' *Book of Lismore*: 'In Nemthor was he born.' *Breviary of Paris*: 'Patrick was born in Britannia, the town Empthor.' *Breviary of Armagh*: 'In the town of Britannia, called Emptor.' I assume that Nemthur, Nemthor, Empthor, are all the same place, and the form that comes nearest to the correct spelling in Empthor. That the initial *n* cannot be defended, is sufficiently shown in the following quotation from the I. E. RECORD March, 1868:—

Many have imagined that the name of St. Patrick's birthplace was Nemthur, from the Irish phrase in Nemthur. However, Eugene O'Curry well remarked, that the initial *n* in this case is euphonious, and belongs to the preceding preposition, precisely as we find in the old MSS., in neren for in Erin; in nalban for in Albania; in memain for in Emania. The name of our apostle's birthplace is more accurately given as follows in a very ancient Irish MSS. In a village the name of which is Hurnia in Britain, near the city Empter.

I assume, also, that the spelling Empter or Emptor is as likely to be the original spelling as Emther.

Unless we are to set aside the Irish writers completely

we must hold, that Emphor was the name of the place where Patrick was born. But if so, why does Patrick not mention it in the 'Confessio'? It is extremely probable that he did, and that the passage, 'Villam enim prope habuit ubi ego in capturam decidi,' is not what Patrick wrote: first, there is various reading Enon for enim, which shows the passage was obscure; second, enim has no meaning, and must be rejected; next, if Enon be retained it must be the name of the farm which his father had near Bannave Tabernia. Now, why should Patrick tell the name of the farm? What interest could anyone take in the name of the farm? It is almost certain that what Patrick wrote was: 'Villam in Emporio habuit,' which became, first, 'Villam inem porio,' and then, 'Villam enim or Enon prope habuit.'

Many Irish writers connect Emphor with the Clyde. The Scholiast on Fiacc: 'Nemthur is a city in North Britain, that is Ail-cluade.' *The Liber Hymnorum*: 'Patrick's father was Calpuirnn; Conches was his mother.' They all went from the Britons of Alcluaid. The *Tripartite*: 'Patrick was reared in Nemthur.' The King of Britain's steward commanded Patrick and his nurse to clean the hearth in Al-cluaid.' *Leabhar Breac*: 'Patrick was of the Britons of Aid-cluaid.' *Vita Quarta*: 'His parents proceeded to the Strath Clyde.' *Book of Lismore*: 'Patrick's father was of the Britons of Alcluaid; in Nemthor was he born.' Manuscript quoted above: 'Patrick now was of the Britons; Al-cluaid was his native place.' Jocelyn (close of twelfth century): 'Emphor situated in the Valley of the Clyde.' Fiacc does not mention Alcluaid, neither does the *Vita Secunda* or the *Vita Tertio*. Now those statements about the Clyde are either pure inventions or have some foundation in fact. They are on a different footing from the statements that he was a Briton, or was born in Briton. That statement is not a testimony; it is a deduction, an inference, and may be nothing more. If those writers knew that there was another Clyde not in Britain, and used the word Britain to distinguish the one Clyde from the other, then their statement that Clyde was in Britain, would be a testimony, whether true or false; but

it being clear that those writers never had the notion of making such a distinction, the statement that Patrick was born in Britain can be only a statement of their opinion, a display of their geographical knowledge. If you state that a man was born in England, that is a statement of a fact. If you state that he was born in London, and go on, in addition, to say that he was born in England, that is only a display of your geographical learning.

According to the usual interpretations of St. Patrick's statements he has given for his father's residence the names of places which nowhere can be found, or, at least, names which no one ever heard of. Is this credible? Every other writer that gives the names of places, gives names of known places. St. Patrick's father was a decurio; that is to say, a member of the senate of one of those cities which were thought of sufficient importance to have a senate modelled on the plan of the senate of Rome. The city must have been one of importance, seeing that Patrick adduces the fact of his father having been a decurio, as sufficient to prove that he was of a noble family. Why does he not give the name of that city, if it was only to fortify that he was telling the truth? Why does he tell at all the name of the unknown village to which his father belonged? What importance could that be to his readers; what interest could he imagine them to take in it? What then did Patrick say? He said: 'My father was a decurio, of Vicus.'

There are many cities called Vicus. Some in France, some in Germany, several in Spain: Vicus Aquarius, Vicus Cuminarius, &c.; and, of course, it is necessary to make some addition that will distinguish what Vicus is meant. So Patrick says Vicus Bann-aven. You will find it in the map of Spain, 41.55 N.L., 2.13 E.L. It is in the ancient atlases called Ausa, and is on the Alba Fluvia. Alba and Fluvia are Latin forms; that would not be the name by which the river would be known to the Iberian dwellers around, but it would be known by the name of which Alba and Fluvia are the translation Bann Aven.

Vich, an ancient town built on the ruins of Ausa, where the inhabitants resisted the Romans 185 years before the Vulgar era,

The streets are broad, and most of them are very steep. The principal square is surrounded with arcades. The copper and coal mines in the neighbouring towns, the linen and cotton manufactures within the walls, maintain the commerce of the inhabitants.¹

Vic (Vicus) a city of Spain, in Catalonia, with a bishop's see suffragant to Tarracona. The former name was Ausonia; when ruined by the Romans it got the name of Vicus. We see the signature of a bishop of Ausona of which Vicus was the episcopal see, in a council of Tarragona in 516, and in other councils down to 906.²

Vich (Vicus), a very ancient town of Spain, in Catalonia, 40 miles north of Barcelona. It is the capital and centre of its temperate and fertile plain. It is a most ancient bishopric. The cathedral was re-built in 1038.³

Ausa, the chief city of the Ausetani. In the middle age Ausonia and Vicus Ausoniensis Vic-d Osane, whence its modern name of Vique or Vich. It lies on a small tributary of the Ter, the ancient Alba. Ausetani, one of the small peoples in the extreme north-east of Hispania Tarraconenses, at the foot of the Pyrenees, in Catalonia. Pliny places them west of the Laetani (Laetani), and east of the Lacetani. Their position is fixed by their chief cities, Ausa, and Gerunda (Gerona), along the valley of the river Ter, the ancient Alba. Ausa and Gerunda had the jus Latinum.⁴

Thus, Vicus was a city that had a Senate, the members of which were decurions. With Vicus on the Bannaven all the Irish writers connect Emphor, and, most probably, so did Patrick himself in the 'Confessio.' The writers say it was his birthplace; Patrick says it was the place he was made captive. All the writers say Empor was on the Clyde, in Latin Cludianus.

You will find Emporium on the Clodianus, Lat. 42, 7 N. Long. 3, 3 E., about 40 miles to the east of Vicus.

Emporiae or Emporium, an ancient and important city of Hispania Tarraconensis, on the small gulf of Rosas, which lies below the east extremity of the Pyrenees, and at the mouth of the River Clodianus, which formed its port. Its situation made it the natural landing-place from Gaul, and as such it was colonized at an early period by the Phocéans of Massilia. Their first city, afterwards called the Old Town, was built on a small

¹ Malte Brun

² Moreri.

³ Findlay's *Gazetteer*.

⁴ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*.

island, whence they passed over to the mainland, and here a double city grew up—the Greek town on the coast, and an Iberian settlement, of the tribe of the Indigetes, on the inland side of the other. Julius Cæsar added a body of Roman colonists to the Greeks and Spaniards, and the place gradually coalesced into one Roman city. On coins it is styled a municipium.¹

Ampurias, a seaport of Spain, in Catalonia, at the mouth of the Fluvia, 70 miles N.E. of Barcelona. Long. 3, 0 E.; Lat. 42, 9 N.²

Ampurdan, a small territory of Catalonia, whose capital city was formerly Ampurias. It is 3 leagues from Rosas, 6 from Gerona, and 20 from Barcelona. It was formerly very considerable under the name of Emporiæ or Emporium. Polybus calls it Emporias, Strabo, and Stephanus, Emporium; Titus Livius mentions it when speaking of Cato's arrival in Spain. It is said that this city was divided into two parts; that the Greeks who had come from Phocæa occupied the part next the sea, and that the Spaniards inhabited the other. After Julius Cæsar had vanquished the son of Pompeius, he left at Ampurias a colony which built a third city. These latter comers joined with the Spaniards, who became Roman citizens, and afterwards the Greeks obtained the same position. In the course of time, Ampurias became the seat of a bishop's see, and we find the names of its bishops in the Councils of Toledo from 589 and 599, in Egara 614, and in several others.³

Clodianus, a river of Hispania Tarraconensis at the east end of the Pyrenees, forming at its mouth the harbour of Emporiæ.⁴

Going along the coast, and starting from Cerraria, we come at once to a precipitous headland, which makes one of the projecting summits of the Pyrenees, 'quæ in altum Pyrenæum extendit'; next the Tichis, a river which runs to Rhoda, next the Clodianum which flows to Emporias, next the Mons Jovis, whose western side is called Scalæ Hannibales.⁵

Vossius:—That place is still called Scalæ, and the whole mountain Monjui, altered from Mons Jovis. A glance at the map of Spain will show twelve salient points in the outline of the coast. The first, beginning at the north end of the east coast, is that formed by the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, Pyrenes Prom, Veneris Prom, Pyrenea Venus, a mountainous headland, projecting far into the sea, and dividing the Gulf of Cervara or Portus Veneris, on the north, from that of Rhoda and Emporiæ on the south (Bay of Rosas). At the present time, Cap de Creus.⁶

Creus (see 'Creuz') Cap de Creuz or of the Cross;

¹ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*.

² Findlay's *Gazetteer*.

³ Moneni.

⁴ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*.

⁵ Pomponius Mela.

⁶ Smith's *Geographical Dictionary*

in Latin Promontorium, Aphrodisium is the most eastern cape of Catalonia, in the province of Besalu, between Rosas and Ampurias.¹

The coast line of the Endegeton, the mouth [ekbolai] of the River Sambroka; Emporeai; the mouth of the River Klodianos; Rhodipolis; next to which is the before-mentioned Ieron Aphrodision.²

The River Rubricatus, beyond which [are] the Laletani and Indigetes, towns of Roman citizens; that is, having the Jus Romanum Baetulo, otherwise Iluro, River Larnum; Blanda (now Blanes), River Alba; Emporiae, a double town of the original inhabitants, and of the Greeks who came of the Phoeceans River Tichis, about 40 miles therefrom, Pyrenea Venus (Cap Creuz) on the far side of the promontory.³

We see from Pliny¹ that most of the cities in Spain, perhaps all that had Roman names, had also Iberian names. The Iberian name would, as a matter of course, be the only one known or in use among the Spaniards, the Latin name used only in official documents. We have here the explanation of the word Taburne. Vicus and Empor are in the territory of the Indigetes (Ptolemy, Endeketae, or Indeketai). Why, then, did not Patrick write, de Vico Bannaven Indigetum. He could not have written Indigetum, for that is a name of idolatry, as Portus Veneris or Promontorium Aphrodisium. It is certain that as Promontorium Aphrodisium from the very introduction of Christianity was supplanted by Cap Creuz (the promontory of the remarkable cross); so, from the introduction of Christianity, the name Indigetes, an idolatrous name (Indigetes means the tutelary gods), would have been abolished, and by Patrick's time utterly forgotten. Taburne, then, was the name, the Iberian name of the territory. No wonder we cannot find it. That we cannot create no objection; for if we cannot find it, neither can we find any other name which Patrick would have written in place of the idolatrous name Indigetes—some other name he must have written. Taburn is just the most likely of all names for that district. I assume that the Irish and Iberian are the same language.

The Irish word *taob* means flank, and *burren* means

¹ Moreri.

² Ptolemy, lib. ii., c. 6.

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³ Pliny, lib. iii.

⁴ Lib. iii., c. 3.

mountains ; burren is, in fact, identical with Pyrene. There could not be a more appropriate name, at any rate, to the district than the Mountain Flanks. If anyone dislikes taob-burren, he might prefer Taib, the sea, burren, mountains taib-burren ; but some other name he must suggest, and that other name will be just as unfindable as Tiburne.

Patrick also writes in his Letter to Coroticus, that his birthplace was Iberia. Considering that so much has been written about Patrick's birthplace, it is somewhat startling that this statement of Patrick's has been so persistently ignored. Yet, that he states he was born in Iberia is a fact that cannot be denied. Every writer admits and asserts that in every manuscript of the 'Confessio' is found the statement that he was born in Iberia. But with consummate audacity they change the word Iberia into Hibernia ; and, taking that corrupt reading of their own as a foundation they interpret the words, 'I was born in Iberia,' as meaning the Irish were born in Hibernia. The words are, 'They make little of us because we were born in Iberia.' For that is the way they talk, *sic enim aiunt*. Now, as we do not know but that Coroticus and all around him were fools, we are not sure but they did say, 'the Irish were born in Ireland, or the Irish are not worth heeding, because they were born in Ireland ;' but if they did think the less of the Irish because they were born in Ireland, and repeated often that remark, *sic enim aiunt*, Coroticus and those about him must have been great fools, indeed. Their remark would make sense if it was *he* Patrick was not worth heeding, because he was born in Iberia. The whole paragraph has Patrick himself for its subject, with the exception of these eight words. Common sense would dictate that those eight words are also about himself. If by Iberia Patrick meant Ireland, of course those eight words must have for their subject the Irish ; but the absurdity of the remark, and the incoherence of it, shows that by Iberia Patrick did not mean Ireland. Those who corrupt the text by changing Iberia into Hibernia have not the least excuse for doing so. Every consideration that in any text establishes a reading where there is a disputed reading is against Hibernia and for Iberia. And, first, there

is no disputed reading; there is no doubt that all the manuscripts gave *Iberia*. Where, then, is the ground for doubtful reading? Where is the ground for alteration? Does not the reading *Iberia* make good sense, while the reading *Hibernia* makes, if not nonsense, very incoherent sense? But what should put the matter beyond all doubt, nay, show that if the manuscript reading was *Hibernia*, that even so it was *Iberia* was meant, is, that Patrick never calls Ireland *Hibernia*, but always *Hiberione*.

The passages in which Patrick mentions by name Ireland are:—(1) '*Hyberione adductis sum*;' (2) '*Hyberione deveneram*;' (3) '*Vidi virum venientem de Hiberione*;' (4) '*Vox Hyberionarum*;' (5) '*Quotidie contra Hyberionem pergebam*;' (6) '*Iernas gentes*;' (7) '*Unde autem, Hiberione, qui idola coluerunt nuper plebs Dei effecta est*;' (8) '*Hanc scripturam Hiberione conscripsi*.' These are from the '*Confessio*.' The following are from the Letter to Coroticus: (9) '*Hiberione episcopus constitutus (sum)*;' (10) '*Lex quam Deus Hiberione plantaverat*;' (11) '*Veni Hiberionem*;' (12) '*Grege Domini Hiberione crescebat*.' Those are the only places in which Patrick names Ireland; and we are to believe that after all those passages he suddenly turns, and at the end gives Ireland the name of another country, *Iberia*.

In 383, Maximus was proclaimed Emperor by the unanimous voice, both of the soldiers and the provincials in Britain. He was a native of Spain. He could not hope to reign, or even live, if he confined his ambition within the limits of Britain. He invaded Gaul with a fleet and army which were long after remembered as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation. The armies of Gaul received him with acclamations. Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, overtook Gratian, and delivered him into the hands of the executioner. Maximus sent an ambassador to Theodosius offering the alternative of war and peace. 'As a Roman,' the ambassador said, 'he would prefer to employ his forces in the defence of the Republic, yet was prepared in field of battle to dispute the empire of the world.'¹

¹ Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

That this was no idle boast, is proved by the fact that Theodosius accepted his alliance. Andragathius and his followers returned to their own distant abodes; but not all of them, as will be noticed afterwards.

The reign of Maximus might have ended in prosperity, but he considered his actual forces as the instruments of greater success, and prepared to seize Italy, which Theodosius had stipulated he should not meddle with. Andragathius and his forces were summoned back. Ambrose mentions that he and his forces were brought from the *ends of the earth* to suffer the penalty due for the slaying of Gratian.

In 387, Maximus marched across the Alps. In 388, the contest was decided against him on the banks of the Save. Sozomen¹ says Maximus had gathered an immense army of the Britains, of the Gauls, and of the Celts, and that Andragathius, when Maximus was defeated, drowned himself in the river that ran by. This Andragathius was commander of the fleet and commander of the cavalry. Another account of his end is that he drowned himself in the Ionian sea. This double account of his death, so like the double account of the death of Niall—one account saying Niall was drowned in the Iccian Sea, another putting his death at the Loire—suggests that Niall and Andragathius were the same person. Irish writers put Niall's death in 409. At any rate, Andragathius was either Niall himself or one of his captains. The circumstances that there were Celts in the army of Maximus' soldiers, 'brought from the ends of the earth,' identifies them completely with Niall and his armies, and accounts for the Irish stories, otherwise utterly ridiculous, of Niall having invaded France, and Dathi having reached the Alps. It also vindicates Niall from being a mere pirate and freebooter, which the Irish stories about him would make him out to be.

Gildas tells us, that the right wing of the army of Maximus rested on Spain. Nennius tells us, that he confiscated lands, which he specifies, to his soldiers, who, of course, drove out the previous inhabitants. The lands he

¹ Book vii., c. xiv.

specifies, the names he mentions, are all in this district of Vicus Bannave, of Empor, and Clodianus :—

Maximus gave them many regions from the pool (stagnum), which is over the top of Mons Jovis, to the city which is called Tanguic. Those are at the Cumulum occidentale, *i.e.*, Cruto chidenit.¹

The Latin Nennius confesses here, that Cumulus occidentalis is only his guess at the meaning of Cruto-chedent. The Irish Nennius is more intelligible :—

Maximus gave them many lands, from the place where is the lake on the top (Mullach) of Mount Jove, to Canacuc (*alias* Cannachuic, *alias* Can-cuic), to the mound (duma) Ochiden where there is a celebrated cross, and these are the Britons of Letha.

This shows that Cruto of the Latin Nennius is not cumulus but crux. The Lake on the top of Mount Jovis is the Lacus Lemanus (the Lake of Geneva). The Mons Jovis, is the Summus Penninus (the great St. Bernard) :—

The Pennine Alps was the appellation by which the Romans designated the loftiest and most central part of the chain extending from the Mount Blanc on the west to Mount Rosa on the east. The opinion having gained ground that the pass of the Great St. Bernard was the route pursued by Hannibal, the name was connected with the Poeni, and the form Poeninae was adopted by late writers. Livy points out the error, and adds that the name was really derived from a deity to whom an altar was consecrated on the summit of the pass, probably the same who was afterwards worshipped by the Romans themselves as Jupiter Penninus.

Per Alpes Penninas—This route which branched off from the Per Alpes Gracias at Augusta Pretoria led to Octiodurus at the head of the Lake Lemmanus. At the summit of the pass there stood a temple of Jupiter.²

‘Mons Jovis Summus Penninus a simulacro vel fano Jovis olim ei imposito sic dictus alias Mons S. Bernardi.’³

Canacuc the Canigou (Mons Candidus) the culminating point of the Pyrenees at this east end of the Pyrenees. It is over nine thousand feet high. It is at the west end of

¹ *Latin Nennius*. Gale's edition.

² *Smith's Geographical Dictionary*.

³ *Hofman's Dictionary*.

the territory of the Indigetes wherein is Vicus Bannaven, Empor and Clodeanus ; Canigou is its ancient name, seeing that the Romans called it Mons Candidus : ' where there is a famous cross, Cap Crouz.' Creus : see Creuz. Creuz Cap de Creuz, or of the Cross, in Latin, 'Promontorium Aphrodisium,' is the most eastern cape of Catalonia, in the province of Besalu, between Rosas and Ampurias (Emporias) (Empor).

Almost isolated from the rest of the range, the Canigou dominates the whole country, and was considered for a long time the highest summit of the Pyrenees. In favourable conditions of the atmosphere there can be seen from it the coast of the Mediterranean, from Barcelona to Agde and Montpellier, and even Marseilles. Port Vendres owes its name to Portus Veneris, dedicated to the Pyrenean Venus, whose temple was in the neighbourhood on the Promontorium Aphrodisium. Cap Creuz, on the rocks of Cap Creuz, the terminating masses of the Pyrenees, one might imagine oneself to be in a desert isle in the middle of the sea, except the rocky shore of France, which may be traced towards the north, nothing is to be seen but the blue waters of the Mediterranean dotted here and there with the white sails of ships.¹

Cap Creuz to those who dwelt in France would be very correctly described as Crut (Crux) occidentalis. The defeat of Maximus in 388 made little or no change in the position of the soldiers that had settled in this district described by Nennius. Theodosius published an amnesty for all persons, without exception, who had sided with Maximus. The auxiliaries who had come in 388 with Andragathius from the ends of the earth, would return home. It was on their return they brought with them Patrick. The passage through the south of France would not be open to them, and the natural return road would be to Bretonia. From Vicus to Bretonia would be about three hundred miles. Patrick indicates that the journey was a long one. He says: 'Day by day I was making my way, driven on (*non sponte*), until I was nearly worn out.' Bretonia, being the great cattle market, would be the mart for most of the traffic between Spain and Ireland. Probably, it was in

¹ Adolphe Joanne, *Guide Book of the Pyrenees*.

Bretonia Patrick was bought and sold. Captives coming from Bretonia would, of a certainty, be called Bretons, and Patrick would be known during his captivity, and remembered after his escape, by the name of the Breton. In his long captivity of seven years he must have been asked and have told many things about himself, his family, and his native home. He must have told that his native city was Emporiae on the Clodianus (Empor on the Clyde). The Irish were as much Iberian as the inhabitants of New York are English. He would have told them of the Bay of Rosas, into which the Clodianus flows, and of the Thyrrene Sea. Some of this would be remembered, and some not

The Scholiast on Fiacc, and all who followed in his track, would naturally, almost necessarily, hearing that Patrick was a Breton, and that his birthplace was on the Clyde, put his birthplace on the only Clyde they knew—the Clyde in Scotland, and (what else could they do?) say it must be Alcluith. They would not trouble much how Empor came to be forgotten, or called Alcluaide, or that an Empor never was heard of near their Clyde. No doubt it would be remembered that Empor was on the Bay of Rosas, and we have that memory preserved in the statement by Camden and by Humphrey Luydd, that Patrick was born in Valle Rosina. The River Clodianus, on which Empor was built, empties itself into the Bay of Rosas. It would also be remembered that the Bay of Rosas, the bay into which the Clodianus flowed, was a bay of the Tyrrehenean Sea; and we have this memory treasured in the notice given in the *Vita Quarta*, where it is stated that Patrick's parents proceeded from Armorica near the Tyrrehene (Torrian) sea. The incoherence of this account makes it the more valuable, for it shows that the reference to the Tyrrehene Sea is not an invention, and the writer found himself under the necessity of explaining the connection of Patrick's birthplace with the Tyrrehene Sea, which connection must then have been an undisputed fact. Probus says Patrick's parents were from 'Vicus Bannave Tiburniae regionis haud procul a mari occidentali.' I suggest that 'mare occidentali' here, the only place in which it is connected with Patrick's birthplace, is

only an interpretation of 'Mare Inferum,' a name¹ by which the Tyrrehene Sea was known to the Romans. 'Inferum' in Irish would be 'airthair;' 'airthair' would be 'occidentalis.'

To explain Patrick's being brought to Ireland, Probus—unconscious of what he had said before, that Patrick was from 'Vicus Bannave' of the region Tiburniae which Vicus he has found is in the province of Nentriae—goes on to say that Armuric was their city, and that the sons of King Rethmitius from Britain devastated Armuric, cut-throated Calpurnius and Conchessa. So, according to Probus, they were not living when 'Patrick was in Britain' with his parents after his captivity. There was, about one hundred years after Patrick's time, a king of the Britons of Armorica, Riotham, who, at the request of Anthemius, Emperor of the Romans, marched at the head of twelve thousand men against Euric, King of the Visigoths, got as far east as Berri, but was defeated by Euric, and had to take refuge still farther east in Burgundy. This Riotham is, of course, the one before the mind of Probus. The glaring anachronism of putting Riotham in the time of Patrick shows that Probus or the *Secunda Manus* had some information about Patrick's birthplace, which was irreconcilable with the off-hand statements of the Scholiast on Fiacc, and the rest of those who follow his track.

The triangular district bounded on the north by that small part of the Eastern Pyrenees commencing with Canigou (Canna-cuic) and going to Cape Creux, the cape of the remarkable cross, bounded on the east by the Thyrrene Sea, and on the west by the Rubricatus, that district in which is Empor; Vicus; the river Clodianus, and the gulf of Rosas, was divided among several tribes. Nearest to the sea the Indigetes, an idolatrous name, adjoining the Indigetes Laeaeta, the district of the Laeaetani.² This is the district Nennius calls Leta. Herein we have the explanation of the perplexing statements of the Irish writers about

¹ See Smith's *Manual of Ancient Geography*.

² *Ibid.*, p. 621.

Patrick's connection with Leta, perplexing because Leta was made out to be Italy. Fiac: 'Patrick went beyond the Ealpa; he dwelt in the deisciort parte Leta. He dwelt in the islands of the Thyrrhene (Torrean) sea; he came to Erin do cum neren' (cf. Nemthur). Scholiast on Fiac (Patrick's people) 'causa negotiationis' went to Britannia Letha-censem. In that time the seven sons of Factmudius gathered booty in Britannia Armorica, in the region of Letha, where Patrick and his family were, and they slew Calpurnius (so Patrick's parents were not living when after his captivity he was with his parents in Britain). This Leta was not Italy.

The later Irish scribes translated Leta as Italy, and naturally, for they know not of Laeaeta in the north-east corner of Spain, and snatched at Latium as having a similarity in sound. But when was Italy called Latium? Certainly not in the time of Patrick.

Nennius tells us that the Letha he speaks of was in the region of Canigou (Canna-cuic) and the famous cross and Mons Jovis. Patrick must have often spoken of this Leta. It is not until about 1400 that there is any evidence that Leta was supposed to be Italy or any other place but Leta, wherever that might be.

Where, then, was St. Patrick's country? It was Spain—which he, as a native of a Greek-speaking town, Emporium, necessarily or naturally calls Iberia. He was born in Emporia, or at least was dwelling there, when he was made captive; that Emporium is on the Clyde (the Clodeanus), and on the Gulf of Rosas (Rhoda), a gulf of the Thyrrhene (Torrean) Sea, the Mare Inferum of the Romans, as opposed to the Adriatic, the Mare Superum. His grandfather was a Presbyter; that is, a member of the supreme council; his father was a decurio. The city of which he was decurio was Vicus, an episcopal see. It was on the river Bann (Alba), Aven (Fluvia), in the territory of Tiburne, formerly Indigetes. To the west of that territory, or rather included in it, was Laeaeta (Letha); to the north-west of it Canigou (Cannacuic Mons Candidus); to the north-east the projecting masses of the Pyrenees, where they push themselves out

into the sea, and end in the Cape, where is the remarkable Cross ; still farther north, and to the east of Mons Jovis and the Lake above Mons Jovis, Lake Geneva and the Great St. Bernard.

EDWARD O'BRIEN, D.D., P.P.

DR. RUSSELL, OF MAYNOOTH

HIS 'EDINBURGH REVIEW' ARTICLES IDENTIFIED

FOR the editorial hospitality which, in May, allotted considerable space to an account of Dr. Russell's first appearance in *The Edinburgh Review*, it is a poor return to crave now a few pages for the purpose of identifying his subsequent articles in that most famous of quarterlies. After the essay on Mezzofanti had served as his 'open Sesame,' he was a pretty frequent contributor during the twenty years that remained to him. Besides other motives for this exercise of his literary industry, the substantial cheque which followed each contribution was not unwelcome to one on whom pressed many public and private obligations, or what were accepted as obligations by his affectionate, unselfish, and generous heart.

No help towards the discovery of Dr. Russell's articles is afforded by the biography of his editor, Mr. Henry Reeve, recently published, in two volumes, by Mr. John Knox Laughton; but this work throws light on a little matter mentioned in our previous paper. It lets us know that the writer of the official obituary of Mr. Reeve, in *The Edinburgh Review*, October, 1896, was no less a person than the historian, Mr. W. E. H. Lecky; and, therefore, it was he who stated that Mr. Reeve had become editor after the death of Sir George Cornwall Lewis. Mr. Laughton quotes this tribute in full, but quietly changes 'death' into 'resignation;' for the learned baronet was Chancellor of the Exchequer some years after the date assigned by Mr. Lecky to his death in his own *Review*.

Dr. Russell's first article, as we have said, appeared in the last number edited by Sir G. C. Lewis, January, 1855.¹ In the following year the new editor, Mr. Henry Reeve, better known, perhaps, as editor of the *Greville Memoirs*, writes to him thus, on the 12th of October, 1856; for it is from letters preserved by Dr. Russell that the information which follows is derived :—

I have the pleasure to transmit to you, in this enclosure Messrs. Longmans' draft, in acknowledgment of your very interesting contribution. For my own part, I have seldom read a more agreeable and scholarlike article, and I am convinced the public will be of the same opinion.

I have not been able to determine the subject of this 'agreeable and scholarlike' article.

In 1857 Dr. Russell succeeded Dr. Renehan as President of Maynooth College, and the editor of *The Edinburgh Review* wrote to him, on the 10th of November :—

It affords me most sincere gratification to congratulate you and the College on your appointment to the highest office in it, and I regard it as the most favourable indication I have heard of for a long time amongst the ruling powers of the R.C. Church in Ireland, that they should have selected for the Presidentship of Maynooth a gentleman whose tolerant and liberal sentiments are not exceeded by the rarity and extent of his attainments.

I shall be perfectly satisfied if Maynooth become what I am convinced you would wish to make it.

Your corrected revises have duly reached me. I am much obliged to you, and I shall, *if possible*, insert the article very shortly. It has already waited far too long.

Accordingly, in the number which must have been at that time in great part in print, Dr. Russell's very curious paper on 'Hawkers' literature in France,' appears in January, 1858.²

The next article to which we find allusion made in the correspondence of the President of Maynooth, is 'The Graffiti of Pompeii,' in October, 1859.³ It had at first been called 'Graffiti on the Walls of Pompeii'—a title which Mr. Reeve, who called it 'a most curious and amusing paper,' asked

¹ Vol. ci., pp. 73-71.

² *Littérature du Colportage*, vol. cvii., pp. 232-247.

³ Vol. cx., pp. 411-437

his contributor to alter, lest the unlearned should imagine that it was some author named Graffiti who had written about the walls of the doomed city, whereas these 'Graffiti' are idle scribblings that have survived more than eighteen hundred years and many a work of genius.

Another victim of the volcano of Vesuvius was connected with the subject of the next article that we are able to claim for Dr. Russell. Like Pompeii, Herculaneum was destroyed by an eruption in the 79th year of our Christian era. Its ruins were discovered in the year 1720; and with many interruptions the work of excavation and exploration may be said to have been going on ever since. Among other discoveries, there have been brought to light many old manuscripts and papyri, containing various ancient treatises, &c. These are discussed with full and minute learning by Dr. Russell, in an article entitled 'The Herculaneum Papyri,' October, 1862.¹

In the course of this article, in referring to some publication of the Italian antiquarians which had been discussed in *The Edinburgh Review*, in the year 1824, Dr. Russell speaks of 'the notice we devoted to it on its first appearance;' namely, when he was himself twelve years old. A recent Edinburgh reviewer ought similarly to have respected the moral continuity of the editorial 'we,' when, in 1894, he contributed an elaborate dissertation on the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople; he ought to have referred to a previous treatment of the subject in the *Review*, in April, 1865.² The clue which enables me to claim this paper for Dr. Russell is an allusion which he himself makes to it in a letter, which came to me from Lord O'Hagan. In October, 1874, Lord O'Hagan was setting out on a trip to Constantinople, and his friend urged him to take the Danube route, as he himself had done a year or two before. He adds: 'I am sorry I didn't think of sending you my article in *The Edinburgh Review* on St. Sophia's. I wrote it very carefully, and it would have been a good preparation for a visit to the spot.' In the same letter, the President tries to cut

¹ Vol. cxvi., pp. 318-347.

² Vol. cxvi., pp. 456-493.

down Lord O'Hagan's 'princely offer' of a subscription to the Maynooth College Church, then a noble project, and now, after quarter of a century, a magnificent achievement. Our first Irish Catholic Chancellor wished to give £500, which Dr. Russell, with difficulty, succeeded in reducing to £200.

Ten years earlier, on the 28th of May, 1864, the editor wrote to his Maynooth contributor:—

I am quite ashamed of the length of time the printers have been engaged on your article; but from the peculiarity of the inscriptions they found it very difficult to print. I hope, however, you have now received the proofs, and I shall be obliged to you to correct them with peculiar care, and return them to me as soon as you conveniently can. The article is one of extraordinary learning and interest, and I am extremely indebted to you for it.

This praise, unusual with an editor like Lord Jeffrey's successor, was bestowed on the article on 'De Rossi's Jewish and Christian Inscriptions.'¹ There are few who, living in a community like the Maynooth professorial staff, would have kept completely to themselves literary associations of this gratifying kind, so unusual for an Irish priest; yet I strongly suspect that Dr. Russell said nothing of all this to his colleagues; and he certainly did not confide it to a kinsman who would have been made happy by such confidences. The *Edinburgh*, which contained the De Rossi article, chanced to fall into my hands, and I noticed how skilfully the Catholic view of certain subjects involved was put forward. Knowing the authorship of the article on Mezzofanti, I ventured to attribute to the same this essay on 'Ancient Jewish and Christian Inscriptions,' and I received this answer:—

Your guess as to De Rossi is right. But this is a secret. I think it a great privilege to have the opportunity of putting forward, even negatively, such subjects from the Catholic point of view; and I am sure that such things do more general good than direct controversy. In the same spirit (also a secret) I have written, by invitation from Mr. William Chambers, all the Catholic subjects, and many others in the *Chambers' Encyclopedia*

¹ July, 1864, vol. xxx., pp. 217-248

from the letter E onwards. It has cost me little trouble, in fact only the time occupied in writing; and these things will be seen by people whom we could not hope to reach by any other channel.

I wish Dr. Russell had drawn up a list of his contributions to *The Edinburgh Review* similar to the list of his more than six hundred contributions to *Chambers' Encyclopedia* which I found among his papers, and have published in *The Irish Monthly*.¹ But he did not do so, and we are able to discover only four more alluded to in Mr. Reeve's correspondence. This leaves a complete blank between the years 1865 and 1874. Considering what Dr. Russell did under the blue-and-yellow standard before and after those dates, it is in the highest degree improbable that Mr. Reeve dispensed with his service during so long a period, especially when we find him writing to the President as follows, on the 13th of November, 1875 :—

DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—Dr. William Smith has just published the first volume of his *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, which seems to me to be a most interesting and creditable book. I know no one so competent to review it as yourself, and I heartily hope you will undertake it. It is not at all written in a sectarian spirit, and steers clear of theological dogma, but if you detect any errors, you would be, of course, quite at liberty to criticise them from your own point of view. The work embraces the first seven centuries of the Church.

I should like to publish the article in April or July next. I have received 'Casaubon,' and hope shortly to send it to Press.

Yours faithfully,

H. REEVE.

Dr. Russell complied with this request; but the article did not appear till October, 1876.²

This letter reveals another of Dr. Russell's papers, his review of Mr. Mark Pattison's 'Life of Isaac Casaubon,' which appears in January, 1876.³ The printer, I remember once addressed the proof sheets to the 'Rev. Isaac Casaubon, Maynooth, Ireland,'—Casaubon having lived from 1559 till

¹ Vol. xxii., p. 75. (1894.)

² Vol. cxliv., pp. 406-442.

³ Vol. cxlviii., pp. 189-222.

1614; and being, therefore, far out of the reach of the penny post in 1875.

Those who are able to examine any of these articles in back numbers of *The Edinburgh Review* will find them to be full of the most minute and accurate information, often derived from recondite sources, and conveyed with a liveliness and grace which will have, perhaps, the added zest of a surprise. As one slight instance of the pains Dr. Russell took to secure accuracy in all the details of his subject, we may note that his article on 'Libraries Ancient and Modern' opens the number for January, 1874;¹ yet he was evidently preparing for it so far back as October 6th, 1872, when Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Paris, writes to him from Arundel Castle:—

DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—I intend to go back to Paris early next month, and will then try and get the information you want about the Library at Paris. I shall be most happy to be of service to you. If it would be inconvenient to you to wait until I get back to Paris, I will write to the Embassy at once; but I should probably manage the matter better if I were on the spot myself.

Yours very faithfully,

LYONS.

But his correspondent would not wait, for His Lordship writes on the 9th:—'I have written by this post to the Embassy at Paris to request that the information you wish for respecting the Library at Paris may be obtained and sent direct to you without delay.'

This enumeration of as many of Dr. Russell's *Edinburgh Review* as can now be identified was, at first, intended to be a mere footnote to our previous paper. As it has come to stand by itself, it may, in its turn, give shelter to one little item that was also crushed out on that occasion. The writer's name lends some value to the following slight note:—

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,

July 26, '59.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Pray accept my best thanks for your kind gift. The fame of Mezzofanti has reached every European

¹ Vol. cxxxix., pp. 1-43

ear; and I have already derived much pleasure from looking into your memoir.

I sincerely hope that, if you visit town next year, you will allow me, during the season, an opportunity of improving our acquaintance.

I remain,

Rev. and dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

THE REV. PRESIDENT OF
MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.

We may end this *catalogue raisonné* by linking together the first and the last appearance of Dr. Russell in the pages of the *Edinburgh* by means of two letters of his own which Lord O'Hagan gave to me after my uncle's death. The first of them alludes to the laborious volume which grew out of the original disquisition on great linguists in general, and the prince of linguists in particular. His friend had evidently asked him to join in befriending the widow of Hogan, the sculptor, who had recently died. Mrs. Hogan survived her illustrious husband till the beginning of the present year.

ST. PATRICK'S,

March 29, 1858.

MY DEAR O'HAGAN,—I am very reluctant to appear on committees; but I think this is one which I may fairly undertake, and especially as you think and wish that I should do so. I had not heard of poor Hogan's death.

I have been very busy of late between college work and the finishing of my unhappy *Life of Mezzofanti*, which has got anything but fair play in the midst of more engrossing and anxious occupations. I have, however, I rejoice to say, finished it *taliter qualiter*, and have but two or three sheets now to print. I hope to send you a copy before the end of April.

With every most affectionate message to Mrs. O'Hagan and the girls,

I am ever, my dear O'Hagan,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

C. W. RUSSELL.

Eighteen years later he wrote to the same true friend a letter which I am able to connect with his final contribution

to the great quarterly which it has been necessary to name so often :—

DUNDALK,
Dec. 28, 1876.

MY DEAR LORD,—I fear it will be impossible for me to keep my engagement with you to-morrow. On my way down from the station, in the storm of Tuesday night, my portmanteau dropped off the car; and, although we retraced the route at once, it was not to be found, nor have the police been able to make it out since. Unhappily, it contained a parcel of cheques, with some cash, and a number of accounts and papers about the Church Fund, which are of the utmost consequence to me. The cheques I have written to stop, and most of them are crossed, and none had been endorsed; but the accounts are of great consequence to me, and there was also a lot of my own papers and books, which it would be most embarrassing to me to lose. I have had everything set in motion to make it out, and I must wait here till the end shall be seen. If it turns up early to-morrow, I shall go to you without fail; but in that case I shall telegraph.

It is a sad marplot to my Christmas hopes of enjoyment, but 'le trouble n'est bon pour rien.'

Say all kind things to Lady O'Hagan, and all regrets for my failure.

Believe me, as ever,

Most affectionately yours,

C. W. RUSSELL.

A less reticent and less modest man would probably have told his friend that the lost portmanteau contained the finished manuscript of a long article which was to appear in *The Edinburgh Review*, the fruit, perhaps, of months of laborious research. He may have regretted this loss even more keenly than the list of contributors to his Maynooth Church Fund, which he at once tried to supply out of the file of *The Freeman's Journal* in the Dundalk Newsroom. To the disgust of the police authorities, an extremely large reward was offered for the recovery of the missing treasure; but it was only after Dr. Russell had given up all hope, and had returned to his college duties, that the portmanteau was restored stealthily by night to his brother, who at once gave the reward, and asked no questions. By the first train next morning the good old man conveyed it to Maynooth,

never letting it out of sight till it was safe in the President's library.

During the interval of suspense and despair, Dr. Russell, as he mentioned to me afterwards, began to rewrite from memory his vanished article on the Pseudo-Sibylline poems ; and this second edition, he said, was a great improvement. How many articles, and how many books would be greatly improved, if their author dared to face the heroic toil of writing them over again !

The Pseudo-Sibylline article may be found in *The Edinburgh Review* of July, 1877.¹ When despatching it to Mr. Reeve, probably in February or April, he little thought (who ever does ?) that it was destined to be his last article. On the 16th of May occurred that fatal fall from his horse, which, in reality, killed him, though his death did not actually take place till the 26th of February, 1880. A Sister of Mercy, who was allowed to come from Newry to nurse her revered uncle, remembers what was considered one of the hopeful symptoms of convalescence, the pleasure he showed at receiving a *pingue honorarium* from the Messrs. Longman for this contribution to their great *Review*. She remembers, also, that the invalid, in dictating a letter of acknowledgment, inquired how she had spelled Sibylline, and found that she had incorrectly placed *y* in the first syllable.

This, then, was Dr. Russell's farewell to *The Edinburgh Review*. Of his own *Dublin Review*, to which his contributions were to be counted, not by the dozen, but by the hundred, he had taken leave in the previous January by the completion of his 'Critical History of the Sonnet,' which is still referred to by competent writers as one of the most brilliant and solid contributions to the literature of the subject. This holy priest, this tender-hearted and noble-hearted man, was thus to the end, in circumstances not altogether favourable to such a vocation, a cultivated and calmly enthusiastic man of letters.

MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

¹ Vol. clxvi., pp. 31-68.

FREEMASONRY AND THE CHURCH IN LATIN AMERICA

IN connection with the Latin-American Council at Rome, a few details regarding those countries will not be out of place. All are now republics, all are Catholic. The masses are everywhere full of faith; but Masonry, transplanted from Europe, has poisoned the minds of the ruling classes. No educated Catholic of our time can be ignorant of the anti-Christian character of Masonry, for it has completely thrown off the mask. It has no great objection to a nominal, well-diluted Christianity; but its hatred of the Catholic Church is perfectly satanic. All its efforts are directed against Catholic populations, among whom it strives to abolish Christian marriage, Christian education, Christian burial, Christian festivals, and even the Christian Sabbath. Organized into opposite camps, Latin-American Masons are constantly planning new revolutions, in which all interests suffer, but most of all the Church. If European Masonry be satanic, its offspring, Latin-American Masonry, is often, if possible, still more satanic. The material and moral conditions are so similar in all those countries that a description of one will do for all. We shall, therefore, select the greatest and newest of these republics, Brazil.

In 1874 a cablegram from Rio startled us with the news that the Bishops of Para and Olinda had been condemned to four years' imprisonment, with hard labour. Little more was heard of it in the general press, and, of course, most people wondered how any Christian country could have such criminals for pastors. It is one of the devices of masonry to flash such news, and then leave it to settle in the public mind.¹

¹ After the Spanish elections, last April, the result was thus wired to us:—

Ministerialists	. . . .	110
Liberals	. . . .	50
Gamazists	. . . .	7
Tetuanists	. . . .	6
Carlists	. . . .	3
Republican	. . . .	1
Independent	. . . .	1
Catholic	. . . .	1

This means, of course, that the Spanish Senate is not Catholic! Good news.

As the details of this transaction shed a flood of light on the spirit of Masonry in those countries, I here insert a memorandum drawn up for me, in 1895, by a Brazilian gentleman of rank, who writes English :—

At the time—1872-1875—that this question arose, Masonry had spread far and wide among the ruling classes in Brazil. The Grand Master of one section, the Italian, Viscount de Rio Branco, being Prime Minister, it is no wonder that the lodges enjoyed unparalleled control in the country. Under the pretence that the object of their society was beneficence and mutual assistance, and, therefore, not at variance with religious purposes, they had not the slightest hindrance in taking part in the administration of churches, brotherhoods, seminaries, and all sorts of Catholic institutions. It thus came to pass that, far from making any display of heretic doctrines, or in any way attacking the Roman Catholic creed, they as yet professed to be in favour of religion, and even succeeded in alluring some Catholic priests into their community. On one of those festivals they used to celebrate ever and anon it happened that a Catholic priest took a prominent part, and in a most ostentatious way delivered a vehement speech in the Masonic style; and this he had published afterwards. The then Bishop of Rio de Janeiro, Dom Lacerda, felt bound to call him to the path of discipline, and, after some admonitions, suspended him. The Masons, considering themselves offended by this, met in council, and after a warm debate decided to attack the Bishop's act in the Press, which they actually did, not sparing, in the heat of the fray, even the doctrines of Catholicism in their purity and integrity. Owing to the Bishop's prudence, or weakness, no step was taken in Rio de Janeiro to prevent Masonry from interfering in Catholic affairs, and their influence, as before, continued to make itself felt in the very precincts of the churches. It lies beyond our scope to dilate on the virulence of the articles published in the Press then supported by the lodges; be it enough to say, that all control of decent language was lost. The Papacy itself did not escape their roughest invectives, and the dogmas established by the Church, they maintained, were nothing but sheer impostures. Such was the position of the Church in Brazil when Bishop Dom Vital took charge of the diocese of Olinda (Pernambuco), on the 24th of May, 1872. Soon after his arrival the Masons started a Masonic paper, *A Verdade* ('The Truth'), the language of which, of course, was very far from reverential to Catholicism. The Bishop was an intelligent, uncompromising young minister of Christ, and, perhaps too alive to the fact that Masonry had been condemned by the Holy See. The Masons having announced the celebration of a Solemn Mass for St. Peter's Day, to commemorate the foundation of their associations, the

clergy were prohibited from taking part in the service. As may be easily imagined, Masonry was too strong and irritable to endure the blow in silence. An outburst of resentment was not long in making itself felt, in the form of most violent articles in the papers. Led by the incitement of unrestrained passion, the Bishop's adversaries went so far in their invectives as to disrespect our Holy Father Pius IX., and positively deny the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. That was too much for Dom Vital, who immediately ordered an act of reparation to be performed in the churches, which, to his great satisfaction, had the effect of winning to him the enthusiasm and confidence of his flock. The storm was then inevitable; nothing could longer avert it. A decisive challenge was made by the Masons, inasmuch as they published the names of the influential members of Catholic brotherhoods who belonged to their organization, and ended by conjuring the Bishop to fulfil his duty. The gauntlet was taken up. As regards the Masons in the brotherhoods, the Bishop did his best to induce them to abjure, and after a second and third admonition laid their churches under interdict. The Masons appealed to the Crown, and Lucena, President of Pernambuco, himself a Mason, ordered the Bishop, but, of course, all in vain, to prohibit any preaching against Masonry.

Whilst such was the state of affairs at Pernambuco, the Bishop of Para, Dom Antonia da Costa, was undauntedly facing similar circumstances. The question being now before a Masonic Government, little doubt could be entertained as to the result. The appeal was decided in favour of the Masons, and the bishops were commanded to raise the interdicts. Three motives were alleged for this decision—1. The non-religious character of Masonry. 2. The want of approval (*placet*) by Government of the bulls against Masonry. 3. The twofold nature, civil and religious, of the brotherhoods. The bishops refused to carry the order into effect, and a judge was appointed to raise the interdicts. This step proved a complete failure, as no priest could be compelled to officiate in the interdicted churches. Exasperated by the firmness of the clergy, the Masons, in conjunction with some unscrupulous politicians, assembled in a riotous meeting, on May 14, 1873, the result of which was the assault on the college and chapel of the Jesuits, and the firing of the press where the *União*, the organ of Catholicism in Pernambuco, was printed. It was only when the mob shaped their course towards the Bishop's palace and the college of the Sisters of Charity, the Government interfered. It was thought of the utmost importance to hasten the *dénouement*, and the Government sent Baron de Penedo to Rome to ask the Pope to compel the bishops 'to acknowledge the rights of the State.' Yet, instead of suspending the criminal processes that had been started before the courts, the Government urged them forward, and when least expected sent

the bishops to prison. The trials of the Bishops of Para and Olinda, which took place some time after, were such solemn and touching events as never to be erased from the memory of the Brazilian people. When the sentences condemning them to four years' imprisonment, with hard labour, were read out before a great throng, held in painful suspense, many a heart throbbed with inexpressible anguish, many a careworn face was bedewed with tears. The Emperor soon commuted the sentence to four years' *simple* imprisonment. The successors (Vicar-Generals) of the bishops in the administration of the diocese kept the interdicts in force, and would have shared the same fate only for the following occurrence:—Just at this time a rebellion broke out in the northern provinces—Pernambuco, Ceara, &c.—against some new taxes. The Ministry seized on the opportunity, ascribed it to the Jesuits, imprisoned some priests of the Order, and expelled the rest from the country. But owing to the ever-increasing discontent of the country, the Cabinet fell, on the 22nd June, 1875. Yielding to the general feeling, the new Cabinet decreed the liberty of the bishops, without any conditions whatever. The only benefits gathered from the strife were the cohesion of the true Catholics then and after, and the unmasking of the real foes of Catholicism. As to the rest, we only see losses. Masonry, a little subdued for a time by the extensive gaps made in its ranks owing to the desertion of a great many whose belief in its aims had been destroyed, soon rose anew, and was able to achieve such changes as the republic, the separation of Church and State, civil marriages,¹ the secularization of cemeteries, &c.

This calm unadorned narrative places before us, in a concrete form, the true spirit of Masonry. Untruthfulness and irreligion, hypocrisy and tyranny, are so blended that one can hardly tell which predominates.

The Brotherhoods here mentioned are survivals of similar associations, once very numerous in Europe, and not yet quite extinct. They had special churches or oratories, and large corporate funds for the relief of indigent members. Visitors to Nice will remember their special costumes, funerals, processions, and churches.

Dom Vital, in a letter from his prison copied into the

¹The reader must not imagine that the civil marriage established under Masonic influence resembles that known to ourselves; no, it is obligatory on all, and a priest would incur a severe penalty if he married a couple not first married by the registrar. The religious marriage is not acknowledged at all by the state in several of those Latin-American countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, &c.; and the moral evils resulting from this Masonic law are just such as its authors intended.

I. E. RECORD,¹ gives some important details not mentioned in the above narrative. Thus, he says:—

If we calmly observe the character and proceedings of the persecution in progress in Brazil against the Catholic Church, we must come to the conclusion that it is the thread of the skein, one of the countless wrongs which Cæsarism, Liberalism, and Materialism are in our day inflicting on the Catholic Church. The three act under the influence of the secret societies. Thus it is that they work in concert on orders that come from beyond the sea—obedient to the signal sent to them by the all-powerful universal Masonry, the most relentless persecutor of the Catholic Church, in the era in which we live. All appearances lead to the belief in the existence of a pre-arranged plan, and of a compact long concluded between Masonry and the Government, which at present rules this unfortunate country. . . . Bitter enmities of long standing between the two lodges, French and Italian—were forgotten, and the Brethren shook hands once again. Thenceforward Masonry, casting off all reserve, showed itself in all its detestable deformity. It denied and turned into ridicule the fundamental dogmas of our holy religion—the Divinity of Christ, the Holy Trinity, the eternity of the pains of hell, &c. . . . But in spite of its rampant cruelty in every part of the Empire, it gave rise to a magnificent religious movement—a sudden awakening of a people too long asleep in the arms of indifference, and standing on the brink of a fathomless abyss, that is, Protestantism.²

A singular confirmation of the Great Bishop's words has come to light since Bismarck's death. According to the latest history of German Masonry, he was not at all the author of the Kulturkampf. He and his imperial master were only the pupils and agents of the lodges. It is also to be remarked that the German and Brazilian persecutions exactly synchronized, a fact which goes far to confirm the Bishop's assertion regarding unity of action in the Masonic camp. It is also to be noted that Bismarck and Rio Branco simultaneously urged the Pope to compel the bishops to respect the so-called 'rights of the State.'

By the fall of the Rio Branco cabinet in 1875, peace was restored. But peace is a very uncertain quantity in

¹ November, 1874.

² Dom Vital d'Oliveira was a Capuchin. We read in the *Les Missions Catholiques* of November 4, 1892, 'Le jeune et vaillant évêque d'Olinda, Mgr. Vital d'Oliveira, était frappé de mort, empoisonné par l'ordre des Loges.'

countries where rival lodges are always hatching new revolutions. In November, 1889, the Emperor was quietly shipped off to Europe, and Marshal Fonseca placed at the head of a provisional government. The news was at the same time cabled to Europe that *Positivism* was declared the religion of the State, with every tenth day as the day of rest instead of the Christian Sabbath. Early in 1890 a convention formally set up the republic, with Fonseca as President, and a total separation of Church and State, thus indirectly abolishing the new state-religion. Fonseca was upset in 1891, province after province revolted, and a civil war raged about the capital in 1893-4. An unstable peace has since reigned; but, perhaps, at this moment a new revolution is being hatched in the lodges. For Masonry has neither patriotism nor loyalty. All the old officials of the Empire stuck to their posts at home and abroad under the Republic.

This revolution was unusually peaceful as regards the Church. Bishops were neither imprisoned nor banished, priests were not murdered, and for once in Masonic history even the Jesuits were left unmolested. This can be easily explained. The revolution was entirely the work of high-class Masons, men extremely prudent in their generation. They remembered the reactions caused by Rio Branco's violent measures, Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, and the fanatical deeds of Belgian Masonry from 1879 to 1885.¹

¹ We have seen the immediate effect of Rio Branco's violence. Bismarck boasted that he would never go to Canossa, but he had to go much farther before his death, and the Catholic party, the Centre, can now dictate terms to the Government, the Landtag, and the Reichsrath. Belgian Masonry, after years of preparation in the lodges, and a long monopoly of political power, felt strong enough in 1879 to attempt the one object of its aspirations—a law of godless education. Having carried this law, they went on for six years covering the country with godless schools and colleges at the public expense, and in open opposition to the Catholic establishments, until at last the people, unable any longer to bear the reckless taxation, drove them so completely from power that they have little chance of ever regaining it. Up to 1886 they called themselves *Liberals*, and their adversaries *Clericals*; but this astute distinction has disappeared, and they now openly profess pure *Atheism*. The Belgian papers of last March tell us that M. Rolin Jaquemyns, a prominent member of their last ministry, seeing his occupation gone, took office under the King of Siam, and can now be seen at his devotions every morning in the royal pagoda. The transition had no difficulty for a Belgian Mason.

Alfaro, the author of the Masonic revolution in Ecuador in 1895, was not a man of this stamp, and hence his revolution followed very different lines. *The Tablet* quotes the following account from the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* :—

For over a quarter of a year the victors have carried on a veritable orgy of hatred and persecution against everything Christian. The Bishop of Portoviego and his clergy have been driven into exile. The palace of the Archbishop of Quito was plundered, and partly destroyed. Last March twenty Capuchins were expelled from Ibarra during the tropical rains, and were not even allowed to borrow horses, but had to travel on foot to Columbia, though one of them was over eighty years of age. Orders were given to expel the Capuchins from Tulcan, but the very soldiers rose up against the decree. At Quito the lash is freely used. Two German priests, named Webber and Nuerhofer, were ill-treated by the officials at Manibi. A merchant of Portoviego, a Liberal himself, was shot by an official for having protested against the ill-usage of the Vicar-General. This caused an emeute, and the Governor caused the troops to fire upon the people. He turned the Bishop's house into a godless school, and placed a Freemason, Robert Andrack, over it as director. All the leaders of the new Government are most pronounced Freemasons. When Alfaro, the Dictator, landed at Guayaquil, his words were, *down with theocracy*.¹

This consisted simply in the fact that the Catholic was the religion of the State, Catholics being the only Christians in the country. Other outrages followed, and the usual Masonic laws were enacted ; but those revolutions generally expend their satanic fury in the first outbreak, and then the real people begin to assert themselves. In a letter now before me, dated Quito, November 15th, 1897, I find the new Government had begun to fear the inevitable reaction :—

The radical Masons [it says] now perceive that they have gone too far, and most gladly would they fraternize with the moderate Liberals, who have no desire to support men who have persecuted and well-nigh ruined them. The Government dare not enforce the fatal educational edicts of Congress ; and hence the religious teaching bodies have opened their colleges with a greater influx of students than in the previous years.²

¹ May 20, 1896.

² Masonry is strongly represented in English ministries and in the press. *The Freemason*—July 13th, 1895—boasted of thirteen 'brothers' in the new ministry, and gave their names and titles. Was none of them ashamed of his

The political history of Brazil and Ecuador is the same as that of the other fourteen Latin-American Republics; periodical revolutions, and persecution of the Church, all fomented by Masonry, the curse of those countries. Still the faith of the masses is sound and strong; and, with a sufficient supply of good and zealous pastors, they would be a fine Catholic people. But this is the difficulty. Masonry has confiscated most of the Church endowments, and the people have not as yet got accustomed to the voluntary system. In Mexico all Church property was confiscated in 1867, and all the religious houses suppressed.¹ If a bishop establishes a seminary or a college, the next revolution may sweep it away. In all these countries periodical missions do a great work, and hence Alfaro's fury against the Capuchins. A few details regarding these missions will give an idea of the people.

foreign brethren? We know the power of the press in those days of omnipotent public opinion. Let only a Jewish pedlar be touched, and at once all the wires and cables begin to speak; orders are sent to the British minister or consul, and a gunboat, if need be, appears off the coast, to seek redress for a British subject, or, at least, to defend the cause of 'humanity.' English ministers require only a very slight pretext to remonstrate with weak non-Masonic rulers. Who can forget the valuable assistance rendered in this way to the Italian revolution in its early stages? There was a British minister, W. H. Doveton Haggard, at Quito in 1895. Why was he not ordered to protest against the savagery of Brother Alfaro? Why was the English press so benevolently silent about it? We know what the press and ministers of England can do in the name of humanity; what becomes of it on such occasions? All the Friars in Ecuador may be banished, and those in the Philippines murdered, by the 'brethren,' without a word about it in the English press, or in any consular report. And yet these Friars are not robbers or murderers; they are peaceable citizens and educated men. But they are not 'brother Masons.'

¹The satanic barbarity with which this suppression was carried out opened the eyes of thousands hitherto ignorant of the true character of Masonry; but when five hundred hospital sisters came to be expelled at once from every notable city, the public indignation knew no bounds. The Masons then saw their mistake; their journals called aloud for applause, and were answered only by curses and protests. To come at these sisters a penal code was elaborated in the lodges in 1874, and announced long before it came before Congress. It still exists, and from one of its forty articles we can judge of its spirit: it is penal to make or receive any vow, even though the parties do not live in community. And all in the name of liberty! Adieu to every liberty, except the liberty of evil, wherever Masonry reigns supreme. By its very excesses Masonry has declined. The President in 1897 asked the Nuncio to procure some missionaries for the Indians; but this infamous penal code remains still unrepealed in, perhaps, the most religious of all these Republics. What an enigma!

Masonry is on its good behaviour at present in Brazil ; there is an ambassador at the Vatican, and the president-elect, General Campos Salles, paid a state visit to the Pope last August. Hence the work of the Church goes on quite freely at present. Nearly all the religious orders are represented there. Their chief work is education and missions. Having often seen letters from all these countries, I can assure the reader that the spirit of the people is everywhere the same as in Brazil. The Republic of Brazil is as large as Europe, and consists of twenty autonomous States. I have now before me letters from several of these States ; let us take the most populous and the least populous—Minas Geraes with 3,000,000, and Matto Grosso with only 100,000 inhabitants ; the former as large as France, the latter three times the size of France. Minas Geraes has two episcopal sees, Mariana and Diamantina. The Vincentians, mostly French, out of forty-two houses in all Latin-America, and fourteen in Brazil, have five houses in this State—viz., the two diocesan seminaries, a college, and two mission houses. The missions last eight months of the year, and two or three weeks in each parish. Diamantina is a new diocese, cut off from Mariana a few years since ; it contains eighty parishes, each as large as one of our largest counties, and generally served by only one priest. I take the following description from the letter of a missionary, dated Diamantina, December 3, 1898 :—

The rainy season being over, and the pastor being informed of the day on which the mission is to begin, we set out on our long journey. On the day appointed you see crowds of people proceeding towards the place ; the roads are encumbered by a multitude of people who come, some on horseback, others in waggons like movable houses intended to lodge an entire family during the mission. The horses in great number carry on their backs two or three persons. After the cavalry comes the infantry, always the largest portion ; most of these have to make forced marches without provisions, without foot-gear—as we remarked specially in the parish of Trahiras. Until the third day the audience meets in the church, but after that on the public square around a rude platform, the women with their children on their laps, forming the inner circle, the men standing in the outer circle. The first three days the audience augments visibly.

During the day the immense concourse offers the picture of a wide sea, whose murmurings are distinctly audible. Morning and evening the silence is absolute. The first two days the people are pre-occupied with their examen of conscience. On some occasions the confessor finds himself facing three penitents at once. The penitent is but little concerned at others hearing his confession, provided he succeeds in making it. At nightfall the scene becomes animated and assumes a festive appearance. The evening service opens with the Rosary; then a choir, almost always improvised, intones the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. Ascending the platform, the already worn-out missionary addresses for an hour some 4,000 persons thirsting for the Word of God. At the end he lifts up his voice, sums up what he has been saying, and all eyes are bathed in tears.

Similar details abound in all these letters, not only from Brazil, but from all the other Latin-American countries. Another missionary, writing from Diamantina, December 1, 1895, says:—

The eagerness of the good people to avail of the blessings of the mission is most touching. The respect for the Word of God is wonderful. They wait hour after hour for their turn at the confessional, and many faint from fatigue. They come on foot thirty, fifty, and sixty miles, and attend the mission to the end, God only knows at the cost of how many sacrifices, poorly clad, sheltered, and fed. During one of these missions, when about ten thousand persons were present, we met two French engineers who were engaged in those parts on government works. They could not find words to express their astonishment, and could not understand how, at a word from a missionary, these crowds were inspired with enthusiasm to prepare the mission cross, form a cemetery, or gather enormous heaps of stones to build a chapel.

Surely, it is no exaggeration to call that Masonry satanical which labours to destroy the faith of such a people. But this is just what Brazilian masonry intends. The great Masonic weapon, godless education, is at work, and will certainly be extended when the finances permit, unless the Catholics can have the law repealed. There was no excuse for such a law in a country with a Christian population of 14,000,000, only 30,000 of whom were non-Catholic.

Of Matto Grosso there is little to be said; in 1889 it had only one episcopal see, Cuyaba, with only seventeen parishes and about twenty priests. Three of these mission-

aries founded a diocesan seminary there at that date.¹ Beside the Christian population of 100,000 there is an immense population of Indians for whom little or nothing has been done for generations, and the same state of things exists in all these Republics; and yet the vast majority of their Christian inhabitants are of Indian descent. The settled policy of Spain and Portugal down to the time of Pombal (d. 1782) and Aranda (d. 1794) was the conversion of the Indians; and at this work all the religious orders laboured most successfully for nearly three centuries. But these ministers introduced the seeds of Masonry; Spain and Portugal were covered with lodges in the next generation, and revolutions became chronic. This infatuation soon spread to their colonies; the religious orders in Spain and Portugal were suppressed; the conversion of the Indians ceased; and both these once powerful nations with their colonies, are at this day the most notorious object lessons in the whole world of the temporal and spiritual ruin which Masonry can produce in Catholic nations.²

The separation of Church and state is a fundamental article of the Masonic creed, but it has been put in force in only three or four of these Republics. Its real object is the plunder and oppression of the Church; but in Mexico and Brazil it has had one good consequence, the free erection of new sees. It took ten years of negotiation to establish the see of Diamantina under the empire. With only stable government the Latin-American Church could overcome every difficulty. The masses are sound, irreligion

¹ Cuyaba, the capital of Matto Grosso, is N.W. of Rio Janeiro. Well, to get to it they sailed from Rio on the 5th of October, touched at Montevideo and Buenos-ayres, then sailed up the Rio Plata, the Parana and the Paraguay to Assumption, and Corumba, then up the San Lorenzo, to Cuyaba, where they arrived on the 5th of November. The post arrives from Rio only once a month. This will give some idea of the country and its rivers.

² English writers always speak of Pombal as the greatest minister that Portugal ever had. This impudent fiction is repeated in the 'Story of the Nations' (*Portugal*), p. 354; but the writer honestly tells us the grounds of his estimate, and seems quite unconscious of the ridicule to which he exposes himself by his hero-worship of such a monster of cruelty and despotism. The new edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* goes on exactly the same lines. These writers see only his material improvements, and forget that he laid the foundations of his country's ruin by the despotism and irreligion which he fostered. The reader should see Feller's account.

does not exist to any great extent in the upper or middle classes, and the rich are extremely generous towards works of charity and religion. In a letter dated Diamantina, December 3rd, 1893, we find that on the death of a missionary, the Governor of the State, in his letter of condolence, says: 'I have just assisted at the seventh Mass which I have had celebrated in the chapel of the palace for the soul of your illustrious brother, my very dear professor and excellent friend.' Men of this stamp are constantly met on these missions, but they are generally ex-pupils of the Jesuits or other orders. Masonry understands this very well, and hence godless education is one of the most fundamental of its tenets. Masonry exists chiefly in the official classes, civil and military. Hence one may expect a *pronunciamento* any day from some new *dictator* selected by the lodges. The clergy are his natural enemies, and are generally sure to be victimized. The poor soldiers who do the fighting are only dupes of ambitious men; in the Peruvian revolution of 1895, the rebels on entering Lima prayed aloud in the churches for a blessing on their arms. And yet the great question in dispute was whether General Pierola or General Caceres was to be President.¹

Hoping that these few details may help to give some idea of these interesting countries, we may now endeavour to sum up the situation. The elements of good and evil are abundant and vigorous. Masonry is universal in the official classes, and is the chief, if not the sole, cause of the chronic revolutions which desolate these fine countries. The masses take no part in these revolutions; even in the towns only the mere rabble take part in them. The distances are

¹ On the night of March 16 there was a ball at the Palace; the President retired to rest at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 17th. At 6 o'clock cannon shots were heard; Pierola had entered the city during the night. For two days the streets of Lima ran with blood. At last the Papal Delegate went under fire between the combatants, and negotiated a truce of a few hours to bury the dead and remove the wounded. The dead numbered 1,300, the wounded 1,000. The Delegate, Mgr. Macchi, in union with the other foreign ministers, obtained a prolongation of the truce, negotiations were opened with both parties now equally strong. It was agreed that Caceres should resign, and that a new election should take place. Thus ended this revolution, which may be taken as a specimen of these Latin-American revolutions.

enormous between the centres of population, and hence a dictator who gets possession of the seat of government can hold it for a long time in spite of the protests of a scattered and unorganized population. He can easily get up a mock election, and bring together a pretended congress; the Masonic press at home and abroad will call this the mandate of the people, and iniquitous laws will be enacted in their name; but he has no assured lease of power. Another dictator may arise any day, and thus all sense of security vanishes; business of every kind languishes, material progress is impossible, and religious interests are ruined altogether.

Against this we have a people strong in faith, and a body of bishops unrivalled in the whole Church, but alas! entirely too few. And what shall we say of the parochial clergy? How could one priest attend to the spiritual wants of ten thousand souls, dispersed over a parish equal to one of our largest counties? And yet this is the state of things in all these sixteen republics. However, this fundamental want is gradually disappearing; diocesan seminaries, directed by various religious orders, have been opened in almost every diocese. The fanaticism of German and French Masonry has sent great numbers of missionaries and religious teachers to Latin America. Colleges, seminaries, and schools have been opened in almost every city and important town. Magnificent hospitals, hospices, orphanages, &c., are found everywhere in these countries, and, with the exception of Mexico, gladly welcome all the sisterhoods expelled by French atheism from the schools, hospitals, &c.¹ Even in

¹ In 1877 the Grand Orient of France erased the name of God from its constitution, and English Masonry broke off all official communion. French Masonry, owing to the insane dynastic rivalries of the Conservatives, has been ever since in power; it has erased the name of God from the school books, and a deputy named Breton proposed last March to have it erased from the coins of the Republic, and got 164 deputies to vote with him. The Finance Minister, Peytral, opposed the motion, 'as a sound freethinker,' because the name was still retained on the coins of Switzerland and America! Who has ever heard a word of protest against such blasphemies from English Masonry or the English press? On the contrary, these atheists receive not only the important aid of a benevolent silence, but very often words of commendation and encouragement. This makes one suspect that the breach of communion is only *official* and apparent.

Mexico Satan has been completely disappointed. A priest who visited the capital in 1880 tells us that on the Feast of the Assumption there were over twelve thousand communions at the cathedral, and at least fifty thousand in the city; and this without any special invitation. The same revival of fervour exists over the whole Republic in every class, and the rich now pour out their wealth to ornament the despoiled churches on feast days, just as they used to be before the spoliations. Schools are opened everywhere to counteract the effects of the godless schools, although neither Christian Brothers or nuns are tolerated. The self-sacrifice of the people makes up for all. And yet no one can open even a private school without using the official class books. The present rulers did not make these laws; why are they not repealed?

The Catholic population of the sixteen Republics is about fifty millions. With their immense resources what a future might be predicted for them if only the demon of Masonry could be exorcised.

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

CAP. VII.—*De libris liturgicis et precatoriis*

REG. XVIII.—In authenticis editionibus Missalis, Breviarii Ritualis, Caeremonialis Episcoporum, Pontificalis Romani, aliorumque librorum liturgicorum, a Sancta Sede Apostolica approbatorum, nemo quidquam immutare praesumat ; si secus factum fuerit, hac novæ editiones prohibentur.

AFTER having treated of sacred images and indulgences in Chapter VI., the legislator now turns his attention to the liturgy of the Church, and devotes Chapter VII. to it. It was necessary to consult the correctness of liturgy, in order to safeguard the faithful from misconceptions. The liturgy of the Church is her symbolic language ; it is the collection of the rites and ceremonies which she employs to express her inward feelings and belief. As a public speaker may make use of words and gestures to express his thoughts and feelings, so does the Church make use of Liturgy to give external expression to her inward belief. She is obliged to exercise continual vigilance over her liturgy lest inaccuracy should creep in ; for just as we might be deceived by the words and gestures of a speaker, so we might easily be led astray by a false liturgy.

The publications regarding the liturgy of the Church may be reduced to three classes : 1° Editions of the five liturgical books—the Missal, the Ritual, the Breviary, the Pontificale, and the Ceremoniale Episcoporum, together with some other books in which certain portions of the Church's liturgy are published apart : such as the ceremonies of Holy Week or the Ordination ceremony. 2° The public prayers of the Church, and especially the litanies. 3° Books in which the public prayers of the Church are collected and published. To each one of those liturgical publications, the legislator devotes a rule.

2. Rule 18 prescribes that no one shall presume to change anything in republishing the authentic editions of the Missal, the Breviary, the Ritual, the Caeremoniale Episcoporum,

the Pontificale, or of any of the other liturgical books which have been approved by the Holy See; if anyone should presume to make any change in republishing anyone of those books he shall have his edition proscribed.

The legislator speaks of the *authentic* editions of the liturgical books: now, which are the *authentic* editions? In general, when we speak of anything as authentic, we refer it back to someone that has power over it (*αὐθεντεῖν*). When we speak, for instance, of a book as authentic, we refer it back to its author; when we speak of a legal interpretation as authentic, we mean that it emanates from the same man as made the law; and so when we speak of authentic editions of the liturgical books, we mean those editions that have been revised and published in the first instance by the Church.

Who in the Church has power to make authentic editions of the liturgical books? The Pope alone has power to make authentic editions of the liturgical books. Liturgy is the expression of dogma. The truths that we believe in our hearts we express with our liturgy. As the Pope has supreme power in defining dogmatic truths, which are the elements of belief in the Church, so also he has supreme power to select a liturgy which will be the fit and proper expression of them; for the conception of an idea, and its expression, belong to one and the same individual.

There may be more correct liturgies than one: for just as the linguist may express the same idea in several different languages, so the Church may express the very same belief, and the very same feelings, in several different liturgies. Nor does a multiplicity of liturgies cause confusion: they rather give a richness to the symbolic language of the Church; just as a prolific speaker will employ a number of synonymous terms to express the same idea. Nor do they lead to schism or rend the garment of the Church: they rather give variety to the garb of the Church; just as we may employ different colours to ornament our dress.

Yet, as far as she has considered it convenient, the Church has introduced uniformity in her liturgy, in order that as there is but one faith, there might also be but one

expression of it. Now, of all the liturgies that have existed throughout the world, the Church has always preferred the antient liturgy of Rome ; because Rome has always remained orthodox in the faith, and has been sanctified with the blood of Peter and of Paul. In the Western Church, however, she has allowed one or two forms of liturgy to stand—to be as witnesses to testify to the conformity of the present Church with that of almost apostolic times ; and in the Eastern Church she has allowed several forms of liturgy to stand—to be as proofs that the various liturgies, which grew like plants from the traditions surrounding each of the Apostles, have all sprung from one parent stock.

The present rule has reference to the liturgical books of the Roman liturgy alone.

Having now determined that it is only the Church that can make authentic editions of the liturgical books, and that the Roman Pontiff holds supreme power in liturgy, as he does in dogma, it remains for us to determine what Pontiffs *have* made authentic editions. This question may be solved by examining the introductions to the different liturgical books. For instance : the authentic editions of the Missal are those of St. Pius V., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII. The authentic editions of the Roman Breviary are those made by the same Pontiffs. The authentic editions of the Roman Ritual, the Pontificale, and the Caeremoniale Episcoporum are those made by Benedict XIV.

3. *Quidquam immutare praesumat.*—The interpretation of this clause may be deduced from the Bulls prefixed to the authentic editions of the liturgical books. *Quidquam* includes all the substantial things in connection with the said books ; and *immutatio* implies any change whatsoever of the said substantial things, either by omission, transposition, or insertion.¹

¹ P. Pennacchi thus explains this clause :—' Atque advertatur has novas editiones iri prohibitum quamvis immutatio admissa sive per mutilationem, sive per interpolationem, sive transpositionem, &c., levioris sit momenti : nam nemo quidquam immutare praesumat inquit legislator.

Ex lectione paragraphi apparet autem, singulis facultatem libros liturgicos imprimendi factam esse, cum et nemo excipiat, et nihil requiratur aliud nisi conformitas cum editionibus authenticis. Qua de causa editores et

REG. XIX.—*Litaniae omnes, praeter antiquissimas et communes, quae in Breviariis, Missalibus, Pontificalibus ac Ritualibus continentur, et praeter Litanias de Beata Virgine, quae in Sacra Sede Lauretana decantari solent, et Litanias Sanctissimi Nominis Jesu jam a Sancta Sede approbatas, non edantur sine revisione et approbatione ordinarii.*

1. After having treated of the publication of new editions of the liturgical books in the last rule, the legislator now considers the publication of new litanies; and he prescribes that no litany be published without the revision and approbation of the bishop, except those ancient and well-known litanies¹ contained in the Breviary, the Missal, the Pontifical, and the Ritual, and the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin which are sung in the Holy House of Loreto; and, finally, the Litanies of the Holy Name which have been approved by the Holy See. Hence it appears that editors may publish the Litanies of the Saints as they are found printed in the Missal, the Breviary, or the Ritual, as well as the Litanies of the Holy Name and of the Blessed Virgin, without recur-

Typographi quicumque ob ejusmodi Leonis XIII. concessam licentiam possunt quosumque libros liturgicos imprimere, id unum prae oculis habentes, ut novae editiones sint plane conformes editionibus authenticis, cum sin minus ipso facto proscriptae mansurae sint; hinc neque facultate *S. Congregationis Rituum*, neque Episcoporum licentia pro ejusmodi novis editionibus conficiendis, post Leonis XIII. Constitutionem, indigent.'

¹ The litanies called by the legislator *Antiquissimae et communes* are those that are sometimes called *Litaniae Majores seu Sanctorum*, and that are sung in processions during the three Rogation days. They are found in the liturgical books, and from them are sometimes taken, and printed at the end of the *Graduale*. The legislator calls them *antiquissimae* because, according to the most reliable authority, they come down from the very earliest ages of the Church. Their author, however, has not with certainty been ascertained. Some attribute them to St. Mamertus, a French bishop, who died about 470. Others, however, believe—and, perhaps, on better authority—that they had been composed long before the time of St. Mamertus, but that it may be he who first got them sung during the Rogation days. Some would attribute them to St. Gregory the Great; and some, finally, to St. Leo. What, then, is the historical conclusion to be deduced from the number of conflicting testimonies adduced by the historians of the litanies? It is merely that stated by the legislator—that whereas their author and the year of the composition are unknown, it is quite certain that they are very ancient.

The origin of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin is also lost in antiquity. Various explanations have been given of its name, *Litania Lauretana*. Some would say that it is so called because it was composed at Loreto; others, again, would say that it is so called because it was first sung at Loreto; others, finally, would say that it was so called after the Holy House, to distinguish it from some other litanies which the faithful were wont to sing in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and which were afterwards proscribed by Clement VIII. and Paul V. Cf. Pennacchi, p. 157; and *La Città Cattolica*, 1897.

ring to any ecclesiastical authority. For the publication of all other litanies the revision and approval of the bishop is required.

2. According to the present rule, therefore, bishops have power to revise and to authorize the publication of new litanies; hence, naturally, arises the question: Have bishops the power to approve new litanies, and to grant permission to have them sung or recited at devotions? In answer to this question we should distinguish two kinds of devotions—public devotions and private devotions. It would appear that bishops have not power of granting permission of having new litanies sung at public devotions; for we find the following decree passed by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, 18th April, 1860:—

*Litaniae omnes, praeter antiquissimas et communes quae in Breviariis, Missalibus, Pontificalibus continentur, et praeter Litanias B.M.V. quae in Aede Lauretana decantari solent, non edantur sine revisione et approbatione ordinarii; 'nec publice in Ecclesiis, publicis oratoriis et processionibus recitentur, absque licentia et approbatione S. Rituum Congregationis.'*¹

From this it would appear that no litany may be sung or recited at public devotions that has not been approved, at least, by the Congregation of Rites.

In explanation we should say that when any particular prayer or devotion is publicly recited or practised, it becomes, in a certain way, the voice of the Universal Church. Now, who can *speak* for the Universal Church but him who thinks for the Universal Church? and who can think for the Universal Church but him who rules it? Power in dogma and power in liturgy belong to one and the same individual, just as thinking and talking. To say, therefore, that a bishop has power to sanction any particular public prayer or devotion, would seem to imply that he has power to speak for the Universal Church,—which is not true. Hence it would be erroneous to conclude from the present rule, that bishops have power to approve new litanies for public devotion.

¹ *Acta Sedis*, xxviii, 67.

Can bishops grant permission to recite new litanies at private devotions? It would appear that they can: for, if they cannot, the power granted them of approving new litanies would be perfectly useless? New litanies, therefore, to be sung or recited at public devotions, must be approved, at least by the Congregation of Rites. New litanies, to be recited at private devotions, may be approved by bishops.

REG. XX.—*Libros aut libellos precum, devotionis vel doctrinae institutionisque religiosae, moralis, asceticae, mysticae, aliosque hujusmodi, quamvis ad fovendam populi christiani pietatem conducere videantur, nemo praeter legitimae auctoritatis licentiam publicet, secus prohibiti habeantur.*

1. After having treated of the more common public prayers, the legislator now considers handbooks of devotion; and with regard to these he prescribes, that no one shall presume to publish, without the permission of legitimate authority, prayer-books, or books treating of piety or Christian doctrine, or books treating of morals, asceticism, mysticism, or any other similar subject, although they appear apt to foster and promote Christian piety. Should any books treating of those subjects be published without the approval of legitimate authority, they shall be proscribed.

2. In order to determine with accuracy the meaning of some of the terms of the present rule, its grammatical construction must be carefully noted. It is to be remarked, in the first place, that the words *religiosae, moralis, asceticae, and mysticae* are all adjectives qualifying *institutionis*. Then, as regards the meaning of the conjoined terms, *institutio religiosa, institutio moralis, &c.*, it is to be remarked that they imply something more than a mere exposition of religious doctrine or of Christian doctrine; they imply a certain building-up or development of Christian doctrine or morals, from certain fundamental principles. Let us now proceed to an individual examination of the terms.

Libri precum.—Are handbooks containing prayers to God, to our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or to the saints.

Libri devotionis.—Are handbooks containing the litanies and other prayers proper to certain devotions or pious practices.

Libri doctrinae institutionisque religiosae.—The works here referred to must treat of Christian doctrine, as the word *doctrina* implies; they must, moreover, treat of Christian doctrine in a more or less scientific order, as the word *institutio* would seem to imply: for *institutio* implies a certain construction, or a certain building-up of knowledge. The works, however, here designated cannot be professional works on theology, for such works are treated of in Rule 41. It would appear, therefore, that the words under discussion, designate catechetical works which are written in a more or less scientific order, and are designed to impart a rudimentary knowledge of the principal truths of our faith.

Libri institutionis moralis.—Those words would seem to designate books written for the purpose of setting forth in a popular way the rules of morality, basing the proofs thereof on Scripture and on simple philosophical principles.

Libri institutionis asceticae are books which explain how a soul may proceed step by step on the way of perfection.

Libri institutionis mysticae are books which treat of the supernatural gifts of God, such as visions, discernment of spirits, revelations, or ecstasies.

Unless books treating of any one of those subjects bear the approval of legitimate ecclesiastical authority,¹ the faithful are forbidden to use them.

3. The main object, therefore, that the legislator had in view in framing the present rule was to sift the devotional books that issue from the press day after day. Although those works are always, we believe, written in the most pious spirit, and from the purest motives, yet it oftentimes happens that they contain unsound doctrine: that they propose forms of devotion that have not been sanctioned

¹ From Rule 35 we shall see that the *auctoritas legitima* here spoken of is that of the bishop of the place wherein the book is published. If the book should be published simultaneously in a great many places, the approbation of any one bishop would seem to be enough.

by the Church, or that they contain certain notions of virtues which are not theologically correct. The effect of the present rule will be to sift those works, and to block the way to any one of them, that is not calculated to foster piety on truly Catholic grounds.¹

CAP. VIII.—*De Diariis, foliis et libellis periodicis.*

REG. XXI.—*Diaria, folia, et libelli periodici, qui religionem aut bonos mores data opera impetunt, non solum naturali, sed etiam ecclesiastico jure proscripti habeantur.*

1. After having treated of sacred liturgy, the legislator now turns his attention to a species of literature, which may be said to be the literary production characteristic of the present age, *i.e.*, newspapers and periodicals. To this class of literature, which we may designate under the generic name of the Press, he devotes Chapter VIII.

We must distinguish at the outstart between newspapers and periodicals. Newspapers have generally for their *subject* the current events of the day, and the immediate conclusions to be deduced therefrom. Periodicals, on the other hand, generally discuss events more fundamentally; they discuss their causes and make surmises regarding their ultimate consequences. The press, composing both of those kinds of literature, gives expression to the ideas and feelings prevalent at the centres of thought in the country; accordingly, just as the human voice is the organ of expression in the human individual, so the press may be regarded as the organ of expression of the country.

¹ L'Abbé Pèries thus writes concerning the necessity of closely supervising the publication of devotional books: 'Cet article met un terme, il le faut espérer, à l'abondance de livres et d'opuscules de dévotion, dont tant de gens bien intentionnés sans doute, mais insuffisamment instruits, ont saturé les fideles trop confiants au détriment de la saine doctrine. Ainsi donc, prières, considérations pieuses, essais doctrinaux sur le dogme, la morale, la théologie mystique, et autres matières connexes doivent être soumis au visa de l'autorité compétente, et sont regardés comme défendus s'ils n'en sont revêtus. Il est à souhaiter que cette révision de l'autorité soit accomplie plus sévèrement qu'elle ne l'a été bien souvent jusqu'ici, afin d'éliminer tous ces *mois* de différents saints et autres dévotions analogues, où les considérations les plus absurdes se trouvent dans un style d'une platitude appropriée. La religion y gagnerait dans l'estime des gens sérieux et les bonnes âmes n'y perdrait rien. Tout au plus certains libraires s'en plaindraient-ils.'

The *form* that the press will assume will depend in a great measure on the social condition of the country: in much the same way, as the exterior manner and deportment of an individual will depend on his natural character and education. The *form* of the press and the state of the country, will act and react on one another. In order of causality the state of the country is first, and it rough-hews the *form* of the press; the *form* of the press, in turn, brings the public feeling to a definite shape. If the press is good in *form*, it is of immense social benefit, inasmuch as it leads public thought and feeling in the proper direction; but, on the other hand, if it is bad, it is like a cancer or ulcer that draws to one point everything that is corrupt and fetid in the social body. In applying the present chapter of rules to the press, we may, therefore, regard newspapers and periodicals as moral individuals, having definite characters, guided by certain principles, and actuated by special motives. The separate issues, we may regard as so many specimens of the language of those individuals; and we may diagnose their character by reading their issues, just as we might diagnose the character of any person by listening to his conversation.

It is not easy to classify or *divide* newspapers and periodicals. They cannot be well divided according to their subject matter; because they may talk of anything, just as a human individual. Nor can we well divide them according to the principles they profess; for they are as different in character, as the faces of those we meet in the street are different from one another. They may, however, be roughly classified according to the intervals that elapse between their separate issues; and it would appear that the legislator has classified them on this basis in the present rule.

In the present rule the legislator declares and prescribes, that all newspapers whether dailies or weeklies as well as reviews and periodicals, that intentionally and designedly, or with set purpose, assail religion and morals, are proscribed not only by the natural law, but also by the ecclesiastical law; he also desires that bishops of places wherein

such publications should chance to be made, would give timely warning to their flocks of the danger with which they are surrounded, and the injury they suffer from reading such productions.

2. Let us now proceed to an examination of the terms of the rule.

Diaria.—*Diaria* is a word formed from *dies*, and signifies in the present context publications issued every day, whether they be composed of one or more sheets of paper; it would, therefore, be equivalent to our word *dailies*.

Folia are publications composed of one standard sheet of paper; they will have a greater or less number of pages according as they are in 4to, 8vo, 12mo, &c.; and they may be made daily or weekly.

Libelli periodici are small books published periodically. They are, consequently, periodicals that may be issued weekly, fortnightly, or monthly.

Qui religionem impetunt.—What is the meaning of the term *Religio* in this context? It would appear that we are not to confine the term to purely Catholic doctrines, but that we are to extend it to all truths concerning God. The natural law stamped on the minds of all men, the written law given to Moses, and the Catholic Church founded by Christ, have a close relation one with the other. If anyone were to assail the natural law, he should assail thereby the Bible also; and were he to assail the Bible, he should assail the Catholic Church as well.

Directing our attention to the Catholic Church, and to the various sects, we remark there are many truths held by the sects in common with the Catholic Church; and that there are some doctrines held by the Catholic Church alone. Now, we must get words to express the set of truths peculiar to the Catholic Church: the words will be *Fides Catholica*. We must also get words to express *all* the truths held by the Catholic Church, even those which she holds in common with the sects: the expression will be *Religio*.

That the legislator has used the terms *Religio* and *Fides Catholica* with those significations throughout the present

constitution will become apparent from a collation of some of the rules : —

RULE 2.

Libri apostatarum, haereticorum, schismaticorum, et quorumcumque scriptorum haeresim vel schisma propugnantes, aut ipsa *Religionis fundamenta* utcumque everteutes omnino prohibentur.

RULE 3.

Item prohibentur acatholicorum libri, qui ex professo de *Religione*.

Tractant, nisi constet nihil in eis contra.

Fidem Catholicam contineri.

RULE 5.

Editiones textus originalis et antiquarum versionum Catholicarum Sacrae Scripturae, etiam ecclesiae orientalis, ab acatholicis quibuscumque publicatae, etsi fideliter et integre editae appareant, iis dumtaxat qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam, dummodo tamen non impugnentur in prolegomenis aut adnotationibus.

Catholicas Fidei dogmata permittuntur.

Examining those three rules, we perceive that in Rule 2 *Religio* is used to cover the whole extent of Catholic truth—even those truths which the Catholic Church may hold in common with the sects. In Rule 5 we see that *Fides Catholica* is used to cover the area of truth proper to the Catholic Church ; and in Rule 3 we find the two expressions compared, and a far wider extension given to *Religio* than to *Fides Catholica*. For our part, then, we conceive all Christian truth as lying out in an immense area. This whole area we should call *Religio* ; a part of this area, however, is the personal property of the Catholic Church : and this we should call *Fides Catholica*.

Bonos Mores.—*Boni Mores* in the present context would seem to be co-relative with *Religio*. As Natural Ethics are co-relative with Natural Theology, or as Moral Theology is co-relative with Dogmatic Theology, so *Boni Mores* are co-relative with *Religio*. *Religio* includes the speculative truths, *Boni Mores* the practical ones. The expression will, therefore, not only include the moral code peculiar to the Catholic Church, but also the moral code of any of the sects in so far as it may coincide with that of the Catholic Church.

Data opera.—A difference of opinion exists among the commentators who have heretofore written on the rules of the Index, regarding the exact meaning of this expression,

1°. According to *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico*, *data opera* and *ex-professo* would be synonymous expressions, 'Dicemmo altrove che il *data opera* equivale all' *ex-professo*;' ¹ and elsewhere we read 'si noti quel *data opera*; espressione simile all' altra *ex-professo*.' ² 2°. L'Abbé Pèries, however, is of opinion that the two expressions mean quite different things. In translating Rule 9, wherein the expression *ex-professo* occurs, he writes :—' Les livres qui traitent *ex-professo* les sujets lascives ou obscenes, &c. ;' ³ whereas in translating the present rule he writes :—' Que les journaux, feuilles, et revues qui atteignent à *dessein* la religion ou les bonnes moeurs, &c.' ⁴ For *ex-professo*, therefore, l'Abbé Pèries finds no French expression; for *data opera* he finds à *dessein*. 3°. P. Pennacchi makes a clear distinction between the significations of the two expressions :—

Data opera impetere nihil aliud est quam *studiose de industria consulto* aliquid aggredi; italice : *a bella posta, a bello studio, apposta, studiosamente, scientemente*. Quae dictio differt ab alia *ex-professo* : quae importat aliquid scribere vel docere circa datam materiam enucleate, et cum argumentorum serie atque delectu, ut lectores de re persuadeantur. . . . Exinde omne id quod *ex-professo* agitur, etiam *data opera* agitur; sed non e contra, cum haec dictio non adeo se extendat, nec tanta complectatur quantum dictio *ex-professo*.

Against the opinion, therefore, of *Il Monitore*, we have those of P. Pennacchi and of l'Abbé Pèries; and, moreover, there exists a strong presumption that the legislator would not have used two different expressions to designate the same thing in the present rules, wherein precision of diction has been so much studied.

In explanation, we should say that the term *ex-professo* implies in the first place a *declaration* of something (*ex-pro-fari*). In its literal sense, then, the expression should be applied to men and not to books. When applied to writings, as in the present context, it is used in a slightly metaphorical sense. But, since a person does not *declare* a thing without having some *intention*, the term implies in the second place,

¹ Cf. *Il Monitore*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ Page 84.

⁴ Page 122.

an *intention* of doing something. An *ex-professo* treatment of a subject, therefore, implies two things—the *intention* of treating of it, and an open *declaration* of that intention. In treating of his subject the author will generally proceed along a predetermined line; but occasionally he may step aside for awhile; and what he then writes is said to be written *obiter*; hence we have the expressions *obiter dicta* and *dicta ex-professo*.

The expression, *data opera*, would seem not to imply a *declaration* at all. Thus, we have the common Latin expressions,—‘*est pretium operae, operam alicui negotio navare, studio operam praestare*,’—which do not imply a *declaration* of anything. Again, we read the following in the Civil War of Cæsar,—‘*Dant operam consules praetores, tribuni plebis, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*,’¹—where the meaning is *precaution*, not *declaration*; and in Sallust’s history of Jurgurtha we read,—‘*Qui postquam allatas litteras audit, ex consuetudine ratus opera et ingessu suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit*,’²—where the meaning is *advice* or *counsel*, and not the *declaration* of anything. Turning to ecclesiastical writers, we read in a sermon of St. Augustine,—‘*Sed potius abstinentes ab omni luxu, ebrietate, lascivia demus operam sobriae remissioni ac sanctae sinceritati*,’³—wherein there is no intimation of a *declaration* of any kind. Finally, in the present rules we have the expression clearly used to signify *intention* or *study*, exclusive altogether of any outward *declaration*. In Rule 8, for instance, we read: ‘*Hae nihilominus versiones iis, qui studiis theologicis vel biblicis dant operam, permittuntur*.’ We, therefore, consider the opinion of the *Monitore* as improbable.

Summing up then. *Ex-professo* implies two things: (a) an *intention* of doing something; (b) and a *declaration* thereof. *Data opera* implies only the *intention*. Hence it follows, as P. Pennacchi says, that what is *ex-professo*, is also *data opera*; but not *vice versa*. We should here call the attention of our readers to the greater severity of the

¹ *De Bello in Civil, in principio.*

² *Jurgurtha, cap. 71.*

³ *Rom. Brev. Sermon: propositio pro Dom in Albis.*

legislator towards the press than towards books. A book is generally proscribed only for an *ex-professo* treatment; a journal or periodical is proscribed even for a *data opera* treatment.¹

Non solum naturali, sed etiam ecclesiastico jure proscripti habeantur.—We have already explained² that a book will be forbidden us by the natural law as well as by the ecclesiastical law. Now, what does ecclesiastical prohibition superadd to that of the natural law? Books treating of bad subjects, which might not be to us the occasion of sin, would not be forbidden us by the natural law: the ecclesiastical law steps in and proscribes them to all. Hence, 'it is in accordance with the Catholic tradition to believe that the natural law, which forbids us to expose ourselves to this danger (*i.e.*, of committing sin), except under the pressure of a proportionate necessity, is safeguarded by the addition of an ecclesiastical precept to the same effect.'³

¹ In paraphrasing the present rule we have rendered the expression *data opera* by the English words *intentionally, designedly, or with set purpose*. To justify ourselves for this version of the Latin expression, we here give some synonymous expressions in Latin, Italian, and French:—

	LATIN.	ITALIAN.	FRENCH.	ENGLISH.
Data opera,	studiose, de industria consulto.	a bella posta a bello studio apposta studiosamente scientemente.	à dessein de parti pris intentionnelle- ment.	designedly intentionally with set purpose.

² Cf. Rule 4.

³ I. E. RECORD, February, 1897:—Art. by Dr. M'Donnell. We have already referred to the proscription of books by the natural law, in our remarks on Rule 4. A doubt here presents itself for solution regarding the meaning of *jus naturale* when applied to the proscription of bad books and newspapers according to the present Legislation on the Index. In order to bring the difficulty home to our readers, we would recall some proscriptions made by civil rulers.

It is recorded that the Athenian Senate proscribed a book of Anaxagoras for having disparaged paganism; and also that the Roman Senate proscribed the book of Cicero *De Natura deorum*, because he laughed therein at the idea of a multiplicity of gods. Finally, we know that Cæsar Augustus proscribed the book of Ovid, *De Arte Amandi*, and drove the author into exile. Let us place those proscriptions of the Athenian and Roman Senates side by side with that of the present rule, and compare them. By what motives were Cæsar Augustus and the Athenian and Roman Senates led to condemn the works of Ovid, of Anaxagoras, and Cicero? was it by motives founded on the natural law? And if it was, are we to predicate the natural law of those proscriptions of the pagan rulers, in exactly the same sense as we should predicate it of the proscription of

3. We now come to the practical question : when are we justified in saying that a particular newspaper or periodical is proscribed by the present rule? We have already explained the general character of the press ; we have also examined the anatomy of the present rule. Let us now apply the rule to measure the press.

In answering this question we must remark that the legislator speaks of two kinds of proscription—proscription

bad books and newspapers made by the legislator in the present rule of the Index? We propose to briefly examine those questions.

§ 1.

Object of the natural, divine, and ecclesiastical laws.

A law is primarily intended to direct or restrain one's actions. The Latins called it *lex* because it *bound* them to act in a certain way (*ligare*) ; and they called it *regula* because it *ruled* them. Now, we rule horses with bridles and bits, but men are ruled through reason ; and so St. Thomas calls a law an '*ordinatio rationis*.' (i.—ii. ; 90 ; 4.)

Reason is of two kinds : speculative and practical. The laws of speculative reason are laid down in logic, and have *truth* for their object ; we should say that anyone would violate them, who would not observe the rules of the syllogism. The laws of practical reason are laid down in ethics, and have *good* for their object. There exists a very strong analogy between those two branches of reason, and the laws that regulate them. As there are certain speculative truths, called first principles, which are at the root of all logical conclusions, and which require no proof ; so there are certain *good things* which are at the root of all practical laws, and which man seeks and embraces without any constraint or persuasion.

Into the definition of man enter *animal* and *rationalis* ; he may be considered then as an animal, and as a rational being. As an animal there are two things that he seeks spontaneously and almost from instinct. First, to preserve his own life ; and to this end he is induced to take food. Second, to preserve the life of his race ; and to this end he is drawn to sexual intercourse. Considered as a rational being there is one thing that he spontaneously seeks—to develop his faculties ; and to this end he is induced to live in society. Accordingly, we have three precepts of the natural law : 1°. That which secures the life of the individual. 2°. That which secures the life of the race. 3°. That which secures the life of the state. Each of those have again subordinate or secondary precepts. (*Summa*, i.—ii. ; 94 ; 2.)

In theological questions we frequently have conclusions asserting that such or such an action is forbidden by such or such a precept of the natural law. Thus we might say that suicide is forbidden by the *first* precept of the natural law ; that polyandry is forbidden by one of the *primary* precepts of the second precept of the natural law, and polygamy by one of the *secondary* precepts of the same precept ; and we might say that Anarchism, Socialism, and Freemasonry are contrary to the *third* precept of the natural law.

How, now, are we to explain the proscription of the books of Ovid, Cicero, and Anaxagoras ? In the first place we should say that Cæsar Augustus and the Roman and Athenian Senates would never have condemned the aforesaid books, unless they saw themselves in some way assailed by them. Rome and Athens believed themselves to be, in a certain way, the children of the gods : to have been blessed by them, and to have flourished under their patronage. The Romans never ventured on any great enterprise without having first offered sacrifice ; and they attributed their success as much to the good-will of

by the natural law, and proscription by the ecclesiastical law. We must, accordingly, take cognizance of both.

As regards proscription by the natural law, the answer is easy: any newspaper or periodical, or any issue thereof, is forbidden by the natural law that should be to us the occasion of sin.

As regards proscription by the ecclesiastical law, however, the answer would seem to be more difficult. Some

the gods, as to their own prudence and valour. Livy, for instance, tells us that before Scipio Africanus ventured on his great African campaign against Hannibal, he spent hours in meditation in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. The Romans, in fact, believed that Jupiter was as much at home on the Capitol, as he was in Olympus. What the Capitol was to the Romans, the Acropolis was to the Athenians. The pagan state identified itself with paganism; and accordingly, when Anaxagoras and Cicero openly assailed paganism, the Senates saw that a blow was dealt at themselves, and they rushed to the assistance of their patrons, as a child might rush to shield its parent from insult. The books of Cicero and Anaxagoras would, therefore, seem to have been proscribed under the *third* precept of the natural law. Not so, however, the book of Ovid. The books of Anaxagoras and Cicero might be said to be impious: that of Ovid was immoral. The books of Anaxagoras and Cicero assailed the state through its patrons: that of Ovid assailed it through its constituent element—the race; for nothing tends to the destruction of the race so much as immorality. The book of Ovid would, therefore, appear to have been condemned under the *second* precept of the natural law.

The Divine Law.—Now, besides the natural law, and its various precepts, it was necessary for many reasons that God would deign to give us a divine law:—1°. on account of the *end* to which He had ordained us. If, indeed, man had been ordained to nothing beyond this mortal life, there would have been no necessity of a law beyond the reach of man's own understanding and inherent inclinations; but God has ordained us to an end far beyond the reach of our understanding, and far outside the range of our inherent inclinations; for St. Paul says that no ear hath heard, or eye perceived, what God has in store for His elect; and David, who had been already fully acquainted with the natural law, beseeches God to give him another law, the Divine law—'Legem pone mihi Domine viam justificationis tuarum.' (Ps. cxvii.) 2°. To enable man to act with certainty in the particular conclusions drawn from the natural law; although the primary precepts of the natural law will be known to all, yet all will not be acquainted with the particular conclusions drawn therefrom. Hence it was necessary for man to have for his guidance a divine law, as well as a natural law. (Cf. *Summa*, i., ii., 91, 4.)

The divine law would seem to have no *objectively* distinct precept from those of the natural law with regard to the proscription of bad books and newspapers; it merely promulgates anew, in a new light, as it were, the precepts already imposed by the natural law; and so St. Paul says, 'Eratis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino; ut filii lucis ambulate.' (Ephes. 5.)

Ecclesiastical Law.—Besides proscription by the natural law or divine law, we have also proscription by the ecclesiastical law. Sometimes a book may be proscribed by the natural or divine law without being proscribed by the ecclesiastical law; and of such we have an example in Rule 4 of the present Legislation. We have already explained how we are to understand such an act of the Church. We are not to understand it as an approbation of such books: because the Church could not approve of what is in itself bad. We are to

would be inclined to answer this part of the question by assigning a certain number of bad issues—say two, three, four, or five—beyond which all further issues should be proscribed. They would put those separate issues together into one volume, and weigh them against the rule, as they would a book. But this manner of procedure we should not consider correct. In the first place, no two judges could be got to agree to exactly the same number of issues; and,

regard it as a kind of toleration, to prevent confusion and greater evils. It is in this same spirit that the Church sometimes tolerates heresy and freedom of the press. Again, sometimes books will be proscribed by the ecclesiastical law which would not be proscribed by the natural or divine law. Thus many books which would not assail in any way the life of either the individual, the race or society, and which would not be the slightest occasion of sin to priests and some laymen, will be forbidden to all by the ecclesiastical law. The ecclesiastical law, therefore, in the proscription of books does two things over and above the natural or divine law; it specifies the precepts of the natural or divine law, and enforces them with a new vigour.

It is to be remarked that the more particular the case becomes, and the greater the number of surrounding circumstances, the more difficult it is to apply in practice a general law. Accordingly, although we might be well able to explain the precepts of the natural or divine law, yet it might happen that we could not apply our speculative knowledge to practical and particular cases. The ecclesiastical law does this for us; it takes us by the hand and lays our finger on the tainted book or newspaper. It does more; if we show any reluctance to keep away from what is bad, it compels us to do so.

§ 2.

Now, what are the relations existing between those three laws—the natural, the divine, and the ecclesiastical? In reply we should say that all relationship is founded either on *action* or on *quantity* (*Summa*, i., 28, 4). In discussing, then, the relations between those laws, we are to attend principally to their comprehension, i.e., to the objects of the precepts contained under each of them.

Comparing thus the natural law with the divine law, we see that everything commanded by the natural law is also commanded by the divine law. It is, however, commanded under a new light, the light of revelation. And so we find St. Paul telling the Romans, 'Cum gentes quae legem non habent, naturaliter ea quae legis sunt faciunt' (Rom. ii.); and he tells the Ephesians after their conversion:—'*Eratis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in Domino; ut filii lucis ambulate*' (Ephes. v.). There are, however, some things commanded us by the divine law, that do not fall under the natural law; thus the acts of the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, tend to a *supernatural* object.

Comparing in the same manner the divine law with the ecclesiastical law, we see that the object of the divine law falls under the ecclesiastical law, but not *vice versa*; there are some things commanded us by the Church which do not fall directly under the divine law. In illustration of this we should remark that we find several disciplinary decrees in the Decrees of the Council of Trent, which the Church changes from time to time to suit the exigencies of time and place. Now, if they were divine, she would not change them. Although, however, the object of the divine law falls under the ecclesiastical law, yet the Church sometimes preserves economic silence with regard to some particular things commanded by it; and of such policy we have an example in Rule 4 of the present Constitution.

To what, then, shall we liken those three laws? We may compare them

accordingly, those who would seek for an answer of such mathematical accuracy should be deceived in their hope: because their answer would not be practical. Secondly, it would appear from the end the legislator has had in view, that the separate issues of newspapers and periodicals, taken *singly*, do not fall under the present rule at all.

And hence no number of issues *taken singly* would suffice

to three wheels moving one within the other; or, again, recurring to the parable of the seed and the sower; may we not say that the herb was put forth in the natural law, that the ear grew in the divine law, and that an abundant harvest has been produced under the care of the Catholic Church? (*Summa*, i., ii., 107, 3.)

§ 3.

Now, are we to understand *jus naturale* in Rule 21 in the same sense as we should predicate it of the proscriptions of Augustus and the Roman and Athenian Senates? It would appear that we are not.

In explanation we should say that we may speak of virtuous actions in two ways. 1°. In so far as they are *virtuous*. 2°. We may speak of the *species* of the virtues. If we speak of human actions in so far as they are virtuous or not, then all good actions are according to the natural law, and all bad actions are contrary to it. Everything belongs to the natural law to which man is induced by the elements of his nature: and he is led by the elements of his nature to follow the dictates of reason. Hence, when he acts in accordance with reason he acts virtuously, and when he acts contrary to it he performs a bad action: and so St. Paul says: 'Quod non est ex fide peccatum est.' Hence in one sense we may say that every good action is in accordance with the natural law, and that every bad action is contrary to it. If, however, we consider the *species* of the virtue, or the *object* of the action, then those actions only will be contrary to the natural law which tend in some way to destroy either the individual, the race, or human society. (*Summa*, i., ii., 94, 3.)

Hence we find the words *jus naturale* used in two different senses by theologians. In one sense, to designate the *object* of the action: in the other to designate its *conformity* or *deformity* with reason. In the first sense we may say that the natural law tends to preserve the individual, the race, and human society: and it is in this sense that we are to predicate the law of the proscriptions of Augustus and the Roman and Athenian Senates. In the other sense, however, we may say that the natural law forbids us to expose ourselves to the proximate occasion of sin, unless a sufficiently grave reason supervenes; and it is in this sense that we are to understand the *jus naturale* in Rule 21.

It is in this second sense that writers on the Index usually use the words. Thus Dr. McDonnell writes (I.E. RECORD):—'What are the obligations of Irish Catholics with regard to dangerous books and periodicals? What are we to preach? Are we to confine ourselves to inculcating the natural law, which undoubtedly forbids one, under the pain of mortal sin, to expose oneself to serious spiritual danger except under the stress of some necessity proportionate to the risk? *Il Monitore* writes (p. 57): 'E dichiarasi che come questi son prohibiti per diritto naturale, cosi pure sono proscritti per legge ecclesiastica;' and P. Pennacchi writes (p. 163): 'Jure enim naturali libros contra religionem legere prohibemur ob periculum ruinae spiritualis.'

In the present Legislation on the Index, then, there are two kinds of proscription—proscription by the natural law, and proscription by ecclesiastical law. By the natural law are proscribed all books that might be the cause of our spiritual ruin; by the ecclesiastical law are proscribed all books included in the present Rules of the Index, as well as those *individually* condemned by special decrees.

to have the newspaper or periodical, as a living organ, proscribed. The end of the present rule is to preserve the faith and morals of the people from being corrupted by the press. This end is attained by keeping the faithful from reading the publications of bad newspapers and periodicals. Now, the faithful cannot know whether any *particular* issue is bad or not till they have read it ; and once they have read it, the end of the present rule, as far as that issue is concerned, can no longer be attained. Nor can the *future* issues, considered singly, fall under the present rule : for what is not blameworthy cannot be condemned ; and how can the child unborn be yet guilty of personal sin ? To assign a certain number of bad issues, therefore, as the limit of toleration, would not seem to be a good way of answering the question under discussion.

It would be well to distinguish the living organism, so to speak, of the newspaper or periodical from its individual issues. The newspaper or periodical may be regarded as a living moral person—having, as it were, personal interests and motives—guided in its publications by a certain policy, and by a certain set of principles, and by reason of its origin having a certain *clientela* to represent. The separate issues, on the other hand, may be regarded as so many utterances made by this moral person. Those separate issues convey the thoughts and feelings of the press, so long as they are read, in much the same way as our words convey our thoughts and feelings to others, so long as they are listened to ; when they cease to be read, they are like words spoken in the desert, that awaken not even an echo.

Viewed in this light, all difficulties would seem to disappear ; the end of the present rule can be attained with regard to the future issues as well as the past, and we have means of arriving at a practical conclusion. The separate issues may not be guilty as *individuals*, but they shall be guilty because of their origin, in much the same way—if we may compare small things with great—as the child comes forth stained with the sin of its origin. It was thus that the books of Luther had been condemned by the Church even before they were conceived in his mind ; and it was thus

also that the books of Arius, Nestorius, and Eutyches had been condemned by the Church long before they were given birth. It would appear, therefore, that it is the *organ* of the newspaper or periodical, and not its *separate issues*, that falls under the present rule.¹

When, then, can we say that the organ of a newspaper or periodical falls under the proscription of the present rule? The rule itself supplies the answer: when it manifests a character antagonistic to religion or morals. If the organ, therefore, of any newspaper or periodical should manifest a character or spirit hostile to any point of the whole area of Christian truth, or to any precept of the entire Christian moral code, it is proscribed by the present rule.

REG. XXII.—Nemo e Catholicis, praesertim e viris ecclesiasticis in hujusmodi diariis, vel foliis, vel libellis periodicis, quidquam, nisi suadente justa et rationabili causa, publicet.

1. After having stated in Rule 21 when it is that bad newspapers and periodicals are proscribed by the ecclesiastical and natural law, the legislator now treats of contributions to the same, and prescribes that no Catholic, and, above all, no cleric, is to publish anything in such papers and periodicals unless he be induced to do so by a just and reasonable cause.

2. This rule is simple both in its *form* and its *matter*; neither requires explanation. It may be well, however, to consider the motives that seem to have induced the legislator to frame it. It would seem that one of his motives was to prevent scandal; for many persons would naturally be led to believe that the Catholics and priests who would contribute articles to such papers or periodicals could not be worthy of their name. Another end would seem to have been to save the faithful from falling into *error*; for seeing Catholics and priests writing for such papers they would gradually be led to put trust in the principles advocated by

¹ It is in this manner that *Il Monitore* considers newspapers and periodicals in the present context, for (p. 59) it writes:—'Ora i giornali quando assalgono la religione ed i buoni costumi, sono proibiti di *per se*, benché scritti da falsi Catholicici;' and again (p. 60) it writes:—'La proibizione dei giornali empj o immorali porta seco l'obbligo di non retinerli, di non donarli ad altri, e molto meno di non associarsi ad essi; l'associazione ai giornali cattivi è un cooperare non solo alla loro diffusione, ma sì ancora alla loro esistenza.'

such organs. Finally, he may have intended by the present rule to lessen the circulation of such papers and periodicals. When the public perceive that those organs speak the ideas and sentiments of none but men of bad character and ruined fortunes, they will gradually be drawn away from reading their publications.

The legislator states, however, that a just and reasonable cause may render it lawful for a priest or layman to publish an article in one of those papers or periodicals. We are not prepared to specify what causes would be sufficient; but it would appear that they must be very grave. Generally speaking, articles in such organs shall fail to produce any good effect; for, as the organs lie under the censure of the Church, the articles, though good in themselves, shall be tarnished with the same leprosy. The writer will be disregarded by the genuine supporters of the organ, and regarded with suspicion by Catholics of true spirit. Perhaps even such articles, instead of doing good, would do positive evil; for it might happen that some Catholics, desirous to read the said articles, would be induced to buy the issue on which they should appear, and therein find cockle with the wheat. Finally, there might be a risk that such articles, instead of advancing the Catholic cause, might do it positive injury. Some Catholics, full, perhaps of more zeal than discretion, might rush into a defence without sufficient previous preparation, and thereby seriously injure the cause they would defend; for, as there is nothing that so weakens the resources of a conquered country, and rivets the chains of slavery so tightly on it, as an unsuccessful revolt, so there is scarcely anything that does so much damage to a good cause as an indifferent defence.

We are, therefore, of opinion that it would be in accordance with the wish of the legislator that all Catholics and ecclesiastics would abstain almost altogether from inserting articles in such organs; and that when they should deem it necessary to enter the lists with any anti-religious periodical or paper, they would do well to select rather some Catholic paper or periodical of good and decent character as an organ to give expression to their ideas.

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

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LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Annum Sacrum, more institutoque maiorum in hac alma Urbe proxime celebrandum, per apostolicas Litteras, ut probe nostis, nuperrime indiximus. Hodierno autem die, in spem auspiciūque peragendaē sanctius religiosissimae celebritatis, auctores suasoresque sumus praeclarae cuiusdam rei, ex qua quidem, si modo omnes ex animo, si consentientibus libentibusque voluntatibus paruerint, primum quidem nomini christiano, deinde societati hominum universae fructus insignes non sine causa expectamus eosdemque mansuros.

Probatissimam religionis formam, quae in cultu Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu versatur, sancte tueri ac maiore in lumine collocare non semel conati sumus, exemplo Decessorum Nostrorum Innocentii XII, Benedicti XIII, Clementis XIII, Pii VI eodemque nomine VII ac XI: idque maxime per Decretum egimus die xxviii Iunii mensis an. MDCCCLXXXIX datum, quo scilicet Festum eo titulo ad ritum primae classis evehimus. Nunc vero luculentior quaedam obsequii forma observatur animo, quae scilicet honorum omnium, quotquot Sacratissimo Cordi haberi consueverunt, velut absolutio perfectioque sit: eamque Iesu Christo Redemptori pergratam fore confidimus. Quamquam haec, de qua loquimur, haud sane nunc primum mota res est. Etenim abhinc quinque ferme lustris, cum saecularia solemnia imminerent iterum instauranda postea quam mandatum de cultu divini

Cordis propagando beata Margarita Maria de Alacoque divinitus acceperat, libelli supplices non a privatis tantummodo, sed etiam ab Episcopis ad Pium IX in id undique missi complures, ut communitatem generis humani devovere augustissimo Cordi Iesu vellet. Differri placuit rem, quo decerneretur maturius; interim devovendi sese singillatim civitatibus data facultas volentibus, praescriptaque devotionis formula. Novis nunc accidentibus caussis, maturitatem venisse rei perficiendae iudicamus.

Atque implissimum istud maximumque obsequii et pietatis testimonium omnino convenit Iesu Christo, quia ipse princeps est ac dominus summus. Videlicet imperium eius non est tantummodo in gentes catholici nominis, aut in eos solum, qui sacro baptisinate rite abluti, utique, ad Ecclesiam, si spectetur ius, pertinent, quamvis vel error opinionum devios agat, vel dissensio a caritate seiungat: sed complectitur etiam quotquot numerantur christianae fidei expertes, ita ut verissime in potestate Iesu Christi sit universitas generis humani. Nam qui Dei Patris Unigenitus est, eandemque habet cum ipso substantiam, 'splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius,'¹ huic omnia cum Patre communia esse necesse est, proptereaquoque quoque rerum omnium summum imperium. Ob eam rem Dei Filius de se ipse apud Prophetam, 'Ego autem,' effatur, 'constitutus sum rex super Sion montem sanctum eius. Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Postula a me, et dabo Tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terrae.'² Quibus declarat, se potestatem a Deo accepisse cum in omnem Ecclesiam quae per Sion montem intelligitur, tum in reliquum terrarum orbem, qua eius late termini proferuntur. Quo autem summa ista potestas fundamento nitatur, satis illa docent, 'Filius meus es tu.' Hoc enim ipso quod omnium Regis est Filius, universae potestatis est heres: ex quo illa, 'dabo Tibi gentes hereditatem tuam.' Quorum sunt ea similia, quae habet Paulus apostolus: 'Quem constituit heredem universorum.'³

Illud autem considerandum maxime, quid affirmaverit de imperio suo Iesus Christus non iam per apostolos aut prophetas, sed suis ipse verbis. Quaerenti enim romano Praesidi: 'ergo rex es tu?' sine ulla dubitatione respondit: 'tu dicis quia rex sum ego.'⁴ Atque huius magnitudinem potestatis et infinitatem

¹ Heb. i. 3.

² Ps. ii.

³ Heb. i. 2.

⁴ Ioan. xviii. 37.

regni illa ad Apostolos apertius confirmant: 'Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra.'¹ Si Christo data potestas omnis, necessario consequitur, imperium eius summum esse oportere, absolutum, arbitrio nullius obnoxium, nihil ut ei sit nec par nec simile: cumque data sit in caelo et in terra, debet sibi habere caelum terrasque parentia. Re autem vera ius istud singulare sibi quae proprium exercuit, iussis nimirum Apostolis evulgare doctrinam suam, congregare homines in unum corpus Ecclesiae per lavacrum salutis, leges denique imponere, quas recusare sine salutis sempiternae discrimine nemo posset.

Neque tamen sunt in hoc omnia. Imperat Christus non iure tantum nativo, quippe Dei Unigenitus, sed etiam quaesito. Ipse enim eripuit nos 'de potestate tenebrarum,' idemque 'dedit redemptionem semetipsum pro-omnibus.'² Ei ergo facti sunt 'populus acquisitionis' non solum et catholici et quotquot christianum baptismum rite acceperunt, sed homines singuli et universi. Quam in rem apte Augustinus: 'queritis,' inquit, 'quid emerit? Videte quid dederit, et invenietis quid emerit. Sanguis Christi pretium est. Tanti quid valet? quid, nisi totus mundus? quid, nisi omnes gentes? Pro toto dedit, quantum dedit.'³

Cur autem ipsi infideles potestate dominatuque Iesu Christi teneantur, causam sanctus Thomas rationemque, edisserendo, docet. Cum enim de iudiciali eius potestate quaesisset, num ad homines porrigatur universos, affirmassetque, 'iudiciaria potestas consequitur potestatem regiam' plane concludit: 'Christo omnia sunt subiecta quantum ad potestatem, etsi nondum sunt ei subiecta quantum ad executionem potestatis.' Quae Christi potestas et imperium in homines exercetur per veritatem, per iustitiam, maxime per caritatem.

Verum ad istud potestatis dominationisque suae fundamentum duplex benigne ipse sinit ut accedat a nobis, si libet, devotio voluntaria. Porro Iesus Christus, Deus idem ac Redemptor, omnium est rerum cumulatam perfectamque possessionem locuples: nos autem adeo inopes atque egentes ut, quo eum munerari liceat, de nostro quidem suppetat nihil. Sed tamen pro summa bonitate et caritate sua minime recusat quin sibi, quod suum est, perinde demus, addicamus, ac iuris nostri foret: nec solum non recusat, sed expetit ac rogat: 'Fili praebe cor tuum mihi.' Ergo

¹ Matt. xxviii

² Coloss. i. 13.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 6.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 9.

⁵ Tract. 120 in Ioan.

⁶ 3^a p. q. 59, a. 4.

gratificari illi utique possumus voluntate atque affectione animi. Nam ipsi devovendo nos, non modo et agnoscimus et accipimus imperium eius aperte ac libenter : sed re ipsa testamur, si nostrum id esset quod dono damus, summa nos voluntate daturus ; ac petere ab eo ut id ipsum, etsi plane suum, tamen accipere a nobis ne gravetur. Haec vis rei est, de qua agimus, haec Nostris subiecta verbis sententia. Quoniamque inest in Sacro Corde symbolum atque expressa imago infinitae Iesu Christi caritatis, quae movet ipsa nos ad amandum mutuo, ideo consentaneum est dicare se Cordi eius augustissimo : quod tamen nihil est aliud quam dedere atque obligare se Iesu Christo, quia quidquid honoris, obsequii, pietatis divino Cordi tribuitur, vere et proprie Christo tribuitur ipsi.

Itaque ad istiusmodi devotionem voluntate suscipiendam excitamus cohortamurque quotquot divinissimum Cor et noscant et diligant : ac valde velimus, eodem id singulos die efficere, ut tot millium idem vonentium animorum significationes uno omnes tempore ad caeli templa pervehantur. Verum numne elabi animo patiemur innumerabiles alios, quibus christiana veritas nondum affulsit ? Atqui eius persona geritur a Nobis, qui venit salvum facere quod perierat, quique totius humani generis saluti addixit sanguinem suum. Propterea eos ipsos qui in umbra mortis sedent, quemadmodum excitare ad eam, quae vere vita est, assidue studemus, Christi nuntiis in omnes partes ad erudiendum dimissis, ita nunc, eorum miserati vicem, Sacratissimo Cordi Iesu commendamus maiorem in modum et, quantum in Nobis est, dedicamus. Qua ratione haec, quam cunctis suademus, cunctis est profutura devotio. Hoc enim facto, in quibus est Iesu Christi cognitio et amor, ii facile sentient sibi fidem amoremque crescere. Qui, Christo cognito, praecepta tamen eius legemque negligunt, iis fas erit e Sacro Corde flammam caritatis arripere. Iis demum longe miseris, qui caeca superstitione conflictantur, caeleste auxilium uno omnes animo flagitabimus, ut eos Iesus Christus, sicut iam, sibi habet subiectos ‘secundum potestatem,’ subiiciat aliquando ‘secundum executionem potestatis,’ neque solum ‘in futuro saeculo, quando de omnibus voluntatem suam implebit, quosdam quidem salvando, quosdam quidem salvando, quosdam puniendo,¹ sed in hac etiam vita mortali, fidem scilicet ac sanctitatem impertiendo ; quibus illi

¹ S. Thom. l. c.

virtutibus colere Deum queant, uti par est, et ad sempiternam in caelo felicitatem contendere.

Cuiusmodi dedicatio spem quoque civitatibus affert rerum meliorum, cum vincula instaurare aut firmitus possit adstringere, quae res publicas naturâ iungunt Deo. Novissimis hisce temporibus id maxime actum, ut Ecclesiam inter ac rem civilem quasi murus intersit. In constitutione atque administratione civitatum pro nihilo habeter sacri divinique iuris auctoritas, eo proposito ut communis vitae consuetudinem nulla vis religionis attingat. Quod huc ferme recidit, Christi fidem de medio tollere, ipsumque, si fieri posset, terris exigere Deum. Tanta insolentia elatis animis, quid mirum quod humana gens pleraque in eam inciderit rerum perturbationem iisque iactetur fluctibus, qui metu et periculo vacuum sinant esse nomen? Certissima incolumitatis publicae firmamenta dilabi necesse est, religione posthabita. Poenas autem Deus de perduellibus iustas meritasque sumpturus, tradidit eos suae ipsorum libidint ut serviant cupiditatibus ac sese ipsi nimia libertate conficiant.

Hinc vis illa malorum quae iamdiu insident, quaeque vehementer postulant, ut unius auxilium exquiratur, cuius virtute depellantur. Quisnam autem ille sit, praeter Iesum Christum Unigenitum Dei? 'Neque enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.'¹ Ad illum ergo confugiendum, qui est 'via, veritas et vita.' Erratum est: redeundum in viam: obductae mentibus tenebrae: discutienda caligo luce veritatis: mors occupavit: apprehendenda vita. Tum denique licebit sanari tot vulnera, tum ius omne in pristinae auctoritatis spem revirescet, et restituentur ornamenta pacis, atque excident gladii fluentque arma de manibus, cum Christi imperium omnes accipiant libentes eique parebunt, 'atque omnis lingua' confitebitur 'quia Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.'²

Cum Ecclesia per proxima originibus tempora caesareo iugo premeretur, conspecta sublime adolescenti imperatori crux, amplissimae victoriae, quae mox est consecuta, auspex simul atque effectrix. En alterum hodie oblatum oculis auspicatissimum, divinissimumque signum: videlicet Cor Iesu sacratissimum, superimposita cruce, splendidissimo candore inter flammās elucens. In eo omnes collocandae spes: ex eo hominum petenda atque expectanda salus.

¹ Acts iv. 12.

² Phil. ii. 11.

Denique, id quod praeterire silentio nolumus, illa quoque caussa, privatim quidem Nostra, sed satis iusta et gravis, ad rem suscipiendam impulit, quod bonorum omnium auctor Deus Nos haud ita pridem, periculoso depulso morbo, conservavit. Cuius tanti beneficii, auctis nunc per Nos Sacratissimo Cordi honoribus, et memoriam publice extare volumus et gratiam.

Itaque edicimus ut diebus nono, decimo, undecimo proximi mensis Iunii, in suo cuiusque urbis atque oppidi templo principe statae supplicationes fiant, perque singulos eos dies ad ceteras preces Litaniae Sanctissimi Cordis adiciantur auctoritate Nostra probatae: postremo autem die formula Consecrationis recitetur: quam vobis formulam, Venerabiles Fratres, una cum his litteris mittimus.

Divinorum munerum auspicem benevolentiaeque Nostrae testem vobis et clero populoque, cui praeesitis, apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die xxv Maii, An. MDCCCLXXXIX, Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

AD SACRATISSIMUM COR IESU FORMULA CONSECRATIONIS
RECITANDA

Iesu dulcissime, Redemptor humani generis respice nos ad altare tuum humillime provolutos. Tui sumus, tui esse volumus; quo autem Tibi coniuncti firmitus esse possimus, en hodie Sacratissimo Cordi tuo se quisque nostrum sponte dedicat. Te quidem multi novere numquam: Te, spretis mandatis tuis, multi repudiaverunt. Miserere utrorumque, benignissime Iesu: atque ad sanctum Cor tuum rape universos. Rex esto, Domine, nec fidelium tantum qui nullo tempore discessere a te, sed etiam prodigorum filiorum qui Te reliquerunt: fac hos, ut domum paternam cito repetant, ne miseria et fame pereant. Rex esto eorum, quos aut opinionum error deceptos habet, aut discordia separatos, eosque ad portum veritatis atque ad unitatem fidei revoca, ut brevi fiat unum ovile et unus pastor. Rex esto denique corum omnium, qui in vetere gentium superstitione versantur, eosque e tenebris vindicare ne renuas in Dei lumen et regnum. Largire, Domine, Ecclesiae tuae securam cum incolumitate libertatem; largire cunctis gentibus tranquillitatem ordinis: perfice, ut ab utroque terras vertice una resonet vox: Sit laus divino Cordi, per quod nobis parata salus: ipsi gloria et honor in saecula: amen.

Di questo importantissimo documento pontificio daremo quanto prima la versione italiana autentica.

HERETICS IN CATHOLIC HOSPITALS

HAERETICO MORIBUNDO POSTULANTI MINISTRUM PROPRIUM, NON
LICET MOREM GERERE, SED CATHOLICAE PERSONAE IPSI
INSERVIENTES, PASSIVE SE HABEANT

BEATISSIME PATER,

Superiorissa Generalis Instituti Parvarum Sororum a Paupe-
ribus dictarum, provoluta ad S. V. pedes humiliter postulat
quomodo sese gerere debeant sorores quando reperitur inter senes
in propriis domibus receptos, acatholicus quidam qui in extremo
vitae limine positus, posthabitis conatibus ut moriatur in sinu
verae religionis conversus, absolute petit adsistentiam ministri
haeretici. Possunt-ne Sorores dictum ministrum advocare?

Feria IV, die 14 Decembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali ab EE. ac RR. DD. Cardinalibus
in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita,
propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD.
Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum
mandarunt:

‘Detur Decretum in Colonien. fer. IV, 14 Martii, 1848, una
cum Declaratione ad Vicarium Apost. Aegypti fer. IV, 5 Februarii,
1872.’

Porro Decretum in colonien. ita se habet;

BEATISSIME PATER,—‘D. Evens, presbyter dioecesis Colonien-
sis in Borussia, V. S. humiliter exponit quod in civitate Neutz,
eiusdem dioecesis, existit hospitium, cuius ipse Rector et
Capellanus est, ac in quo infirmorum curam gerunt Moniales,
dictae Sorores Nigrae. Cum autem in hoc hospitio subinde
recipiantur acatholicae religionis sectatores, ac iidem ministrum
haereticum, a quo religionis auxilia et solatia recipiant, identidem
petant, quaeritur utrum praefatis monialibus falsae religionis
ministrum advocare licitum sit? Quaeritur insuper utrum eadem
danda sit solutio, ubi haereticus infirmus in domo privata
cuiusdam catholici degit; utrum scilicet tunc catholicus ministrum
haereticum advocare licite possit.

‘Resp.: Iuxta exposita, non licere; et ad mentem. Mens est
quod passive se habeant.’

*Sequitur Declaratio ad Vicarium Apost. Aegypti:*¹

‘Nella Fer. IV, 31 Gennaio, 1872, fu proposta a questi Emi Inquisitori Gen.li la dimanda di Mons. Vicario e Delegato Apostolico dell’Egitto . . . diretta ad avere istruzioni sul come diportarsi negli Ospedali misti, serviti da Monache cattoliche quando qualche scismatico o protestante infermo ivi degente richiede l’assistenza del suo ministro.

‘Il S. Consesso, dopo aver preso l’argomento con i suoi aggiunti in matura considerazione, trovò conveniente di emettere il seguente Decreto: *R. P. D. Vicarius Apostolicus se conformet Decreto fer IV, 15 Martii, 1848, et opportune eidem explicetur sensus verborum eiusdem Decreti* PASSIVE SE HABEAT. Infatti egli nella sua lettera manifestava il suo imbarazzo nello interpretare quelle espressioni, ossia nel tradurle in pratica. Sul qual proposito i prelodati EEmi intendono sia fatta apposita avvertenza a quel Prelato, nel senso che alle Monache o ad altri individui cattolici, addetti alla direzione o al servizio dell’Ospedale, non sarebbe lecito prestarsi direttamente alle richieste degli acattolici infermi in quanto al chiamare un loro ministro, il che è bene che alla evenienza lo dichiarino; ma in pari tempo soggiungono che per la chiamata possono servirsi di qualche soggetto appartenente alla rispettiva loro setta. In questa guisa rimane salva la massima in quanto alla vietata comunicazione *in divinis*.’

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 26 Decembris, eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia a SSmo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. et RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Not.

¹ Feria IV, die 31 Ian. 1872 proposita fuit Emis Inq. gen. petitio Rmi Vicarii et Delegati Apl. Aegypti, ad hoc tradita ut instrueretur quomodo agendum esset in Hospitalibus mixtis in quibus catholicae Moniales servitium praestant, quoties aliquis schismaticus vel protestans infirmus inibi decumbens postulat adistentiam proprii ministri.

S. Ordo, petitionem cum suis adiunctis matura consideratione ventilavit, et opportunum duxit emittendi sequens Decretum: ‘R. P. D. Vic. Aplieus se conformet Decreto fer. IV, 15 Martii 1848 et opportune eidem explicetur sensus verborum eiusdem Decreti *passive se habeat*. Ipse enim in epi-tolis datis sese anxium declarabat in interpretandis dictis verbis, seu in applicandis illis ad praxim. Et ideo praeaudatis Emis Patribus mens est ut notificetur Praelato Oratori, Monialibus vel aliis personis catholicis addictis directioni vel servitio Hospitalis, non licere operam suam directe praestare infirmis acatholicis pro advocando proprio ministro, et bene erit, si data occasione, id declarent; sed addunt Emi Patres, quod adhiberi potest pro advocando Ministro, ministerium alicuius personae pertinentis ad respectivam sectam postulantium. Et ita salva manet doctrina relate ad vetitam communicationem *in divinis*.’

**FAST TO BE OBSERVED BEFORE ORDINATION
THE CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES**

CIRCA IEIUNIUM PRAEMITTENDUM S. ORDINATIONI ET CONSECRA-
TIONI ECCLESiarUM

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humillime petit benignissimam declarationem quomodo sit intelligendum *ieiunium* ante Ecclesiae consecrationem et ante Ordinationes.

In casu vero quod ieiunium hocce in Pontificali Romano praescriptum comprehendat tum abstinentiam a carnibus, tum etiam unicam in die saturationem, humillime petit Episcopus orator, qui pluries per annum Ecclesias consecrat et Ordinationes facit, pro se, pro Ecclesiae adscriptis et pro ordinandis mitigationem dicti praecepti, quatenus Sanctitas Vestra indulgere dignetur dispensationem a carnibus quoad prandium, tum ante Ecclesiae consecrationem tum ante Ordinationes, ita ut maneat, excepta sic dicta *suppa*, abstinentia a carnibus in coena et ieiunium pro more regionum nostrarum servandum.

Causae sunt : 1° Dispensationes pro diebus quadragesimalibus a S. V. similiter concessae. 2° Asperitas aeris et circumstantia victus nostrarum regionum. 3° Infirmetas moralis multorum laicorum Ecclesiis nostris adscriptorum, etc.

Feria IV, die 14 Decembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali coram EEEmis et RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptas dubiis praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Quoad Ordinationes, sufficit servare ieiunia Quatuor Temporum ; nam pro Ordinationibus extra Tempora non adest ieiunii obligatio.’

Quoad Consecrationes Ecclesiarum servetur Decretum S. R. C. in Mechlinien. diei 29 Iulii, 1870 (n. 2519 edit. noviss.) ad I, quod ita se habet : ‘Ieiunium in Pontificali Romano praescriptum esse strictae obligationis pro Episcopo consecrante et pro iis tantum qui petunt sibi Ecclesiam consecrari ; idemque ieiunium indicendum esse die praecedenti consecrationi ad formam Pontificalis Romani.’

‘Quoad vero petitam dispensationem pro ieiunio in Consecratione Ecclesiae, supplicandum SSmo iuxta preces.’

Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 16 Decembris eiusdem anni, in solita audientia a SSmo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, R. P. D. Adessori impertita SSmus D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit et petitam gratiam concessit, contrarii non obstantibus quibuscumque.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

EXPLICATUR RESPONSIO IN UNA CENOMANEN II. MARTII 1896 . . .

QUUM DUO FRATRES DUAS SORORES DUXERUNT, EORUM SOBOLES
DUPLICI TANTUM IMPED. CONSANG. DEVINCITUR.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Recens vulgata est responsio S. C. S. Officii data ad Episcopum Cenomanensem,¹ circa impedimenta consanguinitatis multiplicia, casu quo duo sponsi in secundo gradu consanguinitatis revincti, avum et aviam habent in secundo item gradu coniugatos; ex qua responsione aperte sequitur:

In casu contemplato adesse non solum impedimentum in secundo aequali, sed etiam in quarto aequali:

2. Ideoque non sufficere declarationem, item nec dispensationem impedimenti in secundo aequali; unde matrimonium contractum in huiusmodi hypothesis, id est declarato et dispensato solo impedimento secundi gradus, esse nullum.

Sequitur praeterea 3. Consanguinitatem in quarto gradu esse duplicem; quia cum avus et avia sponсорum non se habeant per modum unius stipitis sed ut personae, ideoque stipites distincti, iam duplex est via ad ascendendum usque ad ulteriorem stipitem.

Videtur autem illa duplex consanguinitas in quarto aequali ita duplex constituere impedimentum, ut si unicum declaratur et dispensetur impedimentum in quarto gradu (declarato item et dispensato altero in secundo gradu aequali), matrimonium foret nullum.

Porro frequentior praxis in Curiis ecclesiasticis nostrarum regionum duplex tantum, non triplex, in casu proposito retinebat

¹ Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iv., p. 207, ubi haec responsio prostat.

et dispensandum curabat impedimentum : scilicet unum in secundo aequali ; alterum in quarto aequali. Numquid igitur dispensationes sic datae nullius fuissent momenti et matrimonia sic contracta, invalida ? Namque graves pro matrimoniorum valore adesse videntur rationes. Nam : 1. Dum oratores arborem genealogicam exhibent, ex qua aperte deducitur eos descendere in secunda generatione a parentibus qui in secundo gradu aequali contraxerant, liquide et candide aperiunt omnia, nec locus esse videtur subreptioni ac obreptioni. 2. Dum Curia, considerans casum et arborem genealogicam, dispensat super duplici tantum impedimento, res prout sunt, contemplantur et casui vero prospicere intendit ; durumque videretur dicere matrimonium nullum fuisse, eo quod Curia, omnia casus elementa habens, duplex tantum vidisset impedimentum, dum triplex erat.

Sed et alia difficultas oritur ex praefata decisione. Casu enim quo duo fratres duxerint duas sorores, iam eorum filii non duplici tantum sed quadruplici impedimento consanguinitatis in secundo aequali devincerentur. Quia nempe, si pater et mater singulorum non per modum unius stipitis se habeant, iam quoad singulos filios, duplex datur via ascendendi ad duplicem stipitem ulteriorem, unde quatuor sunt impedimenta quod nemo auctorum, si unus, me conscio, excipiat, docuit, nulla ex Curii, quantum scire fas est, in praxi servat ; quando enim adsint sponsi quorum pater materque sunt respective frater et soror alterutrius patris et matris, Curiae dispensationem petunt aut concedunt super duplici tantum impedimento in secundo gradu aequali.

Quum vero in hac Dioecesi N. innumera sint matrimonia cum variis impedimentis consanguinitatis contracta, sequentium dubiorum solutio a S. Congregatione S. Officii enixe petitur nempe :

I. Quando duo sponsi constituuntur in secundo aequali consanguinitatis gradu, et eorum avus et avia ipsi in secundo consanguinitatis gradu matrimonium contraxerant, ita ut devinciantur etiam quarto gradu consanguinitatis, utrum necessario petenda et obtinenda sit dispensatio super triplici impedimento, nempe in secundo et in duplici quarto, an valida sit dispensatio forsitan petita et obtenta super duplici tantum impedimento, nempe secundi aequalis et quarti item aequalis. Et quatenus negative ad secundam partem :

II. Quid agendum quoad matrimonia in hac Dioecesi cum simili dispensatione contracta, nempe super duplici tantum impedimento in secundo et quarto ?

III. Dum duo fratres duas sorores duxerunt, num eorum soboles devinciatur duplici vel quadruplici vinculo consanguinitatis in secundo aequali?—Et quatenus quadruplici;

IV. Num invalida sint matrimonia inter huiusmodi contracta cum dispensatione super duplici tantum consanguinitatis impedimento in secundo aequali?—Et quatenus invalida;

V. Quid faciendum quoad matrimonia in hac Dioecesi sic contracta?

Et Deus, etc.

Feria IV, die 22 Februarii, 1899.

In Congregatione Generali ab E. mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

‘Ad I. Quoad primam partem, affirmative ut in fer. IV. die 11 Martii, 1896 Cenomanen.—Quoad secundam partem pariter affirmative; dummodo exponatur casus uti est, non obstante errore materiali in computatione impedimentorum.’

‘Ad II. Provisum in praecedenti.’

‘Ad III. Duplici tantum consanguinitatis impedimento in secundo gradu aequali.’

‘Ad IV. et V. Provisum in praecedenti.’

‘Sequenti vero Feria VI, die 24 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SS. mus D. N. resolutionem EE. et RR. Patrum adprobavit.’

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

MARRIAGES OF FREEMASONS

CONCEDITUR ORDINARIIS FACULTAS PERMITTENDI MATRIMONIA
LIBERORUM PENSATORUM

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

Il Vescovo N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V., rispettosamente espone quanto appresso:

Con decreto di Fer. IV 30 Gennaio 1867, confermato dall'altro di Fer. III loco IV 25 Maggio 1897,¹ il S. Ufficio dichiara: ‘Quoties agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram quae a fide ita defecit, ut alicui falsae religioni vel sectae sese adscripserit, requirendam esse consuetam et necessariam dispensationem cum solitis ac notis praescriptionibus et clausulis.

¹ Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vi., p. 141.

Quod si agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram, quae fidem abiecit, at nulli falsae religioni vel haereticae sectae sese adscripsit, quando parochus nullo modo potest huiusmodi matrimonium impedire (ad quod totis viribus incumbere tenetur) et prudenter timet ne ex denegata matrimonio adistentia grave scandalum vel damnum oriatur, rem deferendam esse ad R. P. D. Episcopum, qui, sicut ei opportuno nunc facultas tribuitur, inspectis omnibus casus adiunctis, permittere poterit, ut parochus matrimonio passive intersit tamquam testis *authorizabilis*, dummodo cautum omnina sit catholicae educationi universae proles aliisque similibus conditionibus.

Ora il Vescovo oratore chiede umilmente la facolta di permettere i matrimoni dei liberi pensatori secondo le norme del prefato decreto. Che ecc.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, habita ab EE.mis et RR.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis precibus, prae-habitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Reformatus precibus : I. An verba Decreti S. Officii fer. IV, die 30 Ianuarii 1867 ad I 'rem deferendam esse ad R. P. D. Episcopum qui, sicut ei opportuna nunc facultas tribuitur' extendi possint ad omnes Episcopos ?

II. 'Et quatenus negative orator Episcopus N.N. suppliciter petit ut sibi dicta facultas concedatur.'

Resp. : ad I. 'Affirmative, facto verbo cum SS.mo.'

'Ad II. 'Provisum in primo.'

Feria vero VI, die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impetita, facta de his omnibus SS.mo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, SS.mus resolutionem EE. morum Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

THE ABUSE OF DELAYING BAPTISM

CIRCA LUGENDUM ABUSUM DIFFERENDI NOTABILITER COLLATIONEM BAPTISMI

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. invenit in sua dioecesi lugendum abusum, quod scilicet nonnulli genitores, ob futes praetextus, praesertim quia patrinus vel matrina parati non sint, vel a remoto loco transire debeant, differunt collationem baptismi neonatis, non

solum per hebdomadas et per menses, sed etiam per annos, uti manifestum apparuit occasione Sacrae Visitationis. Ad obviandum praefato abusui, praefato abusui, omnes adhibuit conatus; valde tamen timet Orator ne illum iuxta vota eradicare possit.

Quibus positis, humiliter postulat utrum obstetrix, quando praevidet baptismum notabiliter differendum iri, possit illico neonatum abluere, quamvis iste in bona sanitate reperiatur, etiam insciis uno vel utroque conjuge, monito tamen de hoc parochio?

Feria IV., die 11 Ianuarii, 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, habita ab EE.mis et RR.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, prae-habitoque RR. et DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE.mi ac RR.mi Patres respondendum mandarunt.

‘Urgendum ut Baptismus quam citius ministretur: tunc vero permitti poterit ut obstetrix illum conferat, quando periculum positive timeatur ne puer dilationis tempore sit moriturus.’

Feria vero VI, die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SS.mo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, SS. us resolutionem EE.morum Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

LEGISLATION REGARDING REGULARS WHO BECOME SECLARIZED

DUBIUM. AN EPISCOPUS EXCIPERE COGATUR RELIGIOSOS SAECULARIZATOS, ET AN EOSDEM VALEAT ADHIBERE IN SACRIS MINISTERIIS

ILLME. AC RME. DNE., UTI FRATER,

Difficili Regularium hodiernae conditioni occurrere satagens, S. Congr. super Disciplina Regulari, pro illis *Religiosis*, qui gratia vocationis destituti, val de alia rationabili causa muniti, extra claustra degere voluerunt, et tractu temporis vellent—auditis Superioribus Generalibus Ordinis, maturo consilio, statuit atque decrevit:—‘Ut ipsis facultas tribueretur manendi extra claustra habitu regulari dimisso, *ad annum*: quo tempore S. Patrimonium sibi constituerent; Episcopum *benevolum receptorem* invenirent; atque deinde, *pro saecularizatione perpetua*, iterum recurrerent, et interim Sacra facientes, verbum Domini praedicantes, fidelibus populis pia conversatione prodesse valerent.’

Quibus autem dispositionibus iurisdictio episcopalis nulli subest detrimento : namque Ordinarius *invitus non cogitur illos* in suum Clerum cooptare, neque Beneficiis ecclesiasticis proponere ; sed *perdurante* gratia concessionis, eiusdemque a Sede Apostolica, consecuta *prorogatione*, ad sancta obeunda ministeria, *pro libitu* in sua Dioecesi habilitare potest, si velit. Neque ullam huic agendi rationi dubitationem infert *Decretum Auctis admodum* 1892, qui hoc *per regulam generalem* afficit *Instituta* recentia *votorum simplicium* ; ac tantum *per exceptionem* respicit *Ordines proprie dictos*, in quibus *vota solemnia* religiosi nuncupantur. Quae tamen *exceptio*, si fieri contigerit, in *singulari decreto* admissum *notatur*, ita ut *speciale Rescriptum*, eiusque conditiones, *legem pro individuo*, constituunt : et solummodo *ab eo* Ordinarius sui agendi rationem quaerere debeat.

Iam vero, litteris, quas, die 4 Iulii cur. an. Amplitudo tua, ad hanc S. Congregationem mittere existimavit, *relate* ad PP. . . . Ordinibus SS^{mae} Trinitatis—et *pro quibus* ut ait,—‘*quin onera Episcopi benevoli* receptoris in se suscipiat, aliquod levamen ipsis offerre desiderat ; ideoque *licentiam exproscit*, ut Ordinem exercere valeant ad suum *beneplacitum*, &c.’

Hic S. Ordo respondit : ‘Religiosos huiusmodi esse *saecularizatos ad annum et interim*, &c. ut supra : pertinere ad Ordines votorum solemnium ; proinde nisi sint aliqua *speciali* censura *irretiti*, nulla ipsi indigent *nova facultate*, ut Sacris ministeriis Episcopi auctoritate in respectiva Dioecesi possint vacare.’

Et haec dicta sint, ut ius et regula agendi in re Tibi proponatur ; cui a Deo Optimo Maximo cuncta felicia adprecamur.

Romae die 16 Aug., 1898.

Amplitudinis tuae
Uti Frater Additissimus,
S. CARD. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

INDULGENCES GRANTED BY A BISHOP

EX S. CONGREG. INDULGENTIARUM

MONTIS POLITANI DUBIA DE INDULGENTIIS AB EPISCOPO CONCESSIS

Episcopus Montis Politiani huic Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae sequentia dubia enodanda proposuit :

I. An Indulgentiae quas Episcopus concedit valeant intra limites suae dioecesos tantum, an vero etiam extra ?

II. An acquiri possint intra limites dioeceseos etiam a fidelibus, qui non sunt subditi Episcopi concedentis Indulgentias?

III. An subditi Episcopi concedentis Indulgentias has lucrari valeant dum extra dioecesim commorantur?

Et Em̃i Patres in Vaticano Palatio coadunati relatis dubiis die 5 Maii 1898 responderunt :

Ad I. Affirmative ad 1.^{am} partem ; negative ad 2.^{am}, nisi agatur de subditis Episcopi concedentis, et de Indulgentiis personalibus.

Ad II. Affirmative, dummodo Indulgentiae non sint concessae alicui peculiari coetui personarum.

Ad III. Provisum in primo.

De quibus facta relatione SSiño Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. in Audientia habita die 26 Maii 1898 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto, eadem Sanctitas Sua Em̃orum Patrum resolutiones benigne approbavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 26 Maii 1898.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L ✠ S.

✠ ANTONIUS ARCHIEP. ANTINOEN., *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DE PROBABILISMO DISSERTATIO. Quam, cum subjectis Thesibus, pro gradu Doctoris S. Theologiae, in Collegio S. Patritii, Manutiae, Publice Propugnavit. David Dinneen, Presbyter Cloynensis. Dublini: Browne et Nolan, Ltd.

THE publication of Dr. Dinneen's treatise will have been awaited by many with a peculiar interest. A very wide-spread public attention was centered in the auspicious event of twelve months ago, when he figured as the first successful candidate for the Maynooth Laureate. In the Public Defence which he then underwent, he challenged attack from all comers on the propositions which are set forth in the present treatise.

Though the literature of Probabilism is already confessedly very extensive, yet we cannot regret the influences which determined Dr. Dinneen in the selection of his subject. From a careful perusal of his work we believe that he has made a contribution to that literature of distinct and permanent value. While he shows himself fully versed in the best literature of the subject, and manifests due deference to the views of the great masters of moral science, yet one cannot fail to recognise throughout a striking independence of thought, whether in the discriminating fashion in which he deals with the opinions and arguments of others, or in the masterly and confident manner in which he seeks to establish his own position. The book throughout is a model of clear exposition and capable reasoning, and evinces a thorough grasp by the author of the great principle in all its bearings.

The chapters occupied with the defence of his system are specially interesting. With Lehmkuhl and others, he attaches decisive force to the toleration of Probabilism by the Church. The argument from the necessity of promulgation he propounds in regard to *dubia juris*, which are such in the first instance—the doubt arising *ex culpa legis*. In regard to *dubia juris*, which are primarily *dubia facti*—a class which comprehends in his view all doubts in regard to the natural law—his defence is based on the principle that one may have a sufficient reason for incurring the danger of material sin. To establish the presence of such a reason wherever Probabilism applies, he has recourse to the

well-known method of weighing the good and evil which would accrue to the race from the presence or absence of a universal obligation.

But is it so clear that this method is really applicable here—at least when there is question of doubts in regard to the natural law? The method seems to have been employed already in regard to the direct doubtful law, and *ex hypothesi* has failed to yield a satisfactory conclusion. For instance, in the case of a doubtful negative law, we have weighed the *commoda* and *incommoda* to the race, were a certain line of conduct universally permitted or prohibited, and we have simply failed to reach a better conclusion than this. It is probable, or more probable, as the case may be, that the *incommoda* resulting from a universal permission would predominate, while the contradictory of this remains quite probable.

In regard to all doubtful laws (*juris naturae*) the application of the same method has resulted in similar failure. How, then, can we hope to *demonstrate* that, were a universal obligation of observing all those doubtful laws imposed, evil to the race would predominate in the result, seeing that, for aught we know, an obligation of observing them severally may result in good to the race? Furthermore, we do not clearly see that, in estimating the sufficiency of the reason, account should be taken of the danger of formal sin as such. We speak still in regard to doubts of the natural law. We could understand the frequency of sin being adduced as a proof of the over-burdening of nature by the proposed obligation. But our author evidently requires for his argument a consideration of the immense evil inherent in formal sin as such. But if an obligation be demanded by the essences of things—if the obligation against which Dr. Dinneen contends be so demanded—will it not be present irrespective of the fact that men will knowingly violate it? How, then, can we legitimately take into consideration the evil of formal sin as such, or the dangers of this evil, in determining the presence or absence of an obligation? Indeed, we cannot help thinking that if Probabilism be true at all in regard to natural law, it would still be true, even though the *humana fragilitas*, which occasions so many formal sins, were completely foreign to our poor nature. These are points on which we should certainly desire further elucidation. We are not concerned with our author's conclusions, or with his main thesis; but we cannot fall

in completely with his method of defence. There are other points on which we should wish to touch—especially his very ingenious attempt to vindicate the consistency of Probabilists in their teaching with regard to the cessation of a law. A further discussion, however, would carry us too far afield. The dissertation cannot fail to set a reader much a-thinking by reason of the excellent presentation which it gives of the particular line of defence which the author adopts.

W. B.

THE SACRAMENTS EXPLAINED. By Rev. A. Devine.
London: R. & T. Washbourne, Paternoster-row, and
Benziger Brothers.

‘THIS volume, after the treatise on Grace, is confined to the Sacraments, and is intended as a companion to two volumes already published, one on the “Creed,” the other on the “Commandments.” In the three compendious volumes a complete course of instruction on the Christian doctrine is intended, which may serve as a help to the readers to know God by a lively faith, to obey Him by keeping His Commandments, and to use those means which Christ has instituted for obtaining His grace here and His eternal beatitude hereafter by frequently receiving the sacraments.’ These words occur in the Preface to this work. They explain its aim and object. And there can be no doubt that in fulness, conciseness, and accuracy, it leaves little to be desired. The whole doctrine of Grace and the Sacraments is scientifically set forth within the compass of some five hundred pages. Father Devine, indeed, never wrote anything that did not bespeak solid knowledge and a full grasp of his subject. He has laid his fellow-priests under an additional obligation by the publication of this work; rightly or wrongly, many of them will always prefer an English rendering of theology to the Latin manuals—more especially in the preparation of sermons and instructions.

But it is a pity he did not free himself from the scholastic idioms and the scholastic terminology. The truths of faith, though possessing an almost sacramental power of their own, will never reach the hearts and minds and souls of latter-day readers, unless presented in language at once correct, elegant, and attractive.

E. N.

BUSINESS GUIDE FOR PRIESTS. By Rev. W. Stang, D.D.
New York : Benziger Brothers. Price 85 cents.

THE name of Dr. Stang upon the title-page is a sufficient indication of the practical utility of this manual. It is meant, I dare say, to meet the wants of the American mission ; but it contains much that will be of use to priests in these countries. It is only a young priest who finds himself suddenly launched into a responsible position can say how valuable a companion it may prove. The manner of keeping parochial registers, the method of applying for dispensations, the various little ordinances of letter-writing, etiquette, and other hints in 'business' matters, will be welcome items of information to one who has not yet been trained in the school of experience. However, the book is not as full as could be desired, at least for missionaries on this side of the Atlantic. Perhaps its appearance may lead to the publication of a 'Business Guide' adapted to the special needs of the mission here at home.

E. N.

LA DEMONSTRATION PHILOSOPHIQUE. Par l'Abbé Jules Martin. P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette. 10 Paris, 3.50.

THIS is a volume of the 'Bibliothèque Philosophique,' edited by P. Lethielleux. To use the venerable Abbé's own words, it is 'a doctrinal exposition which lays down and explains (qui montre comme intelligible) a complete conception of the universe,' or 'a body of principles and reasonings arranged in accordance with one leading doctrine.' The author expands and elucidates his system with elegance and ease, deals with the relations between metaphysics and science, dispels the illusions created by the aberrations of Descartes, Kant, and Renan, and sets proper limits to the idea that speculative truth is essentially one. We cannot help admiring the felicity of language, even in the expression of the most abstruse thoughts.

L'HOMME DIEU. L'ŒUVRE DE JESUS CHRIST. Par E. C. Minjard, Miss. Apost. Paris, Lethielleux. 2 vols. f. 7.00.

THE commendatory letter from the distinguished member of the Academy, M. François Coppeé, which appears opposite the title-page of this work predisposes the reader to find abundant merit in the succeeding pages. In common with all other

attempts to depict the true portrait of Jesus Christ, the present one earns the gratitude of all who desire to see the Great Teacher better understood, and His injunctions more loyally obeyed. In these studies on the divine character of the Godman, as mirrored in His lifework, M. Minjard proceeds upon lines consecrated by usage, and suggested by the title which has become proper to Jesus alone, that of 'the Christ,' who received unction as, *par excellence*, prophet, priest, and king.

The study of his divine subject as Teacher and King occupies our author throughout his first volume. It is his aim to present in brief compass the Master's chief teachings as the true solution of human perplexities defying the searchlight of vaunted modern science to reveal therein the faintest shadow of error, and also to put in high relief the sublimity of Christ's precepts which revolutionized the ethics of His day, becoming the foundation of what is good in most existing moral codes. The elevated character of His doctrines, the vastness of His enterprise, and His boundless success in regenerating the corrupt world, all prove Him to be what He claimed to be 'the Christ, the Son of the living God.' In His office as king He founded a kingdom which for extension and stability stands without a rival. Composed of what are humanly speaking the most disintegrating elements, it has endured ages longer than the work of any merely human intelligence; and this without any essential modification of its original constitution, while ceaseless shiftings and changings are proceeding all around. This sums up the argument of the first volume. In the second we are introduced to a study of Christ as the author of a religious system unique in its sublimity, and at the same time wisely adapted to the needs and learnings of the human individual and human society. The whole economy of the Redemption and the machinery, so to speak, for applying its effects to the individual are treated with the hand of a master and in a liberal spirit.

In the execution of his task the author presents us with a very thorough and convincing apology for the Catholic Church as the true interpreter of Jesus Christ had His accredited representative in carrying on the work He has inaugurated. We do not recollect being struck by any thoughts of a startlingly novel nature, but we are very far from regarding this in the light of a defect. We desired to see the old thoughts arrayed in a garb calculated to attract and impress the readers of this novelty-loving age,

and it is a pleasure to us to testify to the gratification of this desire. In the main, the old familiar truths are re-stated in the old familiar ways, but throughout in a style rich in varied illustration and glowing with that warmth and freshness so admittedly and distinctly French. Clear and forcible at all times, even at the cost of occasional redundancy, our author rises not unfrequently to true heights of eloquence. Of such opportunities for powerful and vivid description, and the pointed inference as the marvellous spread of Christianity, and the wonderful practical outcome of the observance of the evangelical counsels afford, the author is not slow to avail himself. In connection with the latter point, faithful as so often to his practical aim, he improves the occasion to marshal against French anti-clericals a powerful array of facts showing what religious orders have done and are doing in the service of humanity.

We encounter in the course of these two volumes frequent reference to '*lae critique scientifique*,' and we, therefore, felt inclined to exact from the author a critical cogency in his proofs and replies. It appeared to us that the author was sometimes wanting herein. To cite an instance—we think no good purpose is served in adducing—incidentally, be it admitted, the plurality of divinities among pagan nations as the proof of the remains of a primeval revelation of the mystery of the Trinity. We are not at all so certain as our author that the body of even the Jewish people possessed any acquaintance with the idea of a Trinity of Persons in God. More than once our author makes passing mention of current errors without any immediate attempt to a direct reply. This, no doubt, is due to his own confidence in his position, and to his expectation that his work will be received in its logical entirety; yet we think this proceeding demands too much of a strain upon the attention and reasoning powers of a large section of readers whom he designs his work to reach and influence.

But these are very minor points, and perhaps exist only to our own thinking. Throughout its pages this work is replete with solid information on every subject reasonably coming within the author's scope. Scarcely a point upon which the candid inquirer might seek information is left untouched. Quite a feature is the appositeness with which the author without any apparent digression glances at contemporary topics, and sheds light on many dark problems of current controversy. The following

passage, for instance, would appear in view of recent events, to be dictated by more than a speculative purpose. He is speaking of the Church's relation to human progress:—'Ces besoins nouveaux, sous les masques divers dont ils se couvrent selon les temps et les lieux, sont toujours les mêmes et se romment l'orgueil, l'avarice et la luxure. L'Eglise se déclare, depuis soixante siècle, impuissante à les satisfaire ; et l'Eglise mourrait dans l'averir de cette impuissance quand elle n'en est pas morte dans le passé?'

In conclusion, we dare echo the wish of M. Coppeé, that this admirable work will dissipate the doubts and prejudices of the multitudes of the incredulous, and lead many hesitating and troubled spirits to the contemplation of the adorable Person of Jesus Christ, of His lifework and His teaching, in which to find the peace unattainable in the creeds of scepticism and unbelief. That M. Minjard's work will find readers in our own countries also, we earnestly hope. It remains to add that the present volumes form the second part of M. Minjard's entire work on the Man-God. The first part, likewise consisting of two volumes, is entitled 'La Personne de Jesus Christ. Ses Origines, Sa Mission, Sa Physionomie Divine.'

P. L.

SI VOUS CONNAISSIEZ LE DON DE DIEU. Mgr. Isoard, Bishop of Annecy. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 2f. 50c.

At a time when the signs of unrest which came to a climax in the recent storm of Americanism have not completely disappeared, the work of a French bishop on the position of Catholics, lay and clerical, in regard of progress with science, true and false, will be read with unwonted interest. Some will look upon it as an Apologia for those to whom the title of 'prie-dieu men' was lately attached as a stigma. Some, we are inclined to suspect, will open the work in the expectation of finding therein all the 'slowness of mediævalism.' However, after a careful perusal of the book we prefer to regard it as a summons to progress in the right direction.

The immediate cause of the partial giving away of the Catholic position regarding dogma and the presentation thereof, the virtues, their nature and practice, Mgr. Isoard finds in the fact that most Catholics to-day are content to remain passive when their faith is ridiculed, and to leave defence to some self-constituted lay

apologists who are gifted with a supreme idea of their own omniscience, and are not over-burdened with a knowledge of their faith. Such lack of knowledge of the gift of God, our faith, pervades, his Lordship believes, all the French Catholic laity, and is to be laid to the charge of the clergy, who teach not, because they have not what to teach withal. The bishop is to be understood as maintaining, not that the priests of France to-day lack a theoretical knowledge of theology, but that they need that intimate acquaintance with the science of God which ramifies through all the powers of man and bears the fruit of Christian deeds. In a word, they are not as rich as they might be in the supernatural life. 'Ce qui nous frappe et nous afflige, c'est la pauvreté du sens divin.'

Speaking in this connection his Lordship has a word to say concerning the training of the young priest. Dogma, learned from the heresies of old, whence alone it is best mastered, must stand at the head of the curriculum of our seminaries. But while Mgr. Isoard thus fittingly crowns dogma, no one maintains more stoutly than he that it needs the attendance of the other sciences so often pressed into their service by the enemies of our faith. Here, too, as throughout his whole work, the author avoids extremes, proving how absurd it is to demand that the young priest should at ordination be able to meet all modern antagonists on their own ground with all the proficiency of a master in sciences from which attack may come. To attain such proficiency is beyond the power of any man. To attain it in one department requires the work of a lifetime. But such attack must be met. Hence, priests must study to the end.

Such is his Lordship's charge. To enable us to fulfil it he suggests two means already employed in France with incalculable benefit—the Apostolic Union of Secular Priests, and the Sacerdotal Circulating Library. The former we have amongst us; the latter is described in detail in the work under review, and did it alone give ground for approval it would render Mgr. Isoard's work worthy of our closest perusal.

In two trivial particulars have we any fault to find. We think 'modernism' a title which would suit a large section of the book better than it does a sub-section of a chapter, and we believe 'feminism' not the most prominent feature of 'modernism.' Taking these exceptions, which are, perhaps, hyper-critical, we can give nought but the highest praise to a work which is at once

a defence of those who hold, with Leo XIII., that the solutions of latter day errors are to be found in works long since penned, of those who believe with Vincent de Paul that the loss of the clerical spirit is the cause of much of the disrepute into which religion has fallen, and an invitation to progress which will be readily accepted by all lovers of 'personal initiative' in the only true sense of the term.

T. W.

LA MORALE STOICIENNE EN FACE DE LA MORALE CHRETIENNE. L'Abbé Chollet, Professor at the Catholic University of Lille. Paris: P. Lethielleux, f. 3'50.

ENTRETIENS ET AVIS SPIRITUELS. R. P. Lécuyer, O.P. Paris: P. Lethielleux, f. 2'00.

THAT the Christian moral code is derived from that of the pagan philosophers, especially of the Stoics, is an ancient error recently resuscitated in France by Miron, Proudhon, Renan, Tiscot, and a host of others of that species. Suppressing, on the one hand, all that is supernatural in our code, and, on the other, putting carefully out of sight all the extravagances of the Portico, these philosophical acrobats exultingly point to the similarity in the residues as incontrovertible proof of their position.

Subjecting the salient features of both codes to strict examination, L'Abbé Chollet clearly demonstrates that the conclusion is rendered illegitimate by the eliminations which precede it, and that the analogies discovered prove not the evolution of the latter from the older code, but merely the right use of reason on the part of the Stoics, and the remembrance of primitive tradition. The work is unanswerable, and forms a valuable addition to the philosophical library at present issuing from the press of Messrs. Lethielleux.

The first portion of Father Lécuyer's book consists of a *résumé* of instructions given by the author to children of Mary. It deals with the primary truths of our faith in their special relation to young persons in the world anxious to lead lives of perfection beyond the ordinary. While diminishing none of the native force of these truths, the author quickens them with a new life by touches which reveal at once his own intense piety, and a thorough knowledge of the needs for whom he wrote.

The latter part contains advice on practical spirituality, a rule

of life, and two letters on the sanctification of a life of celibacy outside convent walls, and bears all the laudable characteristics of the earlier portion. We earnestly recommend the little work to all who are brought into professional contact with such souls as those for whom Father Lécuyer worked so well.

T. W.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE MORALIS GENERALIS. Auctore G. Bernardo Tepe, S.J. P. Lethielleux, 10, Via Dicta Cassette. 8 frs.

READERS of Father Tepe's previous works will gladly welcome his latest addition to theological literature. It was fitting that the fundamentals of Moral Theology should supplement his treatment of Dogma, and I venture to think that these handy volumes will meet with equal commendation. Human acts, laws, sins, virtues, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are dealt with clearly, concisely, and comprehensively. On the ever-perplexing question of probabilism he is extremely full, and at least as satisfactory as his predecessors. To veteran theologians he may not be as 'strong' or as 'original' as Lehmkühl; but to those who have been merely introduced to the queen of sciences he will prove a staunch 'friend at court.' There is not a tract touched which he has not illuminated. There is no extraneous matter; there is no waste of space over *questiunculae*; minor matters are very properly relegated to *scholia*, and all is most orderly. If a theological tyro may so express himself without laying himself open to the charge of presumption, I would earnestly express the hope that Father Tepe may continue his labours. Having been so many years in Wales he cannot be unacquainted with English law in its relations with Moral Theology. Surely, it would be a great blessing for theological students in these countries to possess a work dealing therewith. Germany, France, Italy, America, can point to manuals adapted to their peculiar needs. Why is it not so in the British Isles?

E. N.

MARIOLATRY. By Rev. Henry G. Ganns. Notre Dame, Indiana.

THE reverend writer discusses some 'new phases of an old fallacy' in a fresh racy style. At first sight, it is very difficult to get through a book in which the stupid and insulting

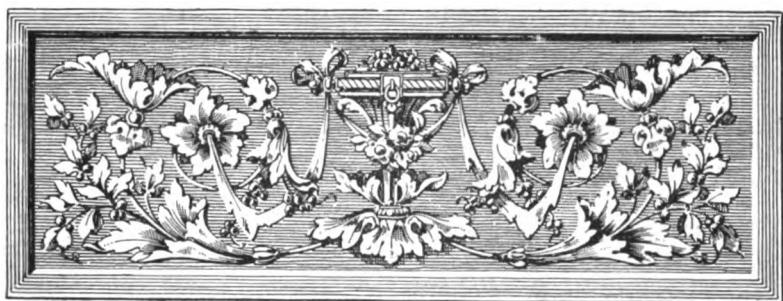
statements of men like the 'Rev. W. M. Frysinger, D.D.' are refuted *seriatim*; but the refutation is so triumphant, that we exclaim with Wordsworth at the close :—

Mother whose virgin bosom was uncrossed
 With the least shape of thought to sin allied ;
 Woman ! above all women glorified,—
 Our tainted nature's solitary boast ;
 Purer than foam on central ocean tossed
 Brighter than eastern skies at daybreak strewn
 With fancied roses, than the unblemished moon
 Before her wane begins on heaven's blue coast
 Thy image falls to earth. Yet some, I ween,
 Not unforgiven, the suppliant knee might blend
 As to a visible power, in which did blend,
 All that was mixed and reconciled in thee
 Of mother's love with maiden purity
 Of high with low, celestial with terrene.

We heartily congratulate the *Ave Maria* on its latest literary offspring.

THE SERAPH OF ASSISI. By Rev. J. A. Jackman, O.M.
 Dublin : Duffy & Co. Price, 5s., net.

ONE cannot help regretting that the author's literary powers are not commensurate with his piety. Had Father Jackman been gifted with the divine fire of poetry as he is with the fire of divine love, we might be certain of a great poem on the seraph saint of Assisi. This tasty volume of over two hundred pages enshrines is love for the virtues which St. Francis preached and practised. We have no doubt his verse may lead souls to imitate the life of the father he admires so much.



THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK

THERE are those—and I sympathise with them—who feel impatient at a discussion on the birthplace of St. Patrick. This may arise either because they judge the discussion likely to unsettle some preconceived theory, or because they deem some other subject of more practical importance. I can very well understand such feelings, though I do not share them: for there are few historical subjects which, to my mind, can have a more practical interest for all Irish ecclesiastics than the birthplace of our national saint. Alas! for the day on which his anniversary shall not be celebrated in Ireland by at least a few words touching him; and these are not, and cannot well be, addressed to the faithful without, at the same time, being told whence he came to us. Hence the utility of having the national mind made up as to the saint's birthplace.

As it is very doubtful if time will add to the materials at present available for forming a solidly probable, if not certain, opinion on the birthplace; and as, perhaps, there exists as critical, discerning a spirit at present as ever will exist, the more discussion is carried on, provided it be intelligent, the sooner will ensue a practically general agreement. The happy result should be the avoidance of contradictory statements from the altar on a historical point which tell injuriously on religion.

All of us are familiar with the touching lines on the
FOURTH SERIES, VOL. VI.—AUGUST, 1899.

burial of Sir John Moore on the heights of Corunna. In one of these lines allusion is made to the last sad office performed by a Briton :—

In the grave where a Briton had laid him.

A literary wag, in order to expose the too vague description of the poet, transformed the whole scene ; transferred it to the ramparts of Pondicherry, a French colony, and would have us believe that the Briton burying the French general hailed from Brittany.

This literary freak is paralleled by an article in the last number of the I. E. RECORD. The theory of its ingenious writer briefly told comes to this:—St. Patrick was from Emporia, or Vich, in Spain, where he was made captive, and his Irish captors sailed with him from Bretonia, three hundred miles away from the place of capture. The Confession of the saint is relied on for mention of Emporia and Vich. Our saint, speaking of his father, says : ‘ Fuit vico Bonaventaberniae, villulam enim prope habuit ubi capturam dedi.’ To account for Emporia and Vich our ingenious writer gives a peculiar reading to the words *enim prope* by Emporia, and translates *vico* by Vich. Now for a reply.

Firstly. All the biographers of our saint have placed his residence in the *Bonaventaberniae*, and never in *vico* or in *enim prope*.

Secondly. If a transcriber, through inadvertence or ignorance, gives a wrong reading, a fundamental canon for amending it is to alter as few letters or parts of a letter as possible, especially when the reading is given without a doubt expressed. Now, no doubt is expressed as to the phrase *enim prope*, yet we are asked to believe it was originally written *Emporio* ! Such liberty with a text is unpardonable.

Thirdly. The supplemental leaves to the *Book of Armagh* inform us of St. Patrick being by nationality a Briton, having been born in Britain ; yet the remark of our ingenious writer on this is that he was shipped from Bretonia to Ireland, and that his biographers confounded it with Great Britain. But Bretonia, in the N.E. of Spain

was the name merely of an episcopal see, and not of a nation; nor were its inhabitants called Britons.' Nor is Bretonia the same as Brittannia or Britanniae, a term exclusively applied to Britain. The life-long companions and fellow-labourers of our saint, forsooth, did not understand the story of his life as well as the writer in the I. E. RECORD, but confounded the place of his shipment with that of his nativity and the Bretonia as an episcopal district with the Britanniae of the British isles!

Fourthly. Our writer assumes that the Irish language was identical with the Iberian, or Spanish, and then derives from the Irish the word *taberniae*, which, we are told, means the flanking mountains, or, if we prefer it, the mountains of the sea. Why, the word could with as much propriety mean, in the Irish language, Timbuctoo. But it is too much to assume the identity of the Irish with the Iberian language; for the *Book of Armagh*¹ tells us that even the British language, in the days of St. Patrick, was different from the Irish.

Fifthly. The supplemental leaves to the *Book of Armagh*² inform us that after St. Patrick's escape from captivity in Ireland he left home for Rome, with a view of qualifying himself for the Irish mission. He accordingly crossed the British sea, on the south ('*mari dextro Britannico*'), and in making for Rome fell in with St. Germanus of Auxerre, where he tarried for a long time. Now, I ask, could a man under the southern shadow of the Pyrenees have a British sea on his south, or, in going to Rome, face northwards to Auxerre?

Sixthly. Our saint, remonstrating with Coroticus, and speaking in the name of the Irish, with whom he identifies himself, asked were they to be treated unworthily because they were Irish ('*de Hiberia nati sumus*'). Our ingenious writer insists that Hiberia is Iberia, and that this means Spain. Yet he has to admit that our saint always expresses Ireland by Hiberio, and the whole context shows that in the present instance the saint is speaking of Ireland. Why,

¹ Fol. xvi. ba.

² Brussels MSS.

then, change Hiberia to Iberia? Moreover, Iberia, in the fifth century, was never used as an expression for Spain. If it was, let us have a single instance in proof. On the other hand, Hispania or Hispaniae was the expression for Spain since, and for centuries previous to the days of St. Patrick. Thus Pope Innocent I., in St. Patrick's time, writing to Decentius,¹ dwells on the missionary work of Rome in evangelizing Africa, France, and Spain (Hispanias).

Seventhly. Coroticus, who carried away St. Patrick's converts while neophytes, is acknowledged to have been a prince in South Wales. Our saint addressed to him and his followers a letter of excommunication. He disowns them; but in doing so acknowledges a nationality common to all of them ('non dico civibus meis et civibus sanctorum Romanorum sed civibus demoniorum'); and the saint added that, as they contemptuously ignore him ('mei non cognoscunt'), they verify the proverb: 'Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet.' This is a proof of the Britannia Secunda being the birthplace of our saint.

Eightly. Our ingenious writer appeals to Probus, an Irish writer of the tenth century, who states that our saint's birthplace was not far from the Western Sea, and concludes that this means the Tuscan Sea. Only think of an Irish writer describing the Tuscan sea as a western sea, or our sea, as the supplement to the *Book of Armagh* gives it ('mari nostro').

The strange reasoning of our ingenious writer is in keeping with his wild hypothesis. The Tuscan sea, he suggests, was the 'Mare Inferum.' *Inferum* is the Irish *airthair* (not to my knowledge), and *airthair* would be *occidentalis*. Why, *Airthair* means quite the opposite—*orientalis*, or eastern.

Our ingenious writer having satisfied himself, by indirect proofs, that Britain was not our saint's birthplace, proceeds to give us direct proofs of it. He maintains that Britain is so far from being the birthplace of St. Patrick, that the saint, in three places, 'distinctly conveys that it is not, and

¹ Ep. Coustant.

is not the residence of his parents.' His first passage or proof runs thus :—

1. Iterum post paucos annos in Britannia eram cum 'parentibus' meis qui me ut filium exceperunt, et ex fide rogaverunt me ut vel modo post tantas tribulationes quas Ego pertuli nusquam ab illis discederem.

The wrong explanation given by our ingenious writer of this passage is that *parentibus*, which I have italicized, means relatives, and that their reception of him *as* (ut) a son proves he was not really a son. Now, any person who looks into the oldest life of our saint, from which all others are mainly copied, can see that there was question of parents in the above passage. The Index to the Life in the *Book of Armagh*, has :—

De secunda captura quam senis decies diebus ab inimicis pertulerat. De susceptione sua a parentibus ubi agnoverunt eum.

The relatives or natural parents given in the Life just quoted, and no others, are those to whom our saint refers in his Confession.

Furthermore, the derivative and primarily conventional meaning of *parentes* is parents. In the Confession the saint himself identifies *parentes* with father and mother. He spoke of those who became virgins, 'not with the will of their fathers (*patrum*), but rather suffered persecution and unjust reproaches from their parents' (*parentum*). Here clearly *parentes* and *patres* (fathers) are identified.

The Justinian Code, advocating the liberty of children to become religious, strictly forbids parents to interfere with them : 'Ut non liceat *parentibus* impedire.'¹

On the other hand, the Second Council of Toledo,² legislating on the children given up to the Church by their parents, decreed thus : 'De his quos voluntas *parentum* a primis infantiae annis in clericatus, &c.' Does the word *parentes* here exclude parents, and signify only relatives?

In looking into the Theodosian Code³ we get further proof of the meaning of *parentes* in our saint's time : 'Si

¹ Lib. i., tit. 3, de Epis., leg. 55.

² Ch. i.

³ Lib. ix., tit. 24.

quis cum parentibus puellae ante depectus invitam rapuerit vel volentem, &c.' Here, as in every passage of the fifth century, *parentes* signifies parents. The word, then, contrary to the assertion of our learned writer, had the same meaning as it has either in the Tridentine decrees on the consent of parents (*parentum*) to the marriage of their children; in the Roman Ritual on directions to parents (*parentes*) in regard to newly-born children; or, as in the Maynooth Statutes on the Catholic education of children by their parents (*parentum*).

(b) Our ingenious writer, remarking on the reception of St. Patrick *as* a son by his parents, says that the word *as* (*ut*) proves that he was not a real son. Not at all. I have shown that the word *parentes* meant parents; and, therefore, the parents in receiving him received their son. St. Patrick left, or was carried away from his home a beardless boy. He returned to his parents a full-grown man, with probably a flowing beard, with scanty and tattered garments, and speaking gibberish. What wonder there should be a passing doubt as to his identity! The *Book of Armagh* suggests some such hesitation; for a heading to one of its chapters runs thus: 'De susceptione sua a parentibus *ubi* agnoverunt eum.' There was question of recognising him, and *when* acknowledged he was received as their real son. Nothing could be plainer.

(c) But our ingenious writer proceeds to say that: 'There is not the slightest intimation that our saint's parents had their residence in Britain.' Indeed! The *Book of Armagh*, or, more correctly, its supplement in the Brussels manuscript (learnedly edited by Rev. P. E. Hogan, S.J.), states that 'Patrick was by nationality a Briton, being born in Britain;' and as we learn from the *Book of Armagh*, 'his father had a farm hard by where he was made a captive.' To this capture our saint alludes in his letter to Coroticus, where he says, 'that he came back to those who at one time seized me, and laid waste the male and female servants of my father's house,' 'domus patris mei.' And yet a bewildering theory is thrust on us, grounded on the bold assertion, that 'his parents had no residence in Britain!'

2. The second proof, equally as valueless as the first, in support of a baseless theory is given by the ingenious writer in English; but as I do not admit its correctness I give the original thus :—

Et comperi ab aliquantis fratribus ante defensionem illam quod ego non interfui nec in Britannis eram nec in me orietur ut et ille in mea absentia pro me pulsaret.

The only remark which our learned writer makes on this alleged proof is 'this passage does not show that Patrick says Britain was his country.'¹ Yes; but it is adduced by him to prove that St. Patrick 'conveys distinctly that Britain is not the place of his birth, or of his parents' residence.' Does it at all allude even to his parents or their residence? Assuredly, no. All the above passage proves is that Patrick was not in Britain on a particular occasion.

With a view to a clear understanding of the passage, I may mention that some persons had opposed the consecration of our saint because of some alleged fault. At this time, and for some time previously, our saint was studying with St. Germanus, at Auxerre, to whom, through the interference of Palladius, was committed the charge of the British churches. Palladius himself, a Roman deacon (I am quoting from the *Book of Armagh*), was sent the first bishop to Ireland; but having to return to Rome immediately after, he died, while returning, in Britain. The disciples of the dead chief Palladius, Augustin and Benedict, together with others crossed the English Channel, and made their way as far as Eburo-briga (Ebmoria). There they met St. Patrick accompanied by the priest sent with him by St. Germanus. The disciples of Palladius, with others, who were probably on their way to Germanus, and then were within some thirty or forty miles of Auxerre, announced the death of Palladius to St. Patrick, who was on his way to Ireland. He at once stopped and received consecration from Amatus. After his consecration our saint at once made his way through France, passed over to Britain, and thence to Ireland.² One of those who came with the

disciples of Palladius from Britain, probably opposed the consecration of St. Patrick at Eburno-briga, situated on the Yonne, by charging him with a fault which our saint told him in confidence thirty years previously; and this charge was made by one who previously *defended* him when his fitness for the mitre was discussed in Britain. To this our saint alluded in the passage under discussion, and already given in the original:—

And I learned from some of the brethren of that defence at which I was not present, nor was I in Britain, nor did it arise from me that he should solicit for me in my absence: he even said from his very mouth to myself ‘you are to be raised to the episcopal grade,’ of which I was not worthy. But how did it occur to him after to dishonour me publicly before the good and the bad?

Why, if I were in want of proof I would use the above passage as tending to establish the saint’s birthplace in Britain. For as he was opposed at his consecration for a fault committed thirty years previously, and told in trouble of mind when he was scarcely fifteen years old, the fault must have been committed before he was made captive, in his sixteenth year, in Britain. Now it can be clearly seen that the phrase: ‘I was not at all in Britain at the time’ (*‘nec in Britannis eram’*) does not give the proof promised—that St. Patrick was not born in Britain.

3. The third argument produced in proof of our saint being not born in Britain rests on the following passage:

Unde autem et si voluero dimittere illos et pergere in Brittannias, etsi libentissime paratus irem quasi ad patriam et parentes, et non solum sed etiam usque ad Gallias visitarem fratres.

(a) This extract would rather prove the contrary of what it is adduced for. The saint says that though he should have wished, and was ready, to go to Britain by abandoning his converts, and visit, as it were, his country and parents, and go even as far as Gaul to visit the brethren, yet he felt bound by the Spirit not to abandon the work he began. The objection raised is, that Britain is mentioned as if, and not as being, his country. Now, considering that

our saint renounced his country and parents ('ut patriam et parentes amitterem'), he had need of qualifying the statement that Britain was, in point of fact, his country.

Again: in his letter to Coroticus he says that for the love of God he made a surrender of his country, his parents, and his life, 'pro quibus tradidi patriam, et parentes, et animam meam;' and in another passage he states he sold his nobility or free-born condition and became a slave, 'vendidi enim nobilitatem meam denique servus sum.' Now as the barter of his nobility lost to him his freedom, so the renunciation of his country made him call Britain qualifiedly his country.

(b) There is an objection grounded on the statement that our saint was old when he was writing his confession, and that if he had wished to visit people in Britain they must be only relatives and not parents (*parentes*). He did not say then that he would visit them: he merely said that though he had wished to go to Britain the Spirit forbade him. Our saint used indiscriminately the various moods to express his desire to have visited his country, *etsi voluero, irem, valde optabam*. So, too, in another passage, he declares that 'poverty and calamities befit him more than riches and delights. Wretched and unfortunate as I am, though I were to desire riches (*etsi voluero*) I have them not, nor deem myself worthy.' He wished to show that he was not an alien to his country from human motives, but habitually wished to visit it and his parents; and not only so, but from spiritual motives to visit the brethren in distant Gaul, which was the country merely of his education. No wish is expressed about Spain.

4. The following words are quoted as an objection to Britain as his birthplace: 'The Lord dispersed us among many nations, even to the ends of the earth.' Our writer asks could St. Patrick have spoken so if he and his fellow-captives were taken from Britain to Ireland? Where were the many nations (*gentes*) in Ireland? The *gens* does not mean a nation. There were indeed many (*gentes*) clans in Ireland. Thus, in the *Book of Armagh*,¹ the angel directed

¹ Fol. 21 c.

that in cases difficult for the judges of Ireland, arising among the Scottish clans (*Scotorum gentium*), they should be referred to the see of St. Patrick. Thus, too, in the old 'Corpus' Missal the prayer of St. Patrick makes mention of his mission to the Irish clans (*Hibernenses gentes*) who sat in darkness.

Again: in the Book of the Angel, already referred to, St. Patrick is represented as having from God as his parish the entire *nations* of the Irish (*universas Scotorum gentes*). The Irish clans (*gentes*) correspond to the Roman *gens* Julii, Servilii, Quinctilii, Curiatii, &c.

(b) Our saint very appropriately described himself in Ireland as at the ends of the world. If Britain, in sight of the Continent, was said to be separated from the entire world, with greater reason could the same be said of Ireland. No matter how near or otherwise St. Patrick's birthplace in South Wales was to Ireland, he was fully justified in applying to Ireland, because of its remoteness, the language which Claudian applied even to Romanized Britain:—

Venit ab *extremis* legio praetenta Britanni,
Quae Scoto dat frena truci.¹

And when our saint looked out from the shores of Tirawly over the boundless ocean, he was justified, without copying any stereotyped phrase, in his realistic description of his position, 'ad exteras partes ubi nemo ultra erat.'

5. The ingenious writer has undertaken to correct the plainest passage in the saint's Confession by historical blunders, and to the detriment of history. The *Book of Armagh* opens the Confession of our saint in the following words:—'I Patrick had for father Calpurnius, a deacon (*diaconum*), son of Potitus, son of Odissus, a priest (*presbyteri*).

The comment made on this by our writer is that:—

It is possible Patrick wrote decurion (*decurionem*), and that (*diaconum*) deacon is the transcriber's guess, and would assume wrongly that *presbyter* meant a priest.

In proof of the possible blunder of the transcriber, our

¹ *De Bello Get.*, 416.

theorizing critic blunders by saying 'there is no setting aside the fact that, except in this improbable instance, antiquity shows no case of a *decurio* being a deacon.'

Such is not the fact. I may here mention that St. Patrick in his letter to Coroticus says his father was a decurion.

Firstly, the Roman laws forbade any persons being ordained who were incorporated into a society for the service of the State without the consent of the Senate or the Emperor. For the duties of the ecclesiastical and civil conditions were deemed incompatible. By these laws decurions were forbidden being ordained. However, weariness of the world and a yearning after a more perfect life led to the evasion of the law. But to meet the objection that a religious call should not be conscientiously disregarded, it was enacted that religion or a monastic state should be entered for fifteen years before ordination was permissible. Hence the law of Justinian :—¹

Sed neque cohartales neque decuriones clerici fiunt—dempto si monachicam aliquis ex ipsis non minus quindecim annis transegeris.

By the laws of Theodosius Junior² and Valentinian the Third,³ bishops, presbyters, or deacons, when ordained, had to provide a substitute qualified in every respect to serve in the corporation from which the ordained had been taken.

The laws of Valentinian and Theodosius the Great ordained thus :—

Eos qui ad clericatus se privilegio contulerunt aut agnoscere primam oportet functionem aut ei corpori quod declinant proprii patrimonii facere cessionem.

To prevent decurions from being ordained deacons, not only the State but the Church interfered. For, sometimes when ordained and found very useful they were recalled by the State. St. Ambrose informs us that deacons who had been for thirty years in the service of the Church were recalled to the Curial duties : 'Per triginta et innumeros

¹ *Novellæ* 123, c. 15.

² *Novellæ* 26, *de corporalis Urbis Romæ*, &c

³ *Novellæ* 12, *ibid.*

annos retrahuntur a munere sacro et curiae deputantur.'¹ Yet we have been boldly told by our writer that antiquity furnishes no instance of a decurion being made a deacon!

The deaconship of the father is given clearly and unhesitatingly in the *Book of Armagh* and in the Life found in its supplementary Brussels manuscript; and from these all other manuscripts subsequently more or less perfectly have copied. It is unwise, then, to state that the mention of deacon in connection with the father of our saint was unknown to the early writers of the Irish Church: it is not creditable boldly to assert that antiquity shows no instance of a decurion being a deacon.

Secondly. Our learned writer thinks it 'possible' as the transcriber of the *Book of Armagh* wrongly (?) made a deacon out of a decurion, that he wrongly concluded *presbyter* to be a priest. Our critic says it is *dishonest* to translate the word by priest rather than by a lay official, such as senator. For this extraordinary explanation of *presbyter* two arguments are drawn by him from the writings of St. Patrick:—

Everywhere the Lord ordained clerics through my mediocrity. It is the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send holy presbyters to redeem baptized captives.

And I sent by a holy presbyter whom I taught from his infancy, and I sent with him clergy (clerici) asking them for some of the captives they had taken.

The argument founded by our theorist on these extracts is thus formulated: 'Patrick calls those whom he ordained *clerici* or *sacerdotes*, and not *presbyteri*. In two places in which *presbyteri* for the redemption of captives is found, it has no connection with priestly duties, and the words excluded *presbyter* from meaning priest.'

So far is it from being wrong to assume *presbyter* to mean priest, it were wrong to assume it as meaning anything else.

Prosper of Aquitaine tells us that in connection with the dispute about grace, St. Augustine writing to Xistus before being Pope, who succeeded Pope Celestine in the year 432,

¹ Ep. 29.

calls him '*beatissimum presbyterum nunc vero Pontificem.*' Here, surely, *presbyter* did not mean a lay official. In the Book of the Angel¹ we read there 'were in the Southern Basilica at Armagh, bishops and presbyters (*presbyteri*), and anchorites, and various religious. Does the word *presbyter* here mean senators? The same *Book of Armagh* speaks of the ordination of bishops and priests (*presbiteri*) after being baptized in their advanced age and taught by St. Patrick.'²

In principle as well as in fact our critical theorist is at fault. For, as a general rule, *clerici* by itself meant those in the ecclesiastical state, but in conjunction with bishops and presbyters meant the inferior clergy; the mention of *presbiter* in the fifth century universally meant a priest to my mind; and if it meant a lay officer in any passage I challenge its production.

Thirdly. Our writer states that it argues only a secular office to have sent presbyters to ask back some of the captives from Coroticus, and that the fact of their being accompanied by clerics? (priests) proves the *presbyter* to have been a layman. That *presbyter* meant a priest, and *clerici* inferior ministers, is known to every ecclesiastic with even elementary knowledge. The *presbyter* was the same as *sacerdos*, with the difference that *sacerdos* was employed to designate a bishop when it was coupled with *summus*, *primus*, *princeps*. The *clerici* by itself included all who had their lot or inheritance in the Church. To illustrate what I say we have only to look into the Councils or fathers of the Church. St. Cyprian, speaking of Optatus and Saturus, whom he ordained respectively sub-deacon and lector, calls them *clerics*.³ His contemporary Lucian, martyr, calls lectors and exorcists clerics: '*Presente de clero exorcista et lectore, Lucianus scripsit.*'⁴

The third Council of Carthage, Canon 21, extended the name of clerics even to the Psalmista and Ostiarius, and the same council forbade civil employment to the clergy: '*Placuit ut Episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vel clerici non sint*

¹ *Book of Armagh*, fol. 21.

² Fol. 9, b. 1.

³ Ep. 24, al. 29.

⁴ Epis. 17, al. 23.

conductores.' St. Ambrose, speaking for the Church of Milan, says¹: 'Aliud est quod ab Episcopo requirit Deus, aliud quod a *Presbytero*, et aliud quod a Diacono, et aliud quod a clerico, et aliud quod a laico.' And St. Hilary, speaking for the entire Latin Church, as well as for Gaul, says: 'Nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.'

These authorities ought to give a clear idea of the meaning of *presbyter* and *clerici*. We learn clearly their relative position from Optatus: 'Quid commemorem Presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio;' from the Council of Eliberis: 'xxvi. presbyteris resedentibus, adstantibus diaconis,' &c.; from the condemnation of Jovinian, with the approval of all, by Pope Siricius: 'Tam presbyterorum et diaconum quam totius cleri;' and from St. Jerome: 'Et nos habemus in Ecclesia coetum presbyterorum.'

I have stated more than enough to prove that our saint sent, in the person of a presbyter, a priest for the restoration of the captives. Nor was it wise to add that such an office of charity 'had no connection with priestly duties.' St. Ambrose melted down the vessels of the altar to redeem captives;² St. Augustine did the same; Deo Gratias of Carthage did the same, and extorted the praise of Victor Uticensis.³ Paulinus of Nola, the probable ordainer of St. Patrick, in Campania, sold himself to redeem the son of a widow; and are we to suppose that St. Patrick considered this work of religion and humanity peculiar to a layman?

That the person sent by St. Patrick for the release of his captives was a priest (presbyter) is strongly suggested even by the *Book of Armagh*. It states⁴ that the priests (*presbyteris*) ordained by our saint were innumerable, as he daily baptized men to whom he taught literary and sacred knowledge. Now, we may fairly infer that it was not as a mere schoolmaster St. Patrick acted, with a gigantic work before him, by instructing a youth for thirty years, but to fit him for being, what he was, a priest (presbyter). The person

¹ *De dig. Sacerd.*, c. iii.

² *De Offic.*

³ *De persecut. Van.*

⁴ Fol. ix., b. 1.

first sent, with his attendant clerics, by St. Patrick, and laughed to scorn by Coroticus, was a consecrated priest; and the person secondly sent with a letter of excommunication, on the event of not having the captives restored, was also consecrated to religion (*famulus Dei*).¹ *Famulus* and *famula Dei* were convertible terms for male and female religious. Evidence, then, of the meaning of *presbyter* and *clerici*, as used by St. Patrick, may be gathered from the luminous page of contemporary history.

Behold an additional instance of the abuse of language. Our saint, in his Confession, says: 'You know how I have conducted myself *a juventute mea*.'

The unnatural and unusual comment made on this phrase is that the saint means from the end of his youth, having come on the Irish mission in his fifty-second year, rather than from the beginning of his youth.

Now the phrase occurs in another passage in our saint's writings, but could not have such a meaning: 'Ever since I came to know Him (God) *a juventute mea* the love of God has increased in me. The *a juventute mea* here refers to his captivity in his sixteenth year. For he says, 'he was in incredulity and death till he was corrected by daily hunger almost to fainting in Ireland, and fitted me for what I never hoped for . . . and that the fear and love of God since then increased more and more.' Now this, and much more to the same effect, proves that, even supposing our saint understood fifty years as the end of youth, he did not refer the *a juventute mea* to the end, but beginning of his youth. Thus, too, in the Gospel, the young man (*adolescens*) says to our Lord: 'I have observed all these things *a juventute mea*.'²

Now the phrase in this case could not mean the end of youth, for the age of adolescence did not extend beyond the end of youth. Again, the Psalmist says: 'Son receive instruction *a juventute tua*.'³ Here the phrase evidently did not mean the end of youth.

In like manner, St. Paul, speaking in his defence before Festus, said: 'All the Jews know my life *a juventute mea*.'⁴

¹ Folio clxxiv., b. 2.

² Matt. xix. 20.

³ Ps. lxx. 17.

⁴ Acts, xxvi. 4.

That did not include up to the time he wrote, in the year 60. For after being brought in youth from Tarsus to Jerusalem for education, and having become a Christian in A.D. 34, he turned his back on Jerusalem and his brother Pharisees, lived in Cyprus, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and Cæsarea, where he appeals to the Jews of Jerusalem for their knowledge of him *a juventute mea*. In like manner, and with greater reason, as he spent his many last years of life with the Irish, did St. Patrick say to them, in reference to the time of his captivity, 'You know how I conducted myself among you *a juventute mea*.'

Certain dates are fixed on by our theorist for which history must be disjointed. Thus the year 372 is given by him for the birth of our saint; 404 that of his captivity; 424 that of his consecration in his fifty-second year; 448 that of his Confession; and 458 that of his death, having been thirty-five years on the Irish mission.

1. Now 372 could not be the year of his birth if 404 was that of his captivity. As our saint says in his Confession he was made a captive in his sixteenth year, and continued so for six years.

2. If 372 was the year of his birth, 404 could not be a year of his captivity for the above reason.

3. He could not have been consecrated in 424 if born in 372; firstly, because, as he tells us, at his consecration he was charged with a fault committed thirty years previously, and was scarcely fifteen years when committed. Secondly, because our theorist says our saint wrote his Confession in the year 448, and he was then, and even before then when he wrote to Coroticus, thirty years in Ireland, having trained a priest from his infancy; therefore, in 448 the number 30 does not square with 424.

4. If our saint was fifty-two years old when consecrated in 424, he should have been thirty-two years when captured in the year 404; yet, the Confession says he was then only sixteen years, and six years in captivity.

5. Thirty-five years could not be the term of the saint's mission in Ireland, dying in the year 458. For having written the Confession ten years previously in 448, and

having been even before then, when he wrote to Coroticus, thirty years on the mission, he should be over forty years on the mission in Ireland.

6. The year 458 could not be the year of the saint's death, if, being consecrated in 424, he had been over forty years on the mission.

Such self-contradictions together with the contradictions to the writings of our national saint, which I could multiply, and to his oldest Life in the *Book of Armagh*, are the result of a wild theory; and this result is the more remarkable as the theory is propped by the mutilation of texts, the violence offered to the plainest meaning of words, and by the misrepresentation of historical facts.

Just ten years ago St. Patrick's birthplace was identified and published in the I. E. RECORD. It took its place not as a theory or hypothesis, but as an absolute certainty clearly established; so clearly and naturally as to excite wonder that the discovery had not been previously and easily made. Now as then Usktown stands forth as the birthplace of St. Patrick, a proof against every objection that may be derived from a linguistic, geographical, historical or any other source.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG

THE subject of education is so extensive, that it would be impossible to enter into it at length. It is one of the great subjects of the age, on which theories have been propounded and treatises written, and which seems still inexhaustible. Our object, however, is to show the importance of grounding education on religion, so as to bring up the child, instructed not alone in secular knowledge, but imbued with the principles of faith, and trained to the practice of piety. What appears to be the tendency of the age is the desire to separate religion from education, to hand over to the State the training of the young, and to gradually exclude the Church from her sacred office of providing for the instruction of the little ones of Christ's fold. Such a separation must be condemned by thinking men of every denomination. The late Sir Robert Peel once said: 'I am for a religious, as opposed to a secular education. I believe, as Lord John Russell has said, that such an education (which is not avowedly religious), is only half an education, with the most important half neglected;' and we require but little experience of the world to know that if the principles of religion be not instilled in youth, it is vain to expect to find them in after years. 'The things thou hast not gathered in thy youth,' says Ecclesiasticus, 'how shalt thou find them in thy old age?' The young mind is easily moulded to any shape we please, and the impressions made upon it usually remain in after life. Some trifling words, some thoughtless remark, or, it may be some pious admonition, frequently exercises a magic influence over the unformed mind of the child, giving it a particular bias for good or evil. This idea has been beautifully expressed by the distinguished American writer Longfellow in his *Outrè Mer*.

If [says he] we trace back to its fountain the mighty torrent which fertilizes the land with its abundant streams, or sweeps it

¹ Eccl. xxii. 3.

with a desolating flood, we shall find it dripping from the crevice of a rock in the distant solitudes of the forest: so too the gentle feelings that enrich and beautify the heart, and the mighty passions that sweep away all the barriers of the soul, and destroy society, may have sprung up in the shadowy recesses of the past, from a nursery song or a fireside tale.

Early impressions are of the utmost importance, and remain till the latest age; and when advancing years have impaired the faculties, do we not often find these first impressions still glowing on the page of memory, whilst those of later years have faded away?

In their anxiety about secular education, men appear to forget that there is a knowledge of greater importance than what facts of history or scientific problems can impart. They seem to lose sight of the truth that man is not a mere animal, but that he possesses an immortal soul, the salvation of which is the supreme good. 'Knowledge,' according to the Wise Man, 'is a fountain of life to him that possesseth it';¹ but he speaks of that true knowledge which springs from the study of God's Law. There is another kind of knowledge of which the Apostle speaks, which 'puffeth up,' and which fills the mind with pride and vanity. Now, what will it avail to be profoundly versed in science, to be an accomplished linguist, to be an eloquent orator, to be a successful statesman, if God be forgotten, and His service be neglected? 'For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?'² St. Augustine tersely expressed it when he said: 'He who knows God knows enough, though he be ignorant of other things; but he who knows not God knows nothing, though he may know all other things.' Secular education, which excludes religion from the school, is simply a modern form of paganism. Once excluded from the school, it will soon be neglected in the home; and the young will grow up learned, perhaps, in this world's knowledge, but ignorant of the only knowledge that is really worth having.

Two things are indispensably necessary for a truly Christian man—sound faith and pure morals. And how is

¹ Prov. xxix. 17.

² Matt. xvi. 26.

he to acquire these except by careful training? If the young mind be left to itself, ordinarily speaking we know it will tend to evil, and we cannot expect from it the good fruits of virtue. Since the fall of Adam there is in man a natural proclivity to vice, but the voice of conscience and the dictates of religion alike point out to him the necessity of virtue, and the conflict thus generated remains during life (at least to a spiritual man) a source of pain and anxiety. This conflict St. Paul experienced and thus described in forcible terms:—‘I find then a law, that when I have a will to do good, evil is present with me. For I am delighted with the law of God, according to the inward man: but I see another law in my members fighting against the law of my mind, and captivating me in the law of sin, that is in my members.’ Thus drawn to sin, which he loathed in his heart, he cried out: ‘Unhappy man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?’ And knowing the only source from which he could derive strength, he immediately answered: ‘The grace of God, by Jesus Christ our Lord.’¹ Now this conflict was not peculiar to St. Paul. It is, unfortunately, the lot all, and the skilful training of the young Christian athletes for this spiritual combat is the duty alike of parent and of pastor.

The first duty is to instil the principles of faith into the minds of the young, knowing that ‘without faith it is impossible to please God,’² and next to guard that faith from danger. Faith, indeed, is a priceless gift; consequently, it should not be exposed to danger. It can be, and often is, weakened, or even entirely lost, through evil associations, particularly the associations of school and college. This was why our ancestors in penal times preferred the enforced ignorance imposed by cruel laws to knowledge acquired at the peril of their faith. They chose to be what St. Gregory the Great described St. Benedict, ‘*Scienter nesciens et sapienter indoctus*’—‘learnedly ignorant and wisely unlettered,’ rather than drink in knowledge from a poisoned source. Their love for learning was great, but their love

¹ Rom. vii. 21-25.

² Heb. xi. 6

for the faith was greater still ; and though their schools were banned, and their religion proscribed ; though their churches were desecrated, and their altars profaned ; though learning, and wealth, and honour were offered as the price of the sacrifice of faith, they nobly spurned the proffered bribe, and chose the poverty of the afflicted Lazarus in preference to the purple and fine linen of Dives. The penal days were a sad, yet a glorious epoch in the history of our Church, for then 'her sanctuary was desolate like a wilderness, her festival days were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honours were brought to nothing. Her dishonour was increased according to her glory, and her excellency was turned into mourning.'¹ Catholics could then acquire learning and instruction in their faith only by stealth ; yet how they strove to acquire the one, and how nobly they clung to the other, is the great glory of our Church and people. They transmitted unsullied the legacy of the true faith to their descendants, and our fathers, in turn, have transmitted it unsullied to us. We contend for the right to teach the principles of that faith in our schools to the young ; and, surely, no right is more sacred. St. Paul admonishes parents to bring up their children 'in the discipline and correction of the Lord.'² And long before him Solomon had said : 'Instruct thy son, and he shall refresh thee, and shall give delight to thy soul.'³ Ecclesiasticus had similarly expressed himself : 'He that instructeth his son shall be praised in him, and shall glory in him in the midst of them of his household.'⁴ But as it is unreasonable to expect that he who has not the faith himself could impart it to others, the necessity is at once apparent of having Catholic teachers for Catholic children. 'Faith cometh by hearing,' as the Apostle assures us, and so does the knowledge of the virtues which the possession of the true faith implies. It is through oral teaching that most knowledge is communicated ; and not only in the New Law, but also in the Old, this system of instruction was

¹ 1 Machab. i. 41, 42.

² Ephes. vi. 4.

³ Prov. xxix. 17.

⁴ Eccl. xxx. 2.

enjoined upon God's people. After giving the Commandments to the Israelites, God said to them: 'Teach your children that they meditate upon them, when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest on the way, and when thou liest down, and risest up.'¹ Indeed, our every-day experience so clearly proves the necessity of mental training, that it requires no proof; but if in literature and science this be necessary, it is doubly so in the matter of religion. The human mind is so prone to wander from the right path, that it takes all our precautions to keep it from going astray; but the Wise Man assures us that the child who is trained up in the way he should go, even when he is old, will not depart from it. But what use is all training, or what use is the possession of all knowledge, if not grounded upon religion? It is religion that gives its proper direction to learning, that sanctifies and elevates it into a sacred science. It is religion that digs the channel for the current of the young Christian mind wherein it may steadily flow to the great ocean of God's love and service. It is religion alone that properly animates all knowledge, because 'the commandment is a lamp, and the law a light, and reproofs of instruction are the way of life.'² What were all the learned systems and vain theories of the pagan philosophers, but a mere skeleton, because they lacked the spirit of religion? How futile were their teachings which rested upon a false code of morality; and how ineffectual to satisfy the cravings of the soul, since they held out no certainty of a world beyond the grave! And equally vain are modern systems which would exclude religion from the schoolroom and the study-hall, which would give us again the dry skeleton of a pagan education, and rob us of the living soul which Catholic training imparts. Is such a system calculated to foster the life of the soul, and to make it what St. Paul declared it to be—'the temple of the living God'?³ Certainly not; for if you divorce science from religion, and leave the mind to wander at will through the fields of speculative philosophy, it will soon make shipwreck

¹ Deut. xi. 19.² Prov. vi. 23.³ 2 Cor. vi. 6.

of the faith, and end in destruction. A sound religious training is the foundation on which to erect the superstructure of learning—it is the fortress that is able to withstand the assaults of the spiritual enemy.

But it is not alone in matters of faith that the young require instruction. They must, in addition, be taught the code of morality imposed by that faith. They have duties to discharge to God, to their neighbours, and to themselves; and where can these be taught more effectually than in the schoolroom? It is true this duty devolves first upon parents; but observe how long in the day scholars at school are withdrawn from the influence of their parents, and still more so, those at college. If, then, children attend a school where no religious instruction is given them; above all, if they associate with others of depraved morals, we know what will be the natural result. ‘With the holy, thou wilt be holy,’ said David; ‘and with the innocent man thou wilt be innocent; and with the elect thou wilt be elect; and *with the perverse thou wilt be perverted.*’¹ Is not this especially true of the young, whose minds are so susceptible of good or bad impressions? With the perverse they shall, indeed, soon become perverted; for though at first their virtuous nature may shudder at the sight of vice, yet soon from familiarity with it, they will come to endure it, to love it, and, finally, to practise it. No efforts, then, should be spared to save the young from the knowledge of evil, and from the company of those whose example teaches it, for ‘evil communications corrupt good morals.’ Too soon, perhaps, will they come to know the wickedness of the world, too soon will they experience the violence of temptation; but, if trained in the maxims and the practice of piety in youth, they will be able to fight the more successfully against the dangers of after years.

Here, however, we will be told that the argument fails; that we see many from time to time who have received all the advantages of early religious training fall away from virtue, and, in some instances, become rocks of scandal.

¹ Ps. xvii, 26, 27.

What, then, becomes of the religious training in their case, or where are the good fruits it produces? This objection, specious at first sight, rests entirely upon a false hypothesis. Religious training does not pretend to eradicate the passions; it merely teaches us how to subdue them, and, when subdued, to keep them in subjection. Who will say that if a man fail to put into practice the good instructions given him, that, therefore, the blame is chargeable to the early training? But this objection supposes more than this; it assumes that because the education does not prevent evil, it is, therefore, the cause of it. Now, it is a trite saying among philosophers that 'what proves too much proves nothing.' And so it is in the present instance; for as in the first family on earth there was found a Cain, as in the household of Jacob there was found a Ruben, as Amnon and Absalom were the shame and the sorrow of David, and as in the very school of Christ there was a Judas; so, to the end of time, some will be found who will resist grace and spurn instruction. From the example of such no sound objection can be urged. We look rather to the millions who are benefited by early religious training than to the few who reject its blessings.

Two different parables of our divine Lord, however, sufficiently answer the objection without going farther for solution. In the one He tells us of a sower who went out to sow seed, some of which fell by the wayside, and was trodden down; and other some fell upon a rock, and withered away for want of moisture; and other some fell among thorns, and was choked; and other some fell upon good ground, and produced fruit a hundredfold. Now, here the sower was the same, the seed sowed was alike, the only difference consisted in the soil on which it fell. And, in the second parable, He tells us how good seed was sowed in well-prepared soil, and took root; but an enemy came in the night and over-sowed it with cockle, which grew equally with the good seed, and was reserved for the fire of destruction. The application of these parables is apparent, and from them one can see how frivolous is the objection advanced against religious training.

But even in the case of those who, well-instructed in

youth, give way to passion and plunge into vice; who seem in the gratification of their senses to forget the spiritual joys of their youth, is the blessing of early religious instruction always and entirely lost? No; certainly not. What was it induced the prodigal son, mentioned in the Gospel, to arise in the day of his distress, and return to the home of his kind and loving father? Was it not the early training and the delights he had felt in that home of youth and innocence? Was it not the memory of those by-gone days, when, as a distinguished orator has expressed it, 'life was young and hope unbroken, and the chalice of guilty pleasure untasted'? Yes; even in the days of his wandering, in the years of his folly and vice, virtue still had charms for him, and the vessel of his soul, broken by many a crime, retained to the end the scent of youth's roses—the odour that early virtue and religious training had left behind. As when an exile, pining in a foreign land, hears some once familiar but long-forgotten song, and at once a thousand memories of childhood and youth sweep across his soul, and tears of fond emotion fill his eyes, and an indescribable longing for the place of his nativity takes possession of him; so is it with our once virtuous but erring youth. The old familiar voice of religion reaches him in the strange land of sin, and images of the past rise up before his mind in all their bright, unsullied beauty. The years, unstained by sin, when prayer was his delight, confession his comfort, and the Eucharist the joy of his soul; the years when he loved to learn what religion taught, and to practise what his faith inculcated—these, with all their tender associations, shake his soul with an agony of remorse, open up the fountain of his tears, convulsively rend his very heart, till, crushed, subdued, and humbled, he cries out in his distress, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee: I am not worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.'¹ Thus the early graces are not all lost—the plant of early virtue has still vitality in its roots. Still more does this hold true when sickness tears off the tinsel from the pleasures of life.

¹ St. Luke, xv. 18, 19.

When the shadows are gathering round him, and in that strange land of sin into which he has wandered, he is realising the nothingness of the world ; when the vista of eternity is opening out before him with its endless joys or its endless sorrows, there still remains 'the lingering light of his boyhood's years' to guide the penitent back to the home of youth. Just as a crystal spring, whose fountain has been choked, and whose course has been impeded by the weeds that cluster round it, sends forth its living waters gushing freshly as ever when the hand of the husbandman has cleared its channel ; so, when the hand of sickness has gathered the weeds of vice from the heart of the prodigal, and laid it open to the influence of God's vivifying grace, then does the stream of faith, and hope, and charity well up once more, and gush forth again with the vigour and the freshness of his earlier days. Thus in the supreme moment of existence, when the poison of sin seemed to have done its deadly work, an antidote is furnished by the remembrance of the lessons learned in the time of boyhood.

'And if such things be done in the green wood, what shall be done in the dry?' If religious training in youth produce such fruits in the prodigal, who shall enumerate its effects in the just? Who can count the temptations it has enabled them to overcome, the occasions of sin it has made them avoid, and the many virtues it has taught them to practise? Unseen by the world, a warfare is daily going on within the precincts of the soul, and victory is been recorded in favour of virtue. Unpretending piety which loves concealment from the world is one effect of this early training, for the truly good seek not to display their piety before the world. Like the *Singaddi*, or night-tree, which grows by the rivers of Sumatra, and which opens its flowers and exhales its perfume only in the darkness and stillness of the night ; so do holy souls love to commune with God in secret, and offer to Him the perfume of prayer when the busy world needs not, and sluggards are sunk in repose.

Religious instruction is, then, the greatest blessing which the young can receive, for, as has been truly said, 'education is an ornament in prosperity, and a refuge in adversity.' It

was what moulded the saints of the Old Law, and guided the early Christians in the New Law ; and it is what still must guide the young in the way of virtue. The rich man may lose his wealth, the king may be hurled from his throne, all the honours of the world may be wrecked by the storms of adversity ; but the treasure of virtue imparted by religious training will survive every tribulation, and remain with us when friends forsake us, when the world is melting from our vision, and our souls enter into the house of their eternity.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

CONDUCT AND CONFESSION

WHAT ought I to do, is the many-sided problem that all human beings, while they have the use of reason, have to be perpetually solving. It is the crown of all our worries and perplexities. It enters into all our joys and sorrows, into all the details of our life. There is a right and a wrong way of doing everything. Nothing we freely do is so unimportant as not to have this characteristic. In real life there is always a motive, or collection of motives, on account of which we act, whenever we do so freely, and not instinctively and unreflectingly ; and in this way there is always some merit or demerit in what we do, whether that doing is chiefly exterior, or in our minds and wills only, the conduct and management of which are much more important than what appears exteriorly. Merit and demerit vary infinitely, not only from the intention we have in acting, but also from the acts themselves ; some being about 'trifles light as air,' while others have for their sanctions 'proofs from holy Writ.' Nevertheless, we require to be always on our guard, for the consequence of trifles are often the very reverse of trifling.

The teaching of others by word and example, and our own experience, give us practical rules for the conduct of

life. And yet there is no one who is not frequently puzzled as to the right thing to do in the varying circumstances which day by day develop. It is not enough to know how; it is still more important to have the good will to act rightly. It will be enough, and more than enough, here to consider about knowing how. Even this must be restricted to considering where we have mainly to apply for information, when our moral and religious conscience is concerned and puzzled, as to what is sin and what is not, what is in harmony with genuine piety and what is not, how is a man to know in what manner a Christian in any state under any circumstances ought to behave.

This is one of the greatest blessings the Catholic Church confers on her children, guidance safe, sure, and scientific in this all-important sphere. For two thousand years her saints and doctors, in whom every species of moral and mental excellence have been conspicuous, have devoted themselves to the study and elaboration of all moral and religious questions affecting all human relations and circumstances. The fruit of their holiness, wisdom, learning, and labour in this field, is moral and ascetic theology. Their prayerful study has never lost touch with real experience. A chief spur to them 'to scorn delights and live laborious days' in this work has been the requirements of human society in its manifold developments. Over all their fruitful toils the Church has kept watch with the divinely promised guidance of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of truth, which guidance accommodates itself to human needs and human modes of motion.

In the merely natural order there is a science of morals, of the principles and rules of conduct in all the relations of life. This science is called ethics or moral philosophy. It is a branch of philosophy of the greatest importance, and always most highly valued and sedulously cultivated in the Church. Its principles and conclusions enter largely into moral theology, which deals with conduct in the light of revelation, while using, too, in every way the light of reason. The natural order is not superseded, maimed, or dwarfed by the supernatural, but, on the contrary, elevated,

developed, and perfected thereby. Christianity has made human life and conduct immensely more complicated than the mere natural order presents it; but it has introduced supreme order into all its complications, so that no one need be at a loss how to satisfy conscience in his conduct in any state or circumstance, if he will listen to the directions and counsels of the Church. The most perplexing problems of human conduct are being perpetually solved, and unhappy consciences perpetually relieved and healed by the application to their miseries of that wisdom which is stored up in moral theology. Not only are miseries and diseases of the moral and spiritual order alleviated and healed, but through the same channel human beings are led on to every form of moral and spiritual good and greatness. These results are mainly for the general faithful brought about through confession: for it is chiefly through the Sacrament of Penance that the treasures of wisdom stored in moral and ascetic theology are distributed. Men carefully selected, having positive signs that they are divinely called to the work, are trained with all possible care in the knowledge and application to human needs of moral theology. It is not enough that they should be priests of the Most High, they must be known to have knowledge enough, they must have given proof of worthiness of their awful responsibilities, they must be delegated by their prelates to sit in the tribunal of God and with full consciousness of the sublimity and requirements of their office, and the tremendous consequences of how they discharge it, they administer by the institution of our Lord Himself this most consoling sacrament, more than any other typical of the unutterable mercy of God.

Of course not all come up to the ideal the Church forms of what a confessor should be. Seeing what human nature is, it is one of the many miracles of grace existing in the Catholic Church, that this ideal is realized all the world over in so many cases, and that wherever there are Catholics in any number there are so many competent and satisfactory directors within common reach of the faithful. A prudent, competent, holy confessor is one of the greatest blessings anyone could experience; one of the most valuable

members of human society, of whom the saying: 'Worth his weight in gold,' but feebly conveys the idea of his inestimable value. Whatever truth there is in the saying: 'No one is more dangerous than a pious fool,' it is quite certain, that no advice is so reliable as that of a wise and pious confessor, who knows when to judge that an act or line of conduct is obligatory, and in what degree, or advisable, or perfectly optional to adopt or decline. This does not mean, as every Catholic knows, that we surrender our consciences to the absolute rule of the confessor. Every man is accountable for himself, his own conscience it is which he ought to follow; but, inasmuch as we are bound to do what we can to have right and true consciences, and to avoid wrong and false ones, the advice and direction of one specially trained, and specially aided by Divine grace, must be of the greatest assistance in the moral and spiritual struggle on which our highest interests depend. A man, who is his own lawyer, is said to have a fool for his client, and something analogous must be said of one who thinks himself able to dispense with moral and spiritual counsel.

Through confession, more than any other way, human conduct is brought into harmony with the moral and spiritual order. Catholics hold with the certainty of faith, that it is God's will and law that they should tell in confession all the sins they have on their conscience, which they believe to be grievous and never before absolved. Forgiveness of these sins is not by any means the sole fruit of confessing them, but many other great blessings are thereby secured. Not to mention the immense relief which all experience proves it is to one conscious of sin and crime to pour out his miseries to another in whose secrecy and sympathy he can absolutely confide, a specially great advantage is knowledge of how we ought to conduct ourselves interiorly and exteriorly in matters where our conscience is concerned. This in itself is a priceless boon. Again, it is almost altogether through confession that the morally diseased learn how to heal their hideous maladies. In the same way, too, as has already been intimated, we get to know in perplexing cases what we are downright

bound to do, or to avoid, and wherein we are perfectly free to act one way or the other. And this knowledge is marvellously efficacious in liberating the mind from anxieties, scruples, and multiform distress.

It must be remembered that it is the grace of God which makes confession so fruitful. God, who created human nature, and knows infinitely well its requirements in every shape, instituted the Sacrament of Penance in all its parts—confession, contrition, and satisfaction, as one most necessary and most consoling mode of conferring all kinds of grace and help on his sinful but penitent creatures. Penitent and confessor, hearer and preacher, faith in grace is what makes these certain it is worth their while to go through the pain and labour of telling and listening, of instructing, exhorting, resolving. Without grace we are all but helpless in our moral struggles; with grace we are able for all difficulties; we are more than a match for all our enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil. There are sublimer means of grace than confession; there are none more practical, none more expressive of God's mercy towards knowledge of and condensation to human needs and weakness.

The best proof—at any rate a perfect proof—of the divine institution of confession is experience of it. Miserable slaves of vice are being constantly delivered and restored to moral and spiritual health by the persistent use of confession. The very fact of having made up their minds to go frequently and regularly is an immense deterrent against yielding to the suggestions of temptation and disorderly passions. Being bound in conscience to tell their grievous falls, and being determined to do so, has tremendous efficacy in preventing them, or marvellously lessening their number. Knowing that they will not be absolved unless they give signs and proofs of sincerity of sorrow endows them with strength of resistance, and helps them to that sincere sorrow, which seems on the surface altogether beyond their power. And so it would be were not the Sacrament of Penance a fountain of grace ever-flowing, succouring and stimulating poor sinful human beings.

Although getting rid of sin and of the effects of sin, more

and more, is most especially the fruit of this sacrament, it is not, as we have seen, all the benefit derived from it. A most important part is direction how to discharge the duties of our state of life and circumstances, and how to advance in the service and love of God and our neighbour. Of course a great deal of knowledge on these points is the consequence of telling sins, and what are thought to be sins; for then we are told, when we are ignorant ourselves, what is lawful, what is not, what is advisable to do. Prudent and zealous confessors point out to their penitents how they may make progress in Christian perfection, by trying to do their ordinary actions conscientiously, by often calling to mind the presence of God, by uniting what they do and suffer with the actions and sufferings of our Lord, by trying to have right intention in the very things in which they find pleasure, according to the words of St. Paul: 'Whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do, do all to the glory of God.'¹ And again: 'All whatsoever you do in word or in work, all things do ye in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.'²

Doing all for God in the supernatural order is the conscious and free perfecting of that law of our rational nature, whereby we are necessitated to do all that we freely do in order that we may satisfy, or tend to satisfy, our craving for happiness. We are not free to choose whether we shall wish to be happy or not, but we are free to choose in what we shall place our happiness. By grace we choose God and His service as the true object and way to become happy. The more perfectly we refer all our lives to Him, the more we secure what we aim at. At first sight it would seem that, since eternal happiness is the one thing supremely important to us, we should, if we were wise, scarcely mind anything else. This idea presents itself to some as if they ought to renounce the world in every shape and form, and do nothing but works of piety, think of nothing but God and their soul, and what would unite them more and more with Him. Others, realizing the terrible state of this world, the temporal

¹ 1 Cor. x. 31.

² Col. iii. 17.

and spiritual destitution so widely, so awfully prevalent, have it borne in on them that anyone in earnest about a noble and self-sacrificing life should devote or share all he has of every kind for the relief and succour of the suffering. Incomparably more have such thoughts than ever seriously attempt to give them act. Many do try to carry them out, and more do a good deal, which relieves and consoles and improves some, at least, of the huge multitudes of unhappy human beings. Now, it is in this field that moral theology and confession, moral teaching and spiritual direction are of priceless value for the religiously and philanthropically inclined. Without these helps they become fanatical or despairingly selfish, or in other ways moral wrecks and failures, more or less complete. The Catholic Church, through the teaching and application of moral theology, has the secret of peace of heart for all sorts of characters, for all sorts of situations, for all sorts of human circumstances. It is God Himself in His own way, and in accordance with human nature and society, who has provided His Church with this infinite treasure, and the experience of ages proves its divine source and unlimited power for human good.

All that the world really and reasonably requires for the due development of human society is in perfect harmony with the will and design of God, and therefore of His Church. There must be different ranks in life, different degrees of wealth and temporal means, all sorts of human careers, rulers and subjects, civilians and soldiers, artists, scholars, philosophers, professional, commercial, mechanical toilers, married and single, sacred and secular callings. Every field for legitimate enterprise and energy must be worked, every legitimate enjoyment must have its place and consideration. The will and full plan of God can only be worked out through human society. Experience as well as nature itself makes clear how that society must be constituted and developed. No doubt the world, as we know it, is a great mystery. We shall never understand it in this life in all its bearings. Reason alone can make no satisfactory hand of it. Reason enlightened by faith can. Not that anyone will be completely delivered from all perplexity and worry in the

moral and spiritual sphere. The wisest and holiest often enough suffer therefrom. Perhaps it is not in the nature of things that such complex beings as we are, having such complicated and conflicting relations at times with others, should be able to be perfectly balanced in this state of struggle and probation, and in perfect adaptation and harmony with our environment moral and spiritual. For all that, through the maze and tangle of life, its duties and opportunities for useful and noble action, its temptations, dangers, disasters, joys, and sorrows of every kind, a sure, safe, and sufficient guide of interior and exterior conduct, as far as conscience is concerned, is the moral and ascetic theology of the Church, conveyed and applied for the most part to the faithful through the Sacrament of Penance.

WILLIAM A. SUTTON, S.J.

THE PREACHER IN THE MAKING

*Ὑπὸ γὰρ λόγων ὁ νοῦς τε μετεωρίζεται,
ἐπαίρεται τ' ἄνθρωπος.*

ARISTOPHANES.

NOT the least important obligation imposed upon us when ordained to the Christian priesthood is that of preaching the word of God. At that hour we receive our mission to spread and to carry on that Gospel message of peace and reconciliation with God which are the fruits of man's redemption. In the Church the preacher has invariably been regarded as a power for good. He is able to influence many; his words will occasionally sink deep into the human heart and imagination, and may be they are treasured up, and oft repeated in the home circle, long after the speaker has passed into the land of shadows.

St. Paul, were he alive to-day, would probably, in addition to preaching, like to fill an editor's chair, in the hope of influencing by his writings those whom his voice was never destined to reach. This may be true; but, 'non omnia possumus omnes,' as Virgil has it; and, is it not wiser to

use to the best advantage the opportunities which are daily at hand rather than sigh regretfully for others which the capricious wheel of fortune is never destined to bring within our reach.

In mediæval Europe there were few men whose sway was more unquestioned than the friar preachers. Those moated castles and plumed knights, which writers of modern fiction have cajoled us into regarding, in the one instance as the secure haven of refuge for the sore-bestead husbandman, and in the other as the living quintessence of truth and chivalry, did not appear exactly in the same light to the vice-combatting friars. As somebody has put it :—

Vehemens ut procella, excitatus ut torrens, incensus ut fulmen, tonabat, fulgurabat, et rapidis eloquentiæ fluctibus cuncta proruebat et porturbabat.

What a spectacle it must have been ; and how resonant the groans of the conscience-stricken lordlings.

Probably there are few ecclesiastics in history who believed more entirely in the power of the preacher than Hugh Latimer, who was forced into the see of Worcester by Henry VIII. and Cromwell, in 1535. Never was he happier than when occupied roving from village to village, addressing the simple rustics, and preaching to them a doctrine which, though manly and vigorous, was highly tinged with the unfortunate errors of the Reformation period. In his sermon entitled the ‘Ploughers,’ delivered at St. Paul’s, January 18th, 1549, he draws an analogy between the preacher and ploughman :—

First [as he puts it], for their labours of all seasons of the year, for there is no time of the year in which the ploughman hath not some special work to do ; and then they also may be likened together for the diversity of works and variety of offices that they have to do. For as the ploughman first setteth forth his plough, and then tilleth his land, and breaketh into furrows, and sometimes ridgeth it up again ; and, at another time harroweth it, and clotteth, and hedgeth it, diggeth it, and weedeth it, purgeth it, and maketh it clean ; so the preacher hath many divers offices to do. He hath first a busy work to bring his parishioners to a right faith ; he hath then a busy work to confirm them in the same faith ; now cutting them down with

the law and with the threatenings of God for sin ; now ridging them up again with the Gospel and with the promises of God's favour ; now weeding them by telling them their faults, and making them forsake sin ; now clotting them, by breaking their stony hearts, and making them to have hearts of flesh, that is, soft hearts, and apt for doctrine to enter in ; now teaching to know God rightly, and to know their duty to God and their neighbours ; now exhorting them when they know their duty, that they do it, and be diligent in it—so that they have a continual work to do.

If, in the sixteenth century, the work of the preacher was so arduous, and required such unremitting attention, how much more is not this the case to-day, when we are called upon to address ourselves to a people in the full enjoyment of all the advantages of modern culture and civilization ; and distracted by the glamour of an age of extreme luxury and corruption, a materialistic age, when the temptations to sin are all the more effective and insidious because presented under forms in which there is little or any trace of grossness.

There are many qualities which go to the making of a successful preacher. In fact, we can well say that, like the poet, he is not made. Nature must have endowed him with certain important gifts and graces, and if these are wanting to him he may labour and study much, and gain for himself some repute as a careful and polished speaker, but a great preacher he will never be. A friend of mine, a highly esteemed clergyman of the Church of England, has frequently been heard declaring that it takes a clever parson to get together one good sermon in a week ; that it takes a regular genius to preach two in the same time ; but that any fool can fire off five or six : and certainly there is a fair share of truth in the remark. Some men certainly have caught the trick of being able to enter the pulpit at a moment's notice, and of discoursing with the eloquence of a verger for long or short, as the case may be, on any subject from the fall of Adam to the question of predestination. But is this preaching, and do those to whom such addresses are delivered leave the church with a clear conception of what they have heard ? Seneca tells us that speech is the mirror of the mind,

imago animi sermo est ; and if the mind be confused and full of ill-digested thought, can its reflection be said to impress us? 'Preaching,' says Sydney Smith, 'has become a by-word for long and dull conversation of any kind : and whoever wishes to imply, in any piece of writing, the absence of everything agreeable and inviting, calls it a sermon.' Yes, but the man who is forced to listen to this sort of discourse, will not be caught so easily a second time. We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that the average intelligent Catholic has a dislike to hearing sermons. The low Masses are crowded : but the *Missa Cantata* is shunned as far as possible ; and chiefly, I fear, because it entails the hearing of a sermon. This does not indicate a healthy state of things ; and that unfortunate sermon is responsible for all the mischief.

'Unless,' says C. H. Francis, in *Orators of the Age*, 'you have the art of clothing your ideas in clear and captivating diction, never hope to rule your fellowmen in these modern days.' This hits off the situation to a nicety. In fact, if we want to deliver even a moderately good sermon it is essentially requisite that we be able to express our ideas clearly and neatly. The young admirers of Thackeray who wished to follow in his footsteps invariably received one piece of advice from the famous creator of Becket Sharpe : first, to be quite certain of what they meant to convey, and then to set it forth as plainly, as simply, as straightforwardly as possible ; and Flaubert urges us in the same direction when he declares that the chief aim of the writer—and I presume that what applies to the writer obtains with equal appositeness in the case of the preacher—should be absolute precision. There is, he tells us, but one noun that can convey your idea : only one verb that can set that idea moving, and only one adjective that is the proper epithet for that noun. Flaubert himself was a marvellous writer : yet it was nothing unusual for him to spend half a day in thought, seeking for some word or expression with which he might express his idea the more exactly. The great statesmen, Fox and Pitt, were both speakers of the highest order. Yet Fox was large-minded enough to say, after hearing a

famous speech delivered by his rival, that although he himself was never at a loss for a word, yet that Pitt never failed to hit upon *the* word. This is the result of thought, neglect of which is the fruitful cause of uncertainty and circumlocution. Sophocles evidently felt this when he makes Theseus say: *Δίδασκ'· ἀνὲν γνῶμης γὰρ οὐ με χρὴ λέγειν.*¹

The simpler and the easier the language we use when expressing our ideas the better. The English tongue is wonderfully comprehensive; yet for homeliness and directness the old Saxon words cannot be surpassed. Still it would be an affectation to limit ourselves too rigorously to their service. Probably the best style, whether in writing or speaking, is that which is trained to draw upon a well-balanced measure of Celto-Saxon words with numerous others which have come to us from a Latin or a French source. The use of too many long words of Latin origin is apt to lead up to the formation of a style at once spineless and inflated. Professor Meiklejohn, in his recently published work, *The Art of Writing English*, which no student of our language will fail to read, mentions the case of an alderman of the city of London who felt aggrieved when one of his colleagues proposed that the following simple words should be inscribed on the tomb of the famous statesman George Canning, '*He Died Poor.*' As an amendment, the alderman proposed that the inscription should read, 'He expired in circumstances of extreme indigence.' Another example of this bladder-like diction is furnished by the famous reference of the Earl of Beaconsfield to Mr. Gladstone in the course of a speech delivered in the House of Commons in 1878. It runs as follows :—

A sophistical rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination, that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign an opponent and to glorify himself.

There are hardly three words in this quotation that do not smack of foreign birth. It is scarcely in good taste : for, as Lady Mary Montague puts it, 'Copiousness of words,

¹ *Œdipus Coloneus*, 591.

however ranged, is always false eloquence, though it will ever impose upon some sort of understandings.' There is much of this sort of writing to be found in our daily and weekly newspapers. Thus, a leader in the *Times* is like to the continuous booming of a big gun; and the *Saturday Review* cultivates a style, the identity of which can never be mistaken. To give a simple example: the *Review* of April 15th, 1899, when referring to the report then current, of the considerable irritation which had been caused in Malta owing to the attempt to substitute English for Italian as the official language, argued that as Maltese is an Arab dialect, the Italian tongue might never have been tolerated for a moment in the island. The result of its continuance, said the writer, has been 'to foster a spurious irredentism among the insignificant Italian settlers.' This is very stilted English; and the allusion to 'irredentism' is enough to cause one to lose ten minutes hunting in a work of reference, unless his memory can carry him back as far as 1876, when one of the parties of the Left in Italian politics climbed into office by means of the cry of *Italia Irredenta*. A little over a year since a volume of Catholic sermons from the French was published; and looking through the sermon set down for the Second Sunday after Easter, 'Jesus the Good Shepherd,' I noticed the following sentence:—

But it is not enough that Jesus died for us. His ingenious love has done more: it has found the secret of surviving death; and eternalizing His presence and His benefits among us.

The derivation of the word 'ingenious' will certainly permit of its being employed in the manner indicated in the above sentence; but I take it that no preacher would use the word during the delivery of his sermon unless he chanced to be addressing a body of savants. All this goes to prove that the simpler the language we employ when expressing our ideas the better. Clearness or perspicuity, according to Locke, 'consists in the using of proper terms for the ideas or thoughts which a man would have pass from his own mind into that of another,' and to succeed in this particular should be the ambition of every preacher.

The education or training of the preacher is a matter of

such vital importance that it can never receive too much attention at the hands of those who are responsible for the instruction of such as aspire to the priesthood. It is almost a crime against society to send a young priest out into the world now-a-days without his being carefully prepared for the onerous work of preaching which presses so heavily on every beginner ; so heavily, in fact, as almost to make the young priest's life a misery for a year or two after his ordination. An intimate acquaintance with the Bible is absolutely necessary for any man who is sent to preach God's word. Read the works of St. Augustine, or those of St. John Chrysostom, and you cannot fail to be impressed by their knowledge of the sacred writings. Their sermons and homilies are replete with quotations, for the most part apt, drawn from that treasury of wisdom and holiness. Kingsley has said that 'a man may learn from his Bible to be a more thorough gentleman than if he had been brought up in all the drawing-rooms of London.' Certain it is that with it, and from it, the preacher can imbue his mind with thoughts and sentiments which never grow stale, which invariably produce a good effect on the minds of his hearers. As a translation our Douay version is not to be mentioned in the same breath with the Anglican Authorised edition in which we find the best and most musical rhythms contained in our language.

Ruskin has put it on record that he owes his taste for literature to the care and anxiety of his mother, who, good woman, was determined that he should know his Bible at all costs. Day after day he had to learn whole chapters by heart, 'hard names and all,' until he had committed every word of the ponderous tone to memory from Genesis to the Apocalypse. I am afraid that we Catholic preachers do not make as good a use as we might of the Bible. Its language comes to our lips only with an effort ; hence our neglect of the wealth of illustration it affords us ; and our inability to hit upon an apt quotation at a moment's notice. Thus we deprive ourselves of one of the most potent weapons not merely for inviting the attention, but for carrying conviction to the minds of our hearers. 'The word of God,'

says St. Paul,¹ 'is living and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart.' I should say that our intimacy with Latin rhythms from the daily use of the Breviary, and our scientific works gives us a distaste for the simple but tuneful Saxon rhythms of the English Bible. Yet, let us but be profoundly moved and forced to give vent to feelings of grief, anguish, anger, or reproach, we shall find that we naturally revert to the simpler Saxon terms, and employ words which express our meaning with a force and a directness that cannot be mistaken.

A sound and fairly extensive knowledge of Dogmatic Theology is necessary in the case of every preacher. However, we should so assimilate its principles as to be able to refer to them in that easy, ordinary, language which never exceeds the scope of the mind of our humblest hearers. Not only are we laying ourselves open to the charge of pedantry, but we even make an otherwise good sermon intolerably tiresome when we drag into it the tag ends of theological *termini*, about which those we are addressing know probably next to nothing. This cannot be too carefully guarded against. Ignorant people may be impressed by the frequent repetition of Latin words or phrases; but the more intelligent can only regard their use as an evidence of bad taste, united with crudeness of information.

In the dogmatic system of the Church we shall find a wealth of argument, and a studied clearness of statement on points of doctrine, which cannot be too highly appreciated of the preacher. In it, too, we can easily follow the traces of what Newman calls the 'development of doctrine,' and concerning which he wrote so eloquently. By it we understand the gradual crystallization with the advance of time of the teaching of the Church on points of faith contained, without doubt, in the original deposit of revelation delivered of old to the saints; always believed, yet slowly attaining their proper setting and position in the jewelled crown of the Spouse of Christ.

¹ Heb. iv. 12

Again, dogmatic theology puts before us exactly what has been defined as of faith, and what has not been so declared. This is a matter of vital importance, and never more so than to-day. It is nothing unusual for a priest to meet with people who are of the household of the faith, and who fear lest they may have overstepped the limits of discretion when debating questions which are really not of faith, but rather subjects for discussion amongst theologians. To give an instance, some people who are good and religious-minded find a certain difficulty in accepting all that they read or hear concerning the miracles which are reputed as having taken place at Lourdes, or at some other well-known place of pilgrimage. Unauthenticated cases of the appearance of the stigmata, apparitions, &c., engender in their minds a feeling of mistrust. Now, we are all perfectly convinced that these wonders have occurred in the past; and that there is no unlikelihood of their reappearance at some future date. Miracles, the Gospel hall-mark, have never been wanting to the Church. Yet we may not disguise from ourselves the fact, that the mother of saints is extremely slow to pronounce as to the genuineness of the different phenomena described above. The paradoxes of one age dwindle down to the dull level of the common-places of the next; and so what may appear mysterious and hard of explanation to-day, will seem evident as the summer sun at noon-tide a century hence, when the restless eyes of science has penetrated deeper into the hidden things of nature, and gauged more accurately the over-lapping of mind on matter, and the power of a living faith in things unseen to subue and to correct our bodily infirmities. Mindful of these facts, the preacher will never allow himself to lay undue stress upon any event, upon any apparent wonder, upon anything which might tend to upset that evenness of balance, or to break down that clearly-defined barrier between essentials and non-essentials, to be found in every text-book of theology. There is a certain class of people who are only too ready to turn and twist every word uttered by the preacher to a sense utterly foreign to his intention. Many of us have had personal acquaintance with the man who

attaches more importance to the act of creeping to the cross on Good Friday than to compliance with the precept of the Easter confession and communion; and with another individual who is miserable for days if he miss receiving the blessed ashes on the first day of Lent, yet who is ready to wink at fornication, and other such peccadillos.

Mr. Augustine Birrell, in his *obiter dicta*, speaks of the 'great dust heap called history' into which every thoughtful mind loves to plunge itself. The history of any race or nation is always a captivating study; but much more interesting is it to go through a really trustworthy record of the annals of the Church from the time of the Apostles. No preacher can afford to dispense with this knowledge. He can use it in a variety of ways, and always with good effect. In our ecclesiastical annals we see the Church growing century after century, constantly gaining ground. We marvel at that mysterious assistance which, in all contests with the power of evil, enabled her to come off victorious, and to keep the purity of the faith unsullied. Doctrines and beliefs latent and undeveloped in the beginning, come in the course of time, occasionally as the result of some bitter schism, to find their true position and setting amongst the Church's formularies. The human element in the Church will put before us man's character in all its baseness. Lust, avarice, ambition, now in the cleric, now in the statesman or the sovereign; occasionally in all three in combination against the Spouse of Christ. Their rage expends itself, and leaves her unhurt, as great, as vigorous, as powerful as ever.

Much useful information may be gathered from the study of the acts of the early Œcumenical Councils. Then, the origin and development of monasticism, a power which has never failed to make itself felt in the Church; its decline and rehabilitation; its services to the Church and to civilization; its shortcomings, must open up a vista for thought and meditation to any serious student. Who can study the religious life, worship, and discipline of the Church, say from the year 750 to 1000, when all Europe seemed hopelessly sunk in barbarism, without being impressed by the civilizing,

elevating influence exercised by the Church on all sides? Then we have the Eastern Schism; the famous pontificate of Hildebrand; the Crusades; the events which culminated in the so-called Pragmatic Sanction; the appearance of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure; with the subsequent Scholastic controversies; the spread of the Mendicant Orders: these events, which filled the stage of Europe for centuries, afford endless opportunities of reference to the preacher, and furnish him with a wealth of illustration well-nigh inexhaustible.

The seventy years captivity of the Church at Avignon, one of the saddest epochs in her history, is well deserving of close study. Though we find much to sadden and depress us, there is yet much more to rejoice over in the evidences of such rare sanctity as was shown forth in the lives of Catherine of Sienna, the guide and counsellor of popes and bishops, and Vincent Ferrer.

The incidents which led up to the so-called Protestant Reformation, and made such a movement possible, whether in Germany or England, are well-deserving of careful notice. There is no use blinking facts. Nor must we allow ourselves to run away from the truth. It is heartbreaking to reflect on what we then lost; and that, I fear, beyond all hope of recovery.

The course of events in the Church for the last three hundred years, and her rapid extension in the New World, the circumstances which rendered the declaration of the dogmas of the Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception absolutely necessary, are well known to every reader. It is plain, however, to every thinking man to-day that times have very much altered. The march of events is rapid to quite a startling degree. The social conditions of the nations have altered considerably. Venerable, ancient systems and institutions are being swept away, and replaced by others of a fresher type. Past works are being read in a clearer light; a dead weight of prejudice is being lifted slowly from off men's minds; things are now seen in a clearer perspective. But, immovable in the midst of all changes, and towering above all human institutions,

the student of history will easily discern the Church of God ; that light set upon a mountain, and attracting the attention of all nations ; the unfailing source of truth, peace, and salvation. Grievously have her children dishonoured and disgraced her. Pride and ambition have led to many a fall ; but in her doctrine the Church has never wavered—the same to-day as yesterday, the mother of saints, the infallible teacher of truth for all time.

There is one thing the Catholic preacher cannot afford to lose sight of at the present moment, and that is the immense influence wielded by the press, and that which is also exercised by our writers of fiction. Now-a-days everybody reads. Newspapers are multiplying weekly : all tastes are catered for, from those of the scholar to those of our kitchenmaids. Then the modern novel is a factor which, in many instances, is likely to cause serious mischief. Many of them deal with questions which even men of the world scarcely care to mention in the course of conversation.

Now, as Catholic priests, it is plainly our business to make ourselves acquainted with current literature, and to do all that in us lies to apply the antidote to what is admittedly poisonous. Idle it is to imagine our people do not read such writings. They do, and what is more they are influenced by them to a far greater extent than we imagine. What are we to say of the Catholic maidens of the better class, and their married sisters, who revel in such a book as *Evelyn Innes* ? Then there is that powerful and fascinating story by Miss Robins, *The Open Question*, which caused so much excitement on its appearance a few months ago. Have we nothing to say to the startling ideas put forward in this book as to the commission of suicide, the propagation of disease, and the numerous other questions debated in its pages ? To be in a position to refute any and all misleading theories, it is essential that we keep ourselves well abreast of the times in the matter of current thought on all social, political, moral, and religious questions. Owing to the spread of education our people are fast becoming more and more cultured. This is just as it should be. But the priest as

their guide, must make it plain that he is still more cultured than they, and that he is capable of correcting any error which may effect their minds, and which tends to dim the purity of their faith. Emerson says that he who would fain lift another up must himself be on higher ground: and if we wish to arrest the spread of the corrupting influences which are ever at work in society, we must grapple with them, and show full plainly their inherent rottenness.

There is one side of the preacher's training, the value of which we cannot afford to ignore, and that is his knowledge of rhetoric. To many minds this word conjures up the idea of artificiality, insincerity, and clap-trap. But this is a fatal mistake. A preacher is not, surely, insincere, because he has trained his voice to the best modulations, and whose articulation is a joy to listen to? We sit and enjoy the vocalization of some well-known singer who plays upon our feelings even as a musician does upon his instrument; and yet we never dream of accusing the singer of artificiality. Why, then, the speaker or the preacher? In fact, matters are fast coming to that pass that church-goers used to the perfect voice production of the stage, will think twice before going to hear a sermon, for no other reason, perhaps, than that the speaker's voice grates upon their ears. 'Speak the speech,' says Hamlet to the players; 'trippingly on the tongue, suit the action to the word, the word to the action.' Splendid advice this, if only we could succeed in carrying it out in practice. It may be said, I think, that character has a great deal to do with the formation of a man's delivery; and, as no two characters are exactly alike, so it will be difficult to find two speakers who will deliver the same passage after the same fashion. 'All speech,' says Demosthenes, 'is vain and empty unless it be accompanied by action.'¹ This is very true, but no two men will agree as to the extent to which action may be employed when preaching; much will depend on the matter we are discussing.

When Sir Henry Irving put Robespierre on the Lyceum

¹ "Ἄπας μὲν λόγος ἂν ἀπόντ' ἔργῳ" ἔχῃ μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν.

stage a few weeks since, one of the leading successes proved to be the acting of Mr. Laurence Irving as Tallien. In the convention scene, many ignorant people, who were present, were inconsiderate enough to laugh at the young actor. But his gesticulation, though wild and fierce, was quite in keeping with the character and circumstances of the man he was representing. Tallien had been an actor before he became a politician. He had a private reason for bringing about the downfall of Robespierre; so when his opportunity came we may rest certain that he made the most of it, forcing into his service every trick of diction and action which was likely to influence his hearers. Still gracefulness of action is a thing that is not acquired in a day. Herein, if in anything: 'Chi va piano va sano ed anche lontano.' We may not leap up the oratorical ladder, but we can all mount it step by step according to the measure of our ability. As Browning says: 'ever with the best desire goes diffidence.' In time, however, the diffidence disappears; or we become more self-controlled. Yet not even then ought we to allow ourselves to forget, that in the matter of action the golden rule is moderation, a gift which someone has charmingly described as the silken string running through the pearl chain of all virtues.

The older some of us grow in the sacred ministry, the more manifest appears to us the absolute need that exists for careful preparation before preaching. Study, thought, and prayer, these we can never afford to dispense with, be we ever so gifted. Those, says, Montaigne, who are deficient in matter endeavour to make it up in words. But this can never be accomplished. The seedlings must first have struck root in the mind and heart of the preacher before they can be transferred to the minds of his hearers, where he hopes, with God's help, they will fructify. A small drop of ink, as Byron has it,

Falling like dew upon a thought, produces
That which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think.

But, first of all, the thought has assumed form and shape in the mind of the writer.

There is one quality which will make even a very poor sermon acceptable to the people, and the absence of which cannot fail to render a beautiful discourse almost intolerable; that is, earnestness, or the happy faculty of making others realize that we believe what we are saying; that the exhortations we address to them are of supreme importance to ourselves. 'It is the speaker's character,' says Menander, 'which persuades, and not his words.' The name of John Knox is one to which most of us are not particularly partial. Yet there is no denying that he was a most earnest preacher. In his old age he had to be carried from his home to the pulpit; but, as an ancient writer tells us, 'ere he had done with his sermone, he was so active and vigorous that he was lyk to ding the pulpit in blads, and flie out of it.' This same note of intense, overpowering conviction and earnestness will be noticed in Thomas Guthrie's well-known sermon on intemperance. Even the least imaginative can form some idea of the effect likely to be produced by an impassioned orator, his mind throbbing with conviction, giving utterance to the following words in the middle of his discourse: 'Before God and man, before the Church and the world, I impeach intemperance; I charge it with the murder of innumerable souls.'

An affected preacher will never make a successful one. The pulpit is a very conspicuous piece of furniture, and any tendency to exaggeration or posing whilst in it is sure to be widely noticed, and remembered. Some preachers like to say amusing things, especially when delivering controversial sermons, and to tell stories which are sure to excite laughter; but this is a tendency which ought to be very carefully guarded against. Laughter, says Demophilus, like salt, must be sparingly indulged in, at all events in such a sacred spot as a Catholic church.

The reading of the Epistle and Gospel preparatory to preaching at the sung Mass on Sunday may seem a matter of very slight consequence; but, like most other things, it is capable of being done either very well or altogether badly. A good reader delivering the sacred word with due emphasis, slowly and deliberately, may do more during that minute or

two in the direction of making a lasting impression, than he will by a dozen sermons. Dr. Barry, in his recently published novel, *The Two Standards*, gives a beautiful description of the reading of the Church of England vicar, Mr. Greystoke, father to the heroine of the story. It runs as follows :—

Mr. Greystoke read the lessons with an intonation so large and well-balanced, so sweet and searching, or so convincingly profound, that while he was giving them out, Marian sat as in the hearing of a mighty orchestra. No less—for the exquisite *vox humana* was borne up, was quickened and thrown into a flame by the words themselves, which sang with him in their ancient beauty and struck their golden cords in unison, and sometimes danced as if the stars in their courses turned about a steadfast sun; and again wept most feelingly, and fell into the minor, and sank down one by one, dying as if from very sweetness and the pain of an intense desire.

This was the perfection of reading which we all have to admire, but which few of us dare emulate. There are few writers or students but feel tempted to burn the midnight oil, and to neglect that amount of open air exercise which is necessary in the case of every healthy man. This entails the most lamentable consequences; and is, moreover, a positive neglect of a most important duty—the preservation of our health, on which depends the proper performance of our daily work. ‘All breaches of the laws of health,’ says Herbert Spencer, ‘are physical sins,’ an injustice done to nature. Mental power, says the same writer, cannot be got from ill-fed brains. Therefore, the preacher must keep constantly before him the excellent idea of the *mens sana in corpore sano*; and rest assured that this cannot be brought about if active exercise in the open air is neglected. As Browning finely expresses it :—

Air, air, fresh life blood, thin and searching air,
The clear, dear breath of God that loveth us.

The man that takes a cold tub in the morning, and rides twenty-five miles a day on his cycle, will generally have his wits about him; he will not be troubled much with the headache, nor will he pay much away in doctor’s fees.

I think I have touched upon the chief qualifications which go to the making of a successful preacher. We should have an ambition to be able to perform this important work of our ministry faithfully and well. We may have to spend much time and labour in the drudgery of preparation; and then the finished work may not come up to our expectations: but it is so in every walk of life. We can but do our best, fully convinced of the importance of the position we occupy, and the endless opportunities we have ever at hand to advance the interests of the Master whose ambassadors we are.

Men my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new;

That which they have done but the earnest of the things which they shall do.

Ours it is to work and pray, but God still giveth the increase. Souls have to be saved; and we, even we, are the dispensers of the mysteries of our Father. Our duty it is to support the weak, to check the headstrong, to picture vice in all its native grossness, to foster a love for virtue, to raise the eyes of our people above the things of this world, and, as far as may be, to fix them upon the city of God, our eternal home.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

DARWINISM

SENSATION

[This article is one of an interrupted series formerly appearing under the general heading of 'Modern Scientific Materialism.' This will account for the opening sentences, and for some passing references later on. The preceding articles can now be had in book form under the name of *The New Materialism*.]

WE now reach that part of the materialistic Genesis which professes to account for the diversity of organic life we see around us. We have witnessed the frantic efforts of the 'advanced philosophers' to get matter out of void and life out of matter. We shall now see that even when they have assumed life, they are by no means at the end of their troubles. Before they can take a single step forward they have to give some account of a new phenomenon connected with life, viz., *sensation*. Life presents itself under two such totally different aspects in the animal and in the vegetable that common-sense as well as philosophy looks for some explanation. What is this superadded something which makes such a difference between them, and whence is it derived?¹

Our 'philosophers,' not having anything better to say, simply deny that there is any fundamental difference between what we call *sensitive* and merely *vegetative* life. It is another case of 'difference not in kind, but in degree.' 'No man can say that the feelings of the animal are not represented by a drowsier consciousness in the vegetable.'² Certainly no man can say it in precisely the same way as he says 'I feel,' for no man—not even a green-grocer—is a vegetable. Nevertheless it is a curious thing that every

¹ We are not here asking for a *definition* of sensation. Such a demand would be unreasonable, and even absurd. Sensation is for us an ultimate fact, and as such inexplicable; it cannot be resolved into simpler elements. No other form of words can make clearer to us the meaning of 'I feel.' But as the 'advanced philosophers' profess to be able to derive 'every form and quality of life' from primal matter we have a right to know what, according to materialistic principles, is their view about this remarkable 'quality,' and how they account for its appearance in only one of the two great divisions of organic nature.

² Tyndall, *Fragments*, p. 244.

man in his senses, including the green-grocer, does say it. 'The aggregate common-sense of mankind' may seem sometimes a very pig-headed power; but it generally knows its own mind, and speaks it. And this is a case in point. No number of philosophers will ever persuade the world of the consciousness of a turnip. It does not matter in the least what any man may or can say. We here pass out of the realm of formal demonstration into that of what we may call rational instinct. Speaking of the almost intuitive manner in which practical certainty in concrete matters is often arrived at, Cardinal Newman says:—

It is difficult to avoid calling such clear presentiments by the name of instinct; and I think they may be so called, if by instinct be understood, not a natural sense, one and the same in all, and incapable of cultivation, but *a perception of facts without assignable media of perceiving*.¹

This exactly describes the common belief about sensation in vegetables—it is 'a preception of a fact without assignable media of perceiving,' and as such we may, with Cardinal Newman, call it instinct.

We may be told that this is a case in which common belief not only has no assignable foundation, but no foundation of any sort. Each unscientific unit of the population simply represents ignorance. How can the mass represent knowledge? We have here a difficulty similar to one which Cardinal Newman proposes to himself when justifying his unreasoning conviction that Great Britain is an island.

As to the common belief, what is to prove that we are not all of us believing it on the credit of each other? And then when it is said that everyone believes it, and everything implies it, how much comes home to me personally of this 'everyone' and 'everything?' The question is—Why do I believe it myself?²

Perhaps each one's belief is no more than 'a life-long impression,' which is really quite mistaken.

This very well represents our present difficulty. No man—at least no man that we have met—can say of his own knowledge that Great Britain is an island. If some

¹ *Grammar of Assent* (1891), p. 334.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

few by sailing round it have definitely ascertained the fact, who ever cross-examined any of them with a view to settling the point for himself? Clearly the population as a whole have just been taking it for granted, each one depending on his neighbour's knowledge, which is as baseless as his own. And as for books, papers, maps, and the like—what are they but mere reflections of the common impression? They can prove nothing. Error is not converted into fact by printing it or mapping it.

And what is the upshot of all this most logical demolition of a common belief? That the common belief remains as unreasonably vigorous as ever. Not a single Briton with brains enough to know what an island is but still believes his country to be one, and rests illogically content that no foe can get at him while Britannia rules the waves. And is his belief therefore irrational, a prejudice? The Cardinal's whole argument is meant to bring out the fact that there may be cases when 'we cannot analyze a proof satisfactorily, the result of which good sense actually guarantees to us.'

So with the common belief about vegetable sensation. It defies logical analysis; it is so elementary that a man can hardly say how or when he came by it; it seems to have always been an unnoticed part of him, like an internal organ. He has been as little conscious of it as of his spinal chord. It has shaped his conduct every day and hour, and nothing has ever happened that would give rise to the faintest suspicion that it does not represent a fact. Indeed he is quite unconscious of holding anything so definite as a belief about the matter at all. It is just a fact, like the weather—a part of the nature of things, in the existence of which it would be ridiculous to express one's belief. And when some day he sits down to dinner beside an 'advanced philosopher,' and learns for the first time that the potatoes were 'sensitive and conscious,' though a trifle 'drowsy,' before boiling, if not still, the probable result of the communication will be a feeling of pity for the poor gentleman, qualified with a slight uneasiness when he sees him reach for the bread-knife. Surely we may say of this common belief

what Cardinal Newman says of his geographical conviction about Great Britain: 'It is a simple and primary truth with us, if any truth is such.'

Nor is our argument in the least affected by the undeniable fallibility of each individual witness. It must not be looked at in the individual, but in the mass; in fact it is only when so looked at that it is an argument at all. It rests, not on men, but on mankind. As the opinion or conviction of this and that individual it might be discounted; but as an implicit judgment of the whole human race in every age and every land, backed up by a constant experience equally wide, it bulks out into an argument of the biggest kind. It may be 'one of those arguments which, from the nature of the case, are felt rather than are convertible into syllogisms';¹ but nobody misses the syllogism. In fact it would only be in the way. This is not a weapon of the Excalibur type, but unshapely and uncouth as Samson's. Still it breaks heads in its own way just as well, and it has this advantage over Excalibur logic, that it comes handy to every man of average common sense. But perhaps it will seem that we are slipping away into rather mythical regions, and losing sight of our thesis. So we bid good-bye to the heroic figures of Arthur and Samson, and return to our turnips. We think we may claim that in denying turnip-consciousness we have the support of the common belief of humanity—an ample and goodly backing.

But may it not still be urged that in a matter of this kind the informed opinion of a small number of experts outweighs the blind conviction of even the whole world? We might perhaps be disposed to allow this argument some weight if we knew less about the expert opinion. But we know it to be simply one more instance of the expertness of the experts in dodging a difficulty—another example of the magnifying and transforming power of the scientific imagination. Something had to be done to avert a repetition of the *fiasco* of the origin of life at the very next step. 'Cooling planets' were more or less used up; 'subtle influences' were rather

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27,

too delicate to stand wear and tear; while 'successive complications' and some other machinery of 'advanced philosophy' had better not be obtruded too often on the public view. So recourse was had to that favourite trick of 'advanced philosophy,' the appeal to ignorance—'no man can say'—supplemented by highly coloured views of certain facts of natural history. We had this sort of thing before in the case of living and not-living matter. That too was 'a difference of degree, not of kind.' 'No man could say' that the rock was not as much alive as the moss that clung to it. Tyndall 'could fancy the mineral world responsive to the proper irritants.' The man who could fancy this would have little difficulty in fancying a 'drowsy' vegetable. Shakespeare's 'nodding violet' becomes something more than a figure of speech—in fact a fore-glimpse of the 'advanced philosophy.' Wonderful man, Shakespeare!

To eke out the 'nobody-can-deny' argument the philosophers bring forward two classes of facts from nature—(1) the difficulty of distinguishing between the lowest forms of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and (2) the extraordinary behaviour of what are called 'insectivorous' or 'carnivorous' plants.

PLANT OR ANIMAL—WHICH?

1. 'If we look to the two main divisions [of organic beings], viz., to the animal and vegetable kingdoms, certain low forms are so far intermediate in character that naturalists have disputed to which kingdom they should be referred.'¹ Tyndall insists strongly on the continuity of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. 'The vegetable shades into the animal by such fine gradations that it is impossible to say where the one ends and the other begins.'²

It is quite true that there are a few organisms of so indeterminate a character that it is impossible to decide whether they are animal or vegetable. All the same, no naturalist who has not 'advanced philosophy' on the brain doubts that they are either one or the other, not a judicious mixture

¹ Darwin, *Origin of Species*, p. 399. ² *Fragments of Science*, vol. ii., p. 244.

of both. And if it were decided to-morrow to which class they belong, no unprejudiced naturalist would hesitate for a moment as to whether he should or should not credit them with sensation. The actual fact might be as hidden as ever, but the recognised analogies of the two great kingdoms would at once settle the point. 'No line has ever been drawn,' says Tyndall, 'between the conscious and the unconscious.'¹ Certainly there has—a line as plain as a turnpike road. The fact that at one point it runs into a fog does not make the rest of it less clear. And we have as little doubt that it keeps on still through the fog as if we saw it. This is a case where we very properly 'prolong the method of nature' beyond the reach of observation. We rightly credit the confusion, not to the poor Pariahs 'on the ditch,' but to our own limited 'capacity to observe.' To borrow Tyndall's 'always elegant words,' we 'cannot stop abruptly where our microscopes cease to be of use.' We 'draw the line from the highest organisms through lower ones down to the lowest; and it is the prolongation of this line by the intellect beyond the range of sense that leads us to the conclusion' that these puzzling creatures are not abnormal mixtures, but true members of one or the other kingdom. The analogy of all the rest of animated nature reduces the doubt in these few cases to a simple alternative—a question of *which*, not *what*; and 'a being with our capacities indefinitely multiplied' would, we feel sure, solve that doubt, and have these 'nobody's children' off the ditch and into their proper places in a wink.

CARNIVOROUS PLANTS

2. Plants that catch and, in a sense, eat flies with their leaves, and show a decided taste for raw meat, soup, and the like, may well be ranked among the curiosities of nature. It had long been known that the leaves of certain common plants exuded a sticky substance in which flies were caught, while a district in North Carolina produces a 'fly-trap' that acts with the startling promptness of a spring rat-trap.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Belfast Address.*

The peculiar conduct of these various 'fly-catchers' had been studied by several naturalists, but nothing like a satisfactory account of them had appeared until the publication of Darwin's *Insectivorous Plants* in 1875. Darwin found that the fly-catching leaves close upon, and, in a manner, digest the prey captured or given to them. Some of them help on this digestive process by an acid secretion not unlike the gastric juice of the animal stomach.

Now it is worthy of remark that Darwin himself did not see in the behaviour of these plants those indications of an approach to animal sensation which appeared so evident to his more 'advanced' followers. Indeed he repeatedly goes out of his way to forestall and prevent such misinterpretation of the facts he describes. 'The leaf *falsely* appears as if endowed with the senses of an animal.'¹ In using the term 'reflex action' of a certain process which seems analogous to what is so described in animal sensation he is careful to warn us that 'the action in the two cases is probably of a widely different nature.'² He several times calls attention to the complete absence of anything even remotely resembling *nerves* in these leaves. 'No one supposes that they possess nerves,' nor does it appear that 'they include any diffused matter analogous to nerve-tissue.'³ On the same page the absence of nerves is again referred to, as also on pp. 219, 221, &c. Finally, the whole concluding paragraph of Chapter XV. is devoted to a summing up of the many fundamental differences between these plants and any kind of animal.

Turning now from Darwin's work to a review of it by the late Professor Asa Gray of Harvard,⁴ we hardly recognise the sober science of the English naturalist in the lively paragraphs of the American reviewer. 'When plants are seen to move and to devour, what faculties are left that are distinctively animal?' Comparisons of these vegetable functions with analogous animal functions are quoted in

¹ Page 222. The references are to the second revised edition, 1888.

² Page 197. He repeats the warning on p. 223.

³ Page 295.

⁴ The article now forms chap xi. of his *Darwiniana*.

the most striking way, *but not a word is said of any of Darwin's numerous cautions about these deceptive resemblances.* This is an excellent example of 'advanced philosophy' as she is made!

Needless to say the whole band of 'philosophers' fully indorsed the view of Professor Gray. There could no longer be any doubt of the complete identity of animal and vegetable life. Plants ate, drank, and presumably made merry. An alderman could do no more. But what was the whole amount of solid foundation for all this triumphant theorising? Was the world altogether ignorant that plants are nourished by the products of animal substances? Has Goulding carried the globe on his back to no purpose? Is there a man on this or any neighbouring planet still unconvinced that the sovereign'st thing on earth is bone manure for growing crops? And to bring the matter yet nearer home—how many ages is it since men first noted the perennial richness of the churchyard sod?

So practically everybody knew that plants absorbed animal products through their *roots*; and the only thing that was not so well known was that some plants absorbed them also through their *leaves*. But where is the wonderful significance of the fact, beyond giving us one more instance of the marvels of adaptation in nature? How are plants brought any nearer to animals because some of them have glands on the leaves which discharge some of the functions of roots? A far more extraordinary analogous fact was already known of plants in general, viz., that it is through the leaves they gather in the carbon which is the main constituent of their solid stems. That some of them should procure in the same way the comparatively small quantities of nitrogenous and phosphate substances they require can hardly on reflection be regarded as altogether abnormal. And as for the *modus agendi*, is it so much more wonderful than many other things in plant economy? Has not the sticky substance that first attracts and then captures the greedy fly its perfect counterpart in the nectar which entices 'the little busy bee' to become the most indefatigable of gardeners? And are the movements of the leaf towards

the captured fly one bit more wonderful than the movements of the roots pushing their way through the soil towards a dead cat buried below? And remembering that the nutriment is to be assimilated by protoplasm similar to that of animals, what more natural than that it should be prepared in some such way as in the animal stomach? And finally, what has all this to do with *sensation*, which is the distinguishing characteristic of animal life? Digestion subserves the *vital* process—the work of protoplasm—and is equally unnoticed.

In truth the old knowledge was quite as suggestive as the new, and it was simply the circumstances of the time that lent the new its apparent significance. Evolution was in the air, and every fresh discovery was at once seized upon in its interests. The origin of the whole contention for sensation in plants may be told in half a dozen words—the needs of the evolution theory. The two lines of life must start from a single ‘low and intermediate form’ such as the doubtful cases above referred to. What we distinguish as sensitive and non-sensitive life must spring from the same root; and the only way in which such a thing can be rendered conceivable is by denying the distinction. It must be allowed that the ‘advanced philosophy,’ whatever its defects, is not wanting in courage. No assertion or denial is too gigantic for it. When the origin of life could be accounted for in no other way, it confounded animate and inanimate nature, and ‘discerned in matter the promise and potency of every form and quality of life.’ When the two kinds of life offer a difficulty, it confounds with equal facility the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and blots out the line between the conscious and the unconscious.

ABSENCE OF SENSATION IN PLANTS

Finally, as regards our present point, viz., the absence of sensation in plants, modern research tends very decidedly to confirm it by showing (1) that animal sensation is always associated with a nervous system;¹ and (2) that no trace of

¹ Huxley calls the nervous system ‘the physical basis of consciousness.’ *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 280.

a nervous system is to be found in plants, even in such promising cases as the aforementioned 'fly-catchers.' The 'vascular bundles' in no sense represent nerves; and Darwin has shown that the contractile impulse is not transmitted through them, but through the ordinary cellular tissue of the leaf.

Notwithstanding this adverse opinion from the Father of Advanced Philosophy, Huxley is not disposed to yield. There is still that unfailing resource of distressed materialism—the unknown possibilities of the future. The problem he admits to be of such 'extreme difficulty' that it must be attacked 'by the aid of methods that have still to be invented.' This seems to render the prospect of solution discouragingly remote; but he is not daunted.

It must be allowed to be possible that future research may reveal the existence of something comparable to a nervous system in plants.¹

This is very moderate for Huxley, but it is quite enough to warrant the conclusion which duly follows:—'So that I know not whether we can hope to find any absolute distinction between animals and plants!'

This is sufficiently answered by a still more recent 'advanced' writer.

In plants, it is almost needless to remark, no nervous system has been demonstrated to exist; *and no botanist has even suggested the possible existence of nervous tissues within the limits of the vegetable creation.*²

We will close this part of our argument by quoting an authority whose right to a hearing will not be questioned. The praises of Alfred Russell Wallace are in the mouths of all the 'advanced philosophers.' He has the distinction of being 'the joint discoverer of natural selection' and co-patron with Darwin of the modern theory of evolution.

¹ *Science and Culture* (1881), p. 158.

² Dr. A. Wilson, *Leisure-time Studies* (1884), p. 55. With the inconsistency characteristic of his school, Dr. Wilson, in another essay in the same volume, says:—'The wonderful facts recently brought to light respecting insectivorous plants . . . tend to the conclusion that the difference between animal and vegetable is one of degree rather than of kind.' *Ibid.*, p. 178.

His name is constantly coupled with that of Darwin, both by Darwin himself and his most zealous admirers. 'Darwin and Wallace dispelled the darkness' surrounding 'the species problem,' writes Huxley in 1887.¹ He is an uncompromising advocate of Darwinian evolution all the way up to the evolution of man's bodily organization 'from some ancestral form common to man and the anthropoid apes.'² Hence, he cannot be suspected of any undue leaning, apart from conviction, towards views opposed to the evolutionary school. In the light of these facts the importance of the following declaration can hardly be overstated. It will be seen that it covers all the ground we have been discussing:—³

There are at least three stages in the development of the organic world when some new cause or power must necessarily have come into action. (1) The first stage is the change from inorganic to organic, when the earliest vegetable cell, or the living protoplasm out of which it arose, first appeared . . . (2) The next stage is still more marvellous, still more completely beyond the possibility of explanation by matter, its laws and forces. It is *the introduction of sensation or consciousness, constituting the fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable kingdoms*. (3) The third stage is the existence in man of a number of his most characteristic and noblest faculties, those which raise him furthest above the brutes, and open up possibilities of almost indefinite advancement.

These three distinct stages of progress from the inorganic world of matter and motion up to man, point clearly to an unseen universe—to a world of spirit, to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate. To this spiritual world . . . we can refer those progressive manifestations of life in the vegetable the animal, and man—which we classify as unconscious, conscious, and intellectual life. . . . Any difficulty we may find in discriminating the inorganic from the organic, *the lower vegetable from the lower animal organisms* . . . has no bearing at all upon the question. This is to be decided by showing that a change in essential nature (due, probably, to causes of a higher order than those of the material universe) took place at the several stages of progress which I have indicated—a change which may be none the less real because absolutely imperceptible at its point of origin.

¹ *Life of Darwin*, vol. ii., p. 197.

² *Darwinism*, p. 461.

³ *Darwinism*, pp. 474-5-6.

Comment would but mar the effect of this pronouncement from a man whose authority on all questions of evolution is admitted to be second only to that of Darwin himself. We will only point out that it is the matured opinion of the author, published just thirty years after the *Origin of Species*.

NERVES NOT SENSATION

One of the arts in which our 'philosophers' excel is, as we know, that of making a partial knowledge of a subject seem to cover the whole of it. Our present subject, sensation, furnishes a good instance of their skill. The knowledge they have acquired of the *physical machinery* of sensation is somehow made to look like a knowledge of sensation itself.

Great credit is indeed due to the science of biology—which, we may remark, is not coextensive with 'advanced philosophy'—for the light it has thrown on the working of that marvellous telegraphic maze, the nervous system. It has disentangled the wires that carry the incoming and outgoing messages to and from the central station; it has even calculated the speed with which nerve-messages are conveyed.¹

Thanks to its discoveries we can all now at least talk about 'sensor and motor,' or 'afferent and efferent' nerves, 'reflex action,' and the like. We also know that the act of some one treading on our corn and the explosive language that conveys our idea of that act are not simultaneous, but separated by an appreciable interval. This is all very interesting and wonderful *as far as it goes*. But how far does it go? Will the most accurate knowledge of the course of a river and the speed of the current tell us what water is?

¹ This is found to be surprisingly low. In man and warm-blooded animals it is only about 120 to 130 feet a second, or between 80 and 90 miles an hour—a speed sometimes reached by fast trains. Compared with the speed attained in other departments of nature's work, this is a mere bagatelle. A portion of the earth's surface near the equator makes its daily round sixteen times as fast; the whole earth travels round the sun at a speed of nearly nineteen miles a second; while light is propagated through space at the rate of 186,000 miles a second.

Does the Postmaster-General know anything more than other people about the nature of electricity because of his presumably more extensive knowledge of the telegraph system? Would the most perfect knowledge of the purely mechanical working of that system entitle him to propound a new theory of electricity? Yet something like this our 'philosophers,' implicitly at least, claim to do in regard to sensation. Because they have learned something of the purely mechanical part of nervous action, they assume to speak with a show of knowledge of the *nature* of sensation and of the consciousness that is its shadow. Here is a specimen of the kind of thing we mean, taken from a work by a living writer already referred to, Dr. A. Wilson of Edinboro'.

There can appear little doubt that the domain of mental science is being invaded on more than one side by the sciences which deal more especially with the material world and with the physical universe around us. When physiologists discovered that the force or impulse which travels along a nerve originating in the brain, and which represents the transformation of thought into action, is nearly allied to the electric force—now one of man's most useful and obedient ministers—one avenue to the domain of mind was opened up. And when biologists, through the aid of delicate apparatus, were actually enabled to measure the rate at which nerve force travels along the nerve-fibres, it might again be said that physical science was encroaching on the domain of mind, being in a certain sense thus enabled to measure the rapidity of thought. . . . The common phrase 'as quick as thought' is found to be by no means so applicable as is generally supposed, especially when it is discovered that thought or nervous impulse, as compared with light or electricity, appears a veritable laggard.²

Here we have that skilful interweaving of assumption with fact that is so characteristic of the 'advanced' writers and so misleading to the unwary reader. The near alliance of nerve force to electric force is purely imaginary; physiologists have never 'discovered' anything giving the smallest warrant for such a statement, no one having the slightest idea of the nature or mode of action of either force. We shall return to this point later on. Throughout the

² *Leisure-time Studies*, pp. 229, 230.

rest of the passage the skill with which *sensation* and *thought* are confounded is admirable. Because the speed with which *sensation* travels in a nerve has been measured, science may be said to be able, 'in a certain sense,' to measure the speed of *thought*—which, so far as we know, does not travel anywhere. 'As quick as thought,' is quietly assumed to be the equivalent of 'as quick as sensation'; while the phrase 'thought or nervous impulse' gives the finishing touch to the identification of the two processes.

Needless to say, our friends Tyndall and Huxley are accomplished masters of this art of hiding ignorance behind knowledge. Tyndall will admit with apparent frankness that between the physical process and the consciousness with which it is linked there is 'a blank which mechanical deduction is unable to fill'; but in the very same breath he practically obliterates the blank by 'denying to subjective phenomena all influence on physical processes.'¹ This is as much as to say that as consciousness does undoubtedly 'influence physical processes,' it must itself be a sort of physical process. Huxley plainly asserts this in so many words:—

There is every reason to believe that consciousness is a function of nervous matter, when that nervous matter has attained a certain degree of organisation. . . . Our thoughts are the expression of molecular changes in that matter of life which is the source of our other vital phenomena.²

We do not now stop to refute the assumption slyly introduced into the last sentence, viz., that protoplasm is the 'source,' and not simply the *physical medium*, of our vital phenomena. We treated that question at sufficient length in a former paper. As for the assertion here made of the mechanical nature of consciousness, it is best answered by the accomplished Professor himself.

We class sensations, along with emotions and volitions and thoughts, under the common head of *states of consciousness*. But what consciousness is we know not; and how it is that any-

¹ *Fragments*, p. 356.

² *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 283.

thing so remarkable as a state of consciousness comes about as the result of irritating nervous tissue, is just as unaccountable as any other ultimate fact of nature.³

This is excellent teaching, and hardly needs backing up with a still later opinion, which will be found in the *Contemporary Review*, No. 182.

In the first place it seems to me pretty plain that there is a third thing in the universe, to wit, *consciousness*, which, in the hardness of my heart or head, I cannot see to be matter or force, or any conceivable modification of either.⁴

ALL WE KNOW OF SENSATION

Let us clearly bear in mind that the whole amount of scientific knowledge hitherto gained about sensation is purely *mechanical*, viz., the lines along which sensations travel to and fro, and the speed of transit. There is no authority even for the use of such terms as 'molecular motion'² to indicate a physical equivalent of sensation. There is not a shadow of ascertained fact to warrant the assumption that sensation in a nerve is represented by motion or any other special condition of its molecules. And this for the very obvious reason that molecules are quite beyond the reach of observation.

Therefore when Huxley says: 'We *know exactly* what happens when the soles of the feet are tickled; a *molecular change* takes place in the sensory nerves of the skin, *and is propagated along them*, &c.,'⁴ we answer, that as molecules are at present only *inferential*, and of course quite imperceptible, entities, all such descriptions of their behaviour must be regarded as figures of speech. In our present ignorance of the constitution of matter what we 'know exactly' about sensation amounts only to this—that *the*

¹ *Physiology* (1886), p. 202.

² The reader has long ago, we presume, given up expecting consistency in Professor Huxley's philosophical opinions. The Professor might have made his own of the characteristic avowal with which the late Lord Randolph Churchill once delighted the House of Commons. The erratic Lord, in reply to a vigorous attack on his inconsistency, placidly 'begged to inform the honourable member that he never meant to be consistent!'

³ Tyndall *passim*.

⁴ *Science and Culture* (1881), p. 219.

nerve-tissue is affected in some way, and that this affection, whatever is its nature, is propagated at a known velocity through the nerve.

The intrinsic nature of the change in the nerve-fibre effected by a stimulus is *quite unknown*. . . . From the stimulated point *some kind of change* is propagated along the nerve.¹

Again, there is no warrant whatever for the comparison often made between the condition of a nerve in action and that of a conducting wire. This is simply a comparison of ignorance with ignorance. Nothing whatever is positively known of the condition of either nerve or wire while discharging their respective functions. The electric influence is propagated through the wire,² the sensation through the nerve, and that is all that can be said of either. Yet Huxley speaks as positively as if science had really solved the puzzle of electricity.

Our conceptions of what takes place in a nerve have altered in the same way as our conceptions of what takes place in a conducting wire have altered *since electricity was shown to be, not a fluid, but a mode of molecular motion*.³

The bottom is very effectively knocked out of this comparison by a few quotations from recent works on electricity. We take up *Modern Views of Electricity*,⁴ by Professor Lodge of the Liverpool University College, and learn from it that *the 'modern view' now in favour is 'ethereal.'* Electricity is not associated with any action or condition of the molecules of matter, but with the *ether*. 'Electricity is a form, or rather a mode of manifestation, of the ether.'⁵ Professor Lodge goes out of his way to warn us that the one thing we must be careful to exclude from our conception of electricity is *molecules*; for the ether, to which electricity is now referred, is 'continuous, not

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1876)—*Physiology*.

² A recent American writer on electricity, Professor Trowbridge of Harvard, questions even this: 'There is but little evidence that there is a flow of electricity in a wire which we ordinarily say conveys a current.' *What is Electricity?* (1897), p. 61.

³ *Science and Culture*, p. 207.

⁴ 1889. The references here are to the second edition, 1892.

⁵ Page 9.

molecular.’¹ So much for Huxley’s ‘mode of molecular motion.’

Of course all this is *theory*. The real *fact* of the matter is tersely stated in a lecture appended to the volume. ‘Now then we will ask first—What is electricity? And the simple answer must be—We don’t know.’² . . . It may be that it is an entity *per se*, just as matter is an entity *per se*.³—Which shows pretty plainly how near we are to the solution of the puzzle of electricity, viz., just about as near as we are to the solution of the puzzle of matter.

A little farther on in the same lecture we are told how much has been found out about the nature of an electric *current*, which, according to Huxley, throws such light on the nature of nerve currents. ‘The nature . . . of the simple stream of electricity is at present unknown.’⁴ All that can be said of it, we are told elsewhere, is that ‘it is certainly a transfer of electricity, whatever electricity may be;’⁵ but ‘the actual mode of conveyance’ is ‘unknown.’⁶

We can now gauge the value of Huxley’s comparison—and something more. He compares his knowledge of sensation with his knowledge of electricity. Professor Lodge gives us the measure of one term of the comparison. *Ergo*..

We next turn for information to that enterprising people who, in practice at any rate, seem to have got the firmest grip of this slippery agent. Two years ago Professor Trowbridge of Harvard published a very interesting work about electricity. He boldly wrote on the title page the great question—WHAT IS ELECTRICITY?—and we took up the volume with a sort of feeling that now or never it would be answered. We were right. It was seemingly a case of now or never—but it was *not* now! After 308 pages explanatory of the behaviour of ‘this wonderful something which we call electricity,’ on the last page we are once more confronted with the still unanswered question. ‘What shall we therefore answer to the question—What is electricity? Must we reply—*Ignoramus, ignorabimus?*’

¹ Page 396.

² Page 370.

³ Page 371.

⁴ Page 372.

⁵ Page 73

⁶ Page 74.

And there we are left! No doubt we got premonitory hints as we went along which somewhat prepared us for this, *e.g.*—‘Philosophers of to-day set themselves to work to study the transformations of electricity . . . *with very little hope that they can ascertain what electricity really is.*’¹—But what a fall from Huxley’s comfortable state of assured knowledge!

From all which we conclude that, so far from its having been ‘shown’ what electricity is, Lord Salisbury, in that splendid address at Oxford five years ago, did not exaggerate when, with full knowledge of all the latest achievements, he said: ‘As to the true significance and cause of those counteracting forces to which we give the provisional names of negative and positive [electricity], we know about as much as Franklin knew a century and a half ago.’

Before finally leaving the point let us once more remind the reader that it is the ‘philosophers’ themselves who challenge us to estimate the extent and certainty of their knowledge of sensation by the extent and certainty of their knowledge of what they are pleased to regard as a kindred force, electricity. We have taken them at their word, with the result of showing that while they know something of the *action*, they know nothing whatever of the *nature*, of either force.

DARWIN AND SENSATION

But some reader whose patience is running short may here challenge us. ‘This is all very well; but what has it to say to Darwinism?’ And we have to confess that strictly speaking it has nothing—at least to the Darwinism that will be found in Darwin’s own books. But that is due to the saving virtue of inconsistency that was so characteristic of Darwin as a thinker and a theorist.² He professed to trace all living organisms back to a few animal and vegetable types, *or perhaps to one common type*—‘one low and intermediate form.’ We see at once how vast is the difference

¹ Page 178.

² Darwin’s intellectual character has been summed up in one sentence—he was a wonderful observer, but a bad reasoner.

between the alternatives. As a matter of fact he never attempted the second, and so escaped the whole difficulty about the origin of sensation. And this brings out the curious fact that the title of his most famous book, the *Origin of Species*, is a misnomer. He never really made any attempt to trace species to a common origin in 'one primordial form,' much less to account for the origin of that form itself, which, however 'low,' was necessarily a *species* of some sort. On the contrary, he borrowed from what he called the 'creator' as many 'origins of species' as he wanted; and his book really aims at accounting, not for the *origin* of species, but for the *development* of groups of species from these borrowed origins or original types.

Darwin's attitude towards 'origins' in general was remarkable. They had as little attraction for him as 'honour' had for Jack Falstaff. And for just the same reason:—the tracing of origins *might be* very philosophical; it certainly *was* very risky. And so Darwin came to the same conclusion as prudent old Jack—'I'll none of it!' Hence the origin of matter, of life, of animal instinct, of the higher mental powers—all were taboo. 'Rubbish' was his word for such investigations. This was of course inconsistent: but then, who minds about consistency? Darwin certainly gained in reputation for soundness by his careful avoidance of the wild speculations of his less prudent friends.

Huxley would have us believe that 'with respect to the origin of the primitive stock or stocks, the doctrine of the origin of species is obviously not necessarily concerned.'¹ We should say the very contrary is obvious. The primitive stock or stocks were *pro tem.* representative *species*, and therefore any complete theory of the origin of species must obviously concern itself about them. An account of the origin of the steam-engine which would begin with the first steam-engine in full blast, and, without making any attempt to explain how it arose, would go on to describe the evolution of all the later forms from that 'primitive stock,' would hardly be considered complete. But Darwin has not done

¹ *Lay Sermons*, p. 243.

even so much as this. The historian of the steam-engine, to put himself quite in line with the historian of species, should start with several 'primitive stocks,' representing the chief types of steam-engine—say the ordinary locomotive, the stationary, and the marine; and should declare himself 'obviously not necessarily concerned' with the origin of these.

The transmutation hypothesis [continues Huxley] is perfectly consistent either with the conception of a special creation of the primitive germ, or with the supposition of its having arisen, as a modification of inorganic matter, by natural causes.

Quite so; but the adoption of one or other alternative is necessary for the completeness of the account. Either 'special creation of the primitive germ' must be honestly accepted as the ultimate origin of species, or some rational scientific account of its 'arising, as a modification of inorganic matter, by natural causes,' must be given. Darwin does neither of these things. He first takes his 'primitive stocks' from 'the Creator,' and afterwards explains that by *creation* he 'really meant *appear by some wholly unknown process*.'¹ So according to Darwin the origin of species comes at last to this:—species 'appeared by some wholly unknown process.' This is surely an origin as mysterious and mentally unsatisfactory as the origin of Topsy, who, according to her own account of herself, 'jess grewed'!

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

¹ *Life and Letters*, iii., p. 18.

THE EPISCOPAL CITY OF FERNS

III.

IN the diocesan annals of Ferns, a rather curious incident is chronicled for the year 1435, as we read that Eugenius IV., at the request of Bishop Whitty 'absolved the citizens of New Ross from any ecclesiastical censures which might have been incurred by their ancestors.' It would appear that owing to the massacre of some Crutched Friars, about one hundred and fifty years previously, the citizens were solemnly 'censured' by the ecclesiastical authorities, and so the trade of Ross declined, as was believed, from A.D. 1300 to 1434. Hence, at the request of the citizens of this ancient town—which was even then called *New Ross*—Bishop Whitty applied to the Holy See to remove the excommunication.¹

The viceroyalty of the Earl of Ormonde having proved a failure, as regards the anticipated conquest of the Leinster septs, the Earl of Shrewsbury—better known as Lord Talbot de Furnivall—one of the greatest English generals of the age, was sent over in 1446. He held a parliament at Trim, in 1447, 'on the Friday after the Feast of the Epiphany,' in which many enactments were made against the native Irish. On July 17th, 1447, this nobleman was created Earl of Wexford and Waterford, and Viscount Dungarvan; but he very soon afterwards returned to England, leaving his brother Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, as Lord Deputy, who died on the 15th of August, 1449.

There was a great famine throughout Ireland in 1447, and seven hundred priests are said to have perished. Richard, Duke of York, arrived as Viceroy in July, 1449; and the Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J., has preserved for us a letter written by him to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated from Dublin, June 15th, 1450. Owing to continued infirmity, the Bishop of Ferns, then eighty years of age,

¹ Wadding.

was unable to be present at the parliament which was held at Dublin in October, 1449; and so, in 1450, he was given an assistant prelate in the person of a certain Thady, O.S.F., of whose rule we have scant particulars. About the year 1453, an abbey for Austin canons was founded at Lady's Island, though some say they were Austin friars.

Bishop Whitty went the way of all flesh early in 1458, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and had as successor Dr. John Purcell, who, on November 30th of the same year, was appointed collector of Peter's pence in Ireland. Some time previously there was a dispute regarding the advowson of Rathmacknee Church,¹ near Wexford, which was claimed by one of the Rossiter family against the Prior of All Hallows, Dublin. Owing to the vacancy in the see of Ferns, the episcopal *curia* did not take place till June 2nd, 1460, when nineteen 'inquirers,' under the presidency of Laurence, Archdeacon of Ferns, found in favour of All Hallows Priory. The following clergymen assisted at the inquiry:—

Robert Sutton, Rector of Fethard; Richard Busher, Rector of Coolstuffe; John Boggan, Vicar of Kilmore; Thomas Browne, Vicar of Mulrankin; Nicholas Connick, Rector of Kilmannin; Daniel Reilly, Vicar of Killag; Richard Keating, Vicar of Kilkevan; William Grant, Vicar of Kilturk; Walter Fowler, Vicar of Clonmines; Richard Cloney, Vicar of Mayglass; John Wilmot, Vicar of Hook; Garret O'Byrne, Curate of Ballymore; John White, Curate of Ballybrennan; G. Walshe, Curate of Lady's Island; and the Curate of Bannow.

Pope Pius II., wrote a letter to the Bishop of Ferns (Dr. John Purcell),² the Prior of St Catherine's, Waterford, and the Archdeacon of Ferns, acknowledging the petition which they had presented on the part of Robert le Poer, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. The next item we find is the founding of a noble Franciscan friary at Enniscorthy, by Donald *Fuscus* (*Reagh*, the brown, or the swarthy complexioned) Kavanagh, King of Leinster, which was

¹ The church of Rathmacknee was dedicated to St. Martin of Tours. On October 29th, 1538, Walter, Prior of All Hallows, Dublin, granted to Nicholas Stainhurst, of Dublin, 'the next presentation to the vicarage of the Parochial Church of St. Martin of Rathmacknee.' The church had been granted to All Hallows by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in 1240, which grant was confined by Pope Innocent V. in 1276.

solemnly dedicated to the service of God, on October 18th, 1460, by Bishop Purcell—Father Nehemias O'Donoghue being Vicar Provincial.

The viceroyalty of the Earl of Kildare, which terminated in 1459, effected nothing of consequence; and the county Wexford had to contribute £20 yearly to the King of Leinster, in addition to the 'black rent' of 80 marks annually paid by the Government. Edward IV. was proclaimed King of England on March 4th, 1461.

Pope Pius II., on September 26th, 1461, wrote to the Bishop of Leighlin, the Dean, and Canon Patrick O'Byrne, of Leighlin, who had been appointed judges of the ecclesiastical dispute in the diocese of Ferns, regarding the Chancellorship—confirming the appointment of Dermot O'Doyne (O'Dunne or Dunne) as Chancellor of Ferns, *vice* Philip Nagle, who had been deposed for manifest irregularities. The position was then valued at ten marks per annum. This Dermot O'Dunne was subsequently promoted to the bishopric of Leighlin:¹ a fact which is worth chronicling, inasmuch as his identity was unknown to Brady or Comerford; and he is the *Dermotius* mentioned in the Papal Bull.

In 1461, the Abbot of Ferns, by a Bull of Pope Pius II., was entrusted with the erection of a house for Austin friars or hermits of St. Augustine, at Callan, county Kilkenny, which had been petitioned for by Sir Edmond Butler, who died on the 13th of July, 1464. In 1467, Sadh, or Sabina Kavanagh, the daughter of Donald *Fuscus*, was married to Sir James Butler, who completed Callan friary.

Notwithstanding the civil strife which raged violently from 1460 to 1476, King Donald was not unmindful of the interests of religion. There is yet preserved in Kilkenny Castle the original of the grant which this petty sovereign gave to the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske (Graigenemanagh), county Kilkenny, by which he made over to the monks 'a charge of eightpence, lawful money of England, on every plough working in *his dominion of Leinster*.' This grant

¹ Thomas Fleming, O.S.F., Bishop of Leighlin, died in 1468.

is dated from Enniscorthy Castle, 3rd of April, 1475, and is sealed with his great seal, with the legend: '*Sigillum Donall Meic Murchada Regis Lageniae.*' Among the subscribing witnesses are the Rev. Dermot O'Bolger, Rector of Carnew; Charles and Gerald, sons of the aforesaid King Donald; Aulaf O'Bolger, physician; Hugh O'Farrell, Cormac O'Brien, Magnus O'Brien, William M'Aylward, clerics of the diocese of Ferns; Donald, son of Hugh O'Byrne, and many others.

In connection with this grant, which was read before the Royal Society of Antiquaries, on January 17th, 1883, by the late Rev. James Graves, this distinguished archæologist was unable to identify some of the names; and he was also unaware of the date when King Donald died, merely presuming, with Dowling and others, that he was alive in April, 1475. I have, fortunately, succeeded in identifying the names; and I have also discovered the exact date of the king's death, which occurred on the 21st of April, 1476, at the age of eighty. This latter fact is attested by an entry in an ancient manuscript missal belonging to the now extinct Franciscan Friary of Enniscorthy, which missal was written 'for the use of the Friars Minor.'

Bishop Purcell, of Ferns, died in 1479; and on November 26th of the same year, Laurence Neville, Archdeacon of Ferns, a blood relation of the Baron of *Ros-Carlan* (Rosegarland), was appointed his successor, receiving restitution of temporalities on the 20th of May, 1480. At this date, the episcopal city of Ferns was shorn of its ancient splendour, and the castle was held by the MacMurroughs. Bishop Neville resided at his ancestral Manor of Rosegarland; but, notwithstanding his Anglo-Norman proclivities, he sided with the pretensions of Lambert Simnel in 1487.

In 1481, 'Cahir Kavanagh, the son of MacMurrough (who witnessed the grant to Duiske Abbey, in 1475), was slain by the English of county Wexford.' Alas! from 1478 to 1487, much internecine strife prevailed in the diocese of Ferns, though, at the time, the Irish had possession of most of county Wexford. Never was there a better opportunity

for 'wiping out' the Anglo-Normans, and yet the clans would not unite for the common cause. Under the date of 1488, the Irish Annals tell us that Mahon O'Murphy, chief of Ballaghkeene (county Wexford) 'was treacherously slain by Donogh MacArt MacMurrough, Lord of Kinsellagh.'

Bishop Neville, notwithstanding the troublesome period during which he ruled the diocese Ferns, worked zealously for the good of the Church. On May 13th, 1489, Dr. John Phelan, Canon of Ferns and Rector of Clonmore, county Wexford, was appointed Bishop of Limerick.

In 1490, Sir Jordan de Valle (Wall), Knight, granted to the abbey of St. Thomas, near Dublin, 'the church of St. Andrew and St. Brigid of Mathelcon, in the diocese of Ferns; and the deed was signed by Laurence, Bishop of Ferns.' This church of St. Andrew and St. Brigid of Mathelcon, was the parish church of Moyacomb (a corrupted form of the Celtic *Magh-da-con* = 'the plain of the two dogs'), which had replaced the old Augustinian abbey known as Abbeydowne, founded by St. Dubhan, the patron saint of Hook: It is situated beyond Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford, and quite near Clonegel, Co. Carlow, but is in the diocese of Ferns. Here, again, I must impress the reader with the fact that the see of Ferns is conterminous with Leighlin and Glendalough, and follows the tribal parochial arrangement of pre-Norman days.

Sir Edward Poynings arrived as Lord Deputy on the 13th day of October, 1494, and convened the celebrated parliament which met at Drogheda, on December 1st, when the statute was passed known as Poynings law. This parliament voted a subsidy of £454 to Captain Thomas Garth, commander of the English forces in Leinster.

At the Provincial Council held in Christ Church, Dublin, attended by Bishop Neville, of Ferns, an annual contribution for seven years was imposed on the clergy of the province of Leinster, to provide salaries for lecturers in the University of Dublin, then in a moribund condition.

On August 26th, 1496, Henry VII. granted a general amnesty to all those prelates and nobles who had been implicated in the Perkin Warbeck comedy. However, the

Pretender, styling himself Richard IV. again landed at Cork in July, 1497, and on the 28th of the same month besieged Waterford, but was so successfully resisted by the citizens that he was compelled to fly on August 3rd.¹

Bishop White, of Glendalough, surrendered his see on the 30th of May, 1497, and it has ever since been incorporated with that of Dublin. The average reader may, perhaps, not be aware that the diocese of Ferns embraces a small portion of Co. Wicklow, including Kilpipe, Preban, Tomacork, Annacurra, Tinahely, Killaveny, Aughrim, Shillelagh, and Rathdrum. This arises from the fact that the old Irish sees were mostly *tribal*; and Ferns was coincident with the territory known as *Hy Kinsellagh*.

In 1497 there was a terrible famine throughout Leinster; and, in August, 1499, the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy, held a parliament at Castledermot, Co. Kildare, which granted to the English monarch and his successors 'a tax of twelve pence in the pound on all kinds of merchandise that were imported, except wine and oil,' and also levied a subsidy off the clergy for the king. In 1501, our ancient annals have the pleasing announcement that 'a general peace prevailed in the provinces of Leinster and Munster.'

Bishop Neville passed to his eternal reward in 1503, after a rule of twenty-four years, and had as his successor, Edmond Comerford, Dean of Ossory, who was consecrated for the see of Ferns in St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, in 1505.

During the episcopacy of Bishop Comerford, nothing of any note occurred, but he was summoned to the parliament which was convened at Dublin, in October, 1508, by the Earl of Kildare, 'in which subsidies were granted to the king,' as MacGeoghan writes, 'by taxing the lands according to their produce.' This prelate died on Easter Sunday, 1509, and was succeeded by Nicholas Comyn, who was duly consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on January 20th,

¹ It was on this occasion that Henry VII. conferred the title of *Urbs intacta* on Waterford for its loyalty (?); and ever since the legend of the city is: *Urbs intacta manet Waterfordia*. Perkin Warbeck with his friend John Waters, Mayor of Cork, was hanged at Tyburn, on the 23rd of November, 1499.

1510, being the first year of the reign of Henry VIII. This prelate resided at Fethard Castle, Co. Wexford, and attended the Provincial Council of Dublin, held at Christ Church Cathedral, on the 21st of September, 1512, under the presidency of Archbishop Rokeby.

Murrough *ballagh*, King of Leinster, died in 1511, and was succeeded by Art *boy* (*Buidhe* = the yellow, or the fallow complexioned), Kavanagh, who received 'twenty *marte* lands,' i.e. fattening lands for beeves or kine, from his father King Donald *fuscus*. This Art ruled the kingdom of Leinster during a stormy period of seven years, and died at Enniscorthy Castle, in 1518, whereupon the kingship devolved on his brother Gerald, 'of Ferns.'

Bishop Comyn assisted at the second Provincial Council held by Archbishop Rokeby, at Dublin, in 1518, the acts of which are still extant in the *Red Book of the Church of Ossory*. After an able administration of nine years, he was transferred to the more lucrative see of Lismore and Waterford, on April 13th, 1519; and on the same day John Purcell, Austin Canon of St. Catherine's, Waterford, was 'provided' to the see of Ferns, being consecrated at Rome, on the 6th of May, 1519.

Murtogh Kavanagh, a younger son of Art *boy*, on May 20th, 1521, during the viceroyalty of the Earl of Surrey, seized the freehold lands of Enniscorthy; and, in the following year, on the death of King Gerald, of 'Ferns,' he was proclaimed by the clan as *the MacMurrough*.

In truth, this was a very troubled period for the see of Ferns. The whole county Wexford, with the exception of the town of Wexford, was in the hands of the MacMurroughs. Even New Ross was merely nominally within the Pale. To further complicate matters, there were intermarriages between the Butlers and the Kavanaghs; and the English power in Leinster was scarcely ever at so low an ebb. The dispute regarding the title to the vast Ormonde estates had been settled, on August 16th, 1496, by the death of Sir James Butler, who was killed by Sir Piers Butler, the legitimate heir. Still there was no unity.

This Sir Piers Butler, who afterwards (August, 1515),

became Earl of Ormonde, was the maternal grandson of Donald *fuscus* Kavanagh, King of Leinster, and was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, in December, 1521, in succession to the Earl of Surrey. Two months previously, Henry VIII. wrote a letter to the Earl of Surrey, that he was most anxious to arrange a marriage between Sir Piers and the celebrated Anne Boleyn ; and, had such an interesting event taken place, how differently might the history of the 'Reformation' have been written. Anyhow, Sir Piers did not fall in with the views of King Henry, and, in 1524, he was replaced as Lord Deputy by the Earl of Kildare. I may add that, in 1524, the King himself first took serious notice of 'Mistress Anne ;' and, on June 18th, 1525, he advanced her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, to the peerage, under the title of Viscount Rochford, 'one of the long-contested titles of the house of Ormonde.'

Murtogh Kavanagh, King of Leinster, drew up an agreement, dated August 28th, 1525, with Piers Butler, eighth Earl of Ormonde, in which the 'King of Leinster' (the last who subscribed himself as such) agreed to resign all claim to the lordship of Arklow, on condition of being allowed to live there whenever he liked, and to receive 'a moiety of the rents, services, and customs as well of fish as of timber, accruing to the said Earl, as well in his said town of Arklow as in its port,' with certain reservations. For pledges, MacMurrough gave the Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Seneschal of county Wexford, Richard Power, Edmund Duff O'Donoghue, MacDavid and his clan, O'Murchoe [the O'Murphy], and Donall O'Murchoe, the sons of Gerald Kavanagh, *the Bishop of Ferns and his clergy*, the Guardian and other brethren of Enniscorthy, with all his community, &c.

From documents of the year 1524-1530, we meet with the names of the Rev. Nicholas Keating, as Rector of Taghmon, and the Rev. Thomas Browne, Prebendary of Clone. At this period the MacMurrough held Ferns Castle, and continued to receive the accustomed tribute of 80 marks annually from the Crown, until 1532. On the death of Murty (Murtogh or Maurice) Kavanagh, and his two sons Dermot

and Donogh, the chieftaincy of Leinster devolved on Cahir (Charles) MacInnycross.

During the deputyship of Sir William Skeffington, *i.e.*, from August 1522 to August, 1532, various raids were made by the English forces in Ulster and Leinster. For some unexplained cause John Purcell, Bishop of Ferns (who resided at Fethard Castle), was taken prisoner, and placed in the custody of the Marshal of the Exchequer on the 1st of September, 1531, but was released early in 1532. Very probably this was owing to his inability to pay some debts due to the crown.

In 1530, Cahir MacInnycross, King of Leinster, took possession of Ferns Castle, and on August 3rd, 1534, he burned Ballymagir Castle, county Wexford. With the unfortunate murder of John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, on July 28th, 1534, may be said to end the pre-Reformation period of Irish history; and on March 19th, 1535, Henry VIII. exercised his new prerogative as 'Head of the Church,' by appointing George Browne, an ex-Augustinian friar, as first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. On October 3rd, Lord James Butler, son of Sir Piers, Earl of Ossory,¹ was created Viscount Thurles, on condition of 'vigorously resisting the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome.'

Lord Leonard Grey, the new Viceroy, convened a motley parliament, which met at Dublin, on May 1st, 1536; and this base assemblage of sycophants declared the King 'Head of the Church of Ireland,' also attainting the Irish estates (many of which were in the county Wexford) of the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Berkeley, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Abbot of Furness, &c.; which were then vested in the King. The first assignation of religious houses was at the same time made to the crown, comprising thirteen monasteries, including Dunbrody and Tintern, in the diocese of Ferns, the yearly value of which was estimated at £32,000.

Cahir MacInnycross Kavanagh surrendered Ferns Castle to Lord Grey, on July 4th, 1536, but was left in possession

¹ Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, was created Earl of Ormonde, and as a *solatium*, Sir Piers Butler was given the title 'Earl of Ossory.'

as constable, on payment of eighty marks, Irish, annually; Gerald Sutton being appointed deputy constable. A very interesting account of the capture of Ferns Castle was sent on July 17th, by Thomas Allen, to the Secretary of State, Cromwell, from which I give the following, merely modernizing the spelling:—

My Lord and the Master of the Rolls returning from Kilkenny towards Dublin, sojourned at Leighlin, from whence he sent Stephen ap Harry to Kilkea [Co. Kildare], to prepare his footmen [infantry], ordnance, and victuals, and with all celerity to repair to the castle of Ferns. My Lord rode all that night, and was there early in the morning, and viewed it. My Lord demanded whether they would surrender, and deliver the same to him, or not. They made plain answer, they would not leave the same, using very spiteful language. And so passing the day in preparing engines, instruments, and other necessaries for the obtaining thereof, bringing them nigh to the castle to the intent they might see my Lord would not have the same . . . and caused part of his men to go to the castle, and *break the outer gate, entering to the drawbridge* . . . Whereupon, shortly after they desired to speak with my Lord, who showed them that inasmuch as they would not deliver the castle unto him before his Lordship had bestowed his ordnance, which was coming within a mile, that afterwards, even if they would have delivered the same, it should not be accepted of them: but *man, woman, and child should suffer for the same*.

Which altogether, with the death of their captain, discomfitted them. They surrendered and yielded the same to my Lord, who, for that night, put a captain and men in the same, and the next day put a ward of the MacMurroughs in the same. And MacMurrough himself came in hostage with my Lord Deputy to Dublin, to agree with his Lordship, and Mr. Treasurer [Lord James Butler], for the taking of the same, which was let very late for 5 marks, Irish, or thereabouts. . . .

Assuming your right honourable good Mastership, that *the said castle is one of the ancientest (sic) and strongest castles within this land*, and of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, or the Duke of Norfolk's, old inheritance, being worth sometime 500 marks by the year, situated nobly within 10 miles to Wexford, and 12 miles to Arklow.

From the State Papers we learn that on December 7th, 1537, James Sherlock was appointed 'treasurer, general receiver, and bailiff of the lordship of Wexford, and of all other manors and lands in county Wexford; to hold during good behaviour, with the accustomed fees.' On December 20th

of the same year William St. Loo, as a reward for the capture of *The MacMurrrough*, was given a lease for twenty-one years of various lands in county Wexford, including Kilmannock, the Hook, Clonmines, Rosegarland, the Park and Ferry of Wexford, the Saltee Islands, the Rectory of Kilmore, Long Grange, &c. At this date the Very Rev. Dr. Hay was Dean of Ferns, Rev. Walter Rossiter was Rector of Taghmon, and the Rev. Thomas Browne was Prebendary of Clone.

John Allen, Master of the Rolls, who had been present with Lord Leonard Grey at the surrender of Ferns Castle, was, on December 1st, 1536, given a grant for ever of the Priory of St. Wolstan's, county Kildare, which was the first great religious house suppressed in Ireland. It was not, however, till 1537 that the drift of the so-called Reformation began to be seen, and in 1538 the spoliation began. As might be expected, there was much bickering over the distribution of the loaves and fishes; and under date of July 25th, 1538, we find a petition from Thomas Agar to Secretary Cromwell for the seneschalship of county Wexford, then held by William St. Loo aforementioned.

On Saturday, January 4th, 1539, Archbishop Browne, of Dublin, arrived at New Ross, where he preached on the following day (Sunday) in St. Mary's Church; and on Sunday night he proceeded to Wexford, where, on January 6th, the Feast of the Epiphany, as we read in the State Papers, 'the Archbishop again preached, having a great audience.'

The aged Bishop Purcell, of Ferns, died July 20th, 1539, whereupon Alexander Devereux, last pre-Reformation Abbot of Dunbrody, was schismatically consecrated his successor, on December 14th of the same year, by the aforesaid Archbishop Browne.

Ferns Abbey was suppressed by Royal Commission, dated April 7th, 1539; and an account of its last days, as also a sketch of the life and work of Alexander Devereux, who, though consecrated in schism, subsequently became orthodox, and was rehabilitated, will be given in a subsequent paper.

WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

DOCUMENTS

PROCLAMATION OF THE DECREE 'TAMETSI' IN COSTA RICA
BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus de *Costa Rica* in America Centrali sequentia dubia enodanda proponit :

Licet nulla extet memoria publicatum fuisse Concilium Tridentinum in dioecesi de *Nicaragua* et *Costa Rica*, tamen nunquam in dubio positum est quin eiusdem leges in tota America Latino-Hispanica vigerent (etiam cap. I. sess 24 De ref. matrim.); nihilominus dubium occurrit utrum haec lex Tridentina publicanda sit in novis parochiis quae eriguntur, speciatim in locis, ubi maior pars habitantium est haeretica.

Casus concretus hic est: Portus de *Limon* anno 1870 regio erat inculta et silvis consita. Primi incolae fuerunt Nigritae haeretici et nonnulli Catholici Costaricensenses. Anno 1893 erecta fuit parochia in eodem portu, ubi degunt 1000 Catholici et 4000 haeretici.

I. Vigetne ibidem lex Tridentina quoad celebrationem matrimoniorum propter solam rationem quod terra illa pertineat ad dioecesim ubi publicata censetur lex, an vero denuo publicanda est.

II. Validane sunt matrimonia ab haeticis celebrata coram ministro acatholico vel coram Gubernio in Portu de *Limon*?

III. Anno 1897, viginti septem haeretici suos errores abiurarunt et in Ecclesiam reversi sunt. Quaerit Parochus quid cum iis faciendum qui matrimonium inierunt n. II. exposito. Post baptismum conditionalem etc. consensus matrimonialis renovandus est neque?

IV. Utrum conveniat, ad tollenda dubia, Concilium Tridentinum publicare?

V. Utrum conveniat dispensationem petere a S. Sede relate ad matrimonia haeticorum, sicut concessa fuit a Benedicto XIV. die 4 Novembris, 1741, pro provinciis foederatis Belgii et Hollandiae.

Feria IV, die 23 Novembris 1898.

In Congregatione Generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis habita ab Eminentissimis ac Reverendissimis DD.

Cardinalibus in rebus Fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consul-torum voto, iidem Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Ad I. Decretum *Tametsi* Concilii Tridentini tanquam promul-gatum censeri debet in tota Dioecesi de Costa-Rica ; neque proinde necessaria est eiusdem decreti promulgatio in nova paroecia Portus de Limon.

Ad II. Provisum in praecedenti ; scilicet Negative.

Ad III. Affirmative : et detur Decretum S. Officii 20 Novem-bris, 1876.¹

Ad IV. Publicationem necessariam non esse.

Ad V. Negative.

Feria vero VI. die 25 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Assessori S. Officii impertita, facta de his omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Divina Providentia Papae XIII. relatione, Sanctissimus resolutionem Eminentissi-morum ac Reverendissimorum Patrum approbavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. *Notarius*.

MAY A PAPAL DELEGATE SUBDELEGATE WITHOUT RESTRICTION ?

DUBIUM. AN DELEGATUS A PAPA ABSQUE RESTRICTIONE SUB-DELEGATE VALEAT

Feria IV., die 14 Decembris, 1898.

Huic Supremae S. R. et U. Inquisitioni propositum fuit enondandum sequens dubium.

An possit Episcopus dioecesanus subdelegare, absque speciali conoessione, suis Vicariis Generalibus, aut aliis Ecclesiasticis, generali modo, vel saltem pro casu partieu-lari, facultates ab Apostolica Sede sibi ad tempus delegatas.

¹ Huius Decreti tenor est huiusmodi : ' Utrum debeat Baptismus sub con-ditione haereticis qui ad Catholicam Fidem convertuntur e quocumque loco proveniant et ad quamcumque sectam pertineant ? Respondetur :—Negative, sed in conversione haereticorum, a quocumque loco vel a quacumque secta venerint, inquirendum est de validitate baptismi in haeresi suscepti. Instituto igitur in singulis casibus examine, si compertum fuerit, aut nullum, aut nulliter collatum fuisse, baptizandi erunt absolute. Si autem pro temporum et locorum ratione, investigatione peracta nihil sive pro validitate, sive pro invaliditate delegatur, aut adhuc probabile dubium de baptismi validitate supersit, tunc sub conditione secreto baptizentur. Demum si constiterit validum fuisse, recipiendi erunt tantummodo ad aburationem, seu professionem fidei.'

Porro in Congregatione Generali, ab EEñis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, maturrime praedicto dubio expenso, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

‘Affirmative, dummodo id in facultatibus non prohibeatur, neque subdelegandi ius pro aliquibus tantum coarctetur: in hoc enim casu, servanda erit adamussim forma Rescripti.’

Sequenti vero Feria VI. die 16 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div: Prov. Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Assessori impertita, SSñus D. N. resolutionem EE. et RR. Patrum approbavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. *Notarius.*

DOUBT REGARDING VALIDITY OF ORDINATION

DUBIUM AN VALIDA SIT ORDINATIO PRESBYTERALIS, SI IN
TRADITIONE CALICIS VINUM NON ADFUERIT

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N.N., ad pedes S.V. provolutus humiliter exponit:

Nuper, in collatione generali Ordinum, sabbato Quatuor Temporum Adventus, accidit ut presbyteris ordinandis traditus sit, una cum patena et hostia, calix *absque vino*, ex mera Caeremoniariorum inadvertentia. Res processit omnibus nesciis, nec nisi vespere nota fuit, quum iam recessissent omnes ordinati, qui nec hodie defectum suspicantur.

Quare humiliter orator anceps quaerit:

I. An possit acquiescere? Et quatenus negative;

II. Quid agendum in praxi?

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV., die 11 Ianuarii, 1899.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, habita ab EEñis ac RRñis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Ad I. et II. ‘Ordinationem esse iterandum ex integro sub conditione et secreto quocumque die, facto verbo cum SSño, ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis celebratis a sacerdotibus ordinatis ut in casu.

Feria vero de die 13 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita

audientia R. P. D. Assessori impertita, facta de his omnibus SS^{mo} D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, SS^{ms} resolutionem EE^morum Patrum approbavit et gratiam concessit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. *Notarius.*

LEO XIII. AND FRENCH CATHOLICS

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII. ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

LEO XIII. DENUO INCULCAT HORTATIONES IAM. PLURIES DATAS CATHOLICIS GALLIS, CIRCA RATIONEM AGENDI IN RE POLITICA ET SOCIALI

VENERABILI FRATRI PETRO, ARCHIEPISCOPO BITURICENSI

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILIS FRATER SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Haud levi sane moerore cognovimus, ex quibusdam Actis ab Apostolica Sede nuperrime evulgatis nonnullos occasionem perperam omnino nancisci publice edicendi: mutasse Nos consilia circa illam de re vel politica vel sociali rationem agendi catholicorum in Galliis, quam et Ipsi primum indicavimus et pro opportunitate deinceps inculcare nunquam destitimus. Eo autem magis hoc indoluimus, Venerabilis Frater, quod et animos dubio percellere a rectoque itinere obturbatos possit revocare, ac notam iis vestratum inurat, qui hortationibus Nostris sese praecepue audientes exhibere, et, vita ad earundem hortationum normam exacta, pro religione et patria agere passim contendunt.

Etenim quae a Nobis documenta recenter prodire, ea quidem qua christianam disciplinam unice respiciunt, nulloque aliquando pacto praescriptiones attingunt, quae, uti diximus, de ratione, apud vos. agendi catholicorum sunt, inque Epistola, februario mense MDCCXCII. ad Gallos data, et in Encyclicis Literis *Rerum novarum*, dilucide continentur.

De quibus, nihil prorsus immutatum esse, cunctaque satius integro robore vigere, pronum est intelligere. Non enim deceret Apostolicae Sedis sapientiam a consiliis decedere, quae ita omni maturitate cepit et continenti studio inculcavit, ut Ei, si quis aliter sentiret, iniuriam haud exiguam temere irrogare existimaretur.

Haec, Venerabilis Frater, ex caritate, qua gentem vestram compectimur, rursus significanda censuimus, atque iterum

Gallarum catholicos hortamur summopere, ut quae ad communem utilitatem consilia ac monita et saepius dedimus et nunc instaurare vel maxime optamus, ea faciant oppido, eisque, animo et faetis in unum concordēs, libenter regi, moveri et inter se coalescere nullo non tempore adlaborent.

Quod ut e votis cedat, benevolentiae Nostrae testem et munerum divinorum auspicem, Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi ac Dioecesi tuae peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXV. maii MDCCCXCIX., Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

LEO XIII. ON THE REVIEW 'EPHEMERIDES LITURGICAE'

LEO XIII. LAUDAT OPERAM MODERATORIS "EPHEMERIDUM
LITURGICARUM"

Dilecto filio Chalcedonio Mancini e Congreg. Vincentiana Romam.

Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apost. Benedictionem.

Diligentiam tuam, qua annos iam amplius decem rei liturgicae illustrandae operam, novimus plane magnique facimus. Tanti enim refert ut quae Ecclesia de sacra Liturgia decernit probe cognoscantur et observentur, quanti ut sancta sancte tractentur et fidelium pietas sacrorum maiestate augeatur. Tuos igitur labores, quorum testes sunt *Ephemeridum Liturgicarum* oblata volumina, laude Nostra exornamus optamusque ut homines sacri cleri tibi opere ac voluntate faveant. Addimus vero, benevolentiae Nostrae pignus, Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam tibi peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die X. Maii MDCCCXCIX., Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII.

RENEWAL OF MATRIMONIAL CONSENT

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

CIRCA RENOVATIONEM CONSENSUS, AD HOC UT, SUBLATO IMPEDIMENTO, MATRIMONIUM CONVALIDETUR

BEATISSIME PATER,

Amalia protestans non baptizata, nupsit Joanni protestanti baptizato : durante matrimonio, Amalia baptizata fuit in Protes-

tantismo et vixit cum marito per aliquod tempus. Decursu temporis ipsa certior facta est illicitos foveri amores Joannem inter et certam mulierem. Quapropter ipsi valedixit, et brevi post, a Tribunali civili obtinuit divortium ex *capite adulterii ex parte* mariti. Nunc autem Amalia postulat licentiam contrahendi secundas nuptias cum viro catholico.

Notandum quod protestantes non recognoscunt matrimonium inter baptizatum et non baptizatum et non baptizatum, esse nullum.

Quibus positis, Archiep. N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter quaerit :

Posita ignorantia nullitatis matrimonii *ex capite disparitatis cultus*, conversatio maritalis Amaliae cum Joanne revalidavitne matrimonium post baptismum Amaliae ?

(Versio Direct.)

Fer. IV., die 8 Maii, 1899.

In Congregatione Generali coram EEmis ac RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Praevio iuramento ab Amalia in Curia N. N. praestando, quo declaret matrimonium contractum cum Ioanne post baptismum ipsius Amaliae, ab iisdem, scientibus illius nullitatem, ratificatum non fuisse in loco ubi matrimonia clandestina vel mixta valida habentur, et dummodo R. P. D. Archiepiscopus moraliter certus sit de asserta ignorantia sponsorum circa impedimentum *disparitatis cultus*, detur mulieri documentum libertatis *ex capite* ipsius *disparitatis cultus*.

Sequenti vero Fer. V., die 9 eiusdem mensis et anni SSmus D. N. Leo Pp. XIII. per facultates Emo Cardinali huius Supremae Congregationis Secretario impertitas, resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobare dignatus est.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

THE PAULINE PRIVILEGE

UTRUM PARS FIDELIS UTI POSSIT PRIVILEGIO PAULINO SI POST
CONVERSIONEM COMMISERIT ALIQUOD DELICTUM
BEATISSIME PATER,

Aemilius van Henexthoven, Superior missionis Kwangensis in Africa Societatis Iesu Patribus demandatae, and S. V. pedes provolutus humiliter exponit quae sequuntur :

Non semel S. Sedes declaravit adulterium et alia delicta ante baptismum commissa, ita per baptismum condonari, ut pars infidelis, quae ideo declinaret cohabitationem, permetteret alteri parti baptizatae usum privilegii Paulini.

Quid autem si post baptismum adulterium vel delictum fuerit iteratum, ita tamen, ut moraliter constet, quia v. g. iam magnis spatiis separati erant coniuges, haec facta posteriora nullatenus causam esse discessus partis infidelis, quae nec de baptismo nec de moribus post baptismum inductis sollicita aequae etiam secuta emendatione detrectasset cohabitationem.

Quo casu posito supradictus Orator enixe supplicat S. V. pro responsione ad haec duo dubia :

I. An delicta, quae post baptismum sunt commissa, sed nullatenus attenduntur a parte infideli. vel etiam quandoque penitus ignorantur, obstant, quominus pars baptizata uti possit privilegio Apostoli ?

II. An illo casu licitus sit usus facultatis Apostolicae, vi cuius in dicta missione dispensari potest a faciendis interpellationibus requisitis ?

Feria IV. die Aprilis, 1869.

In congregatione Generali S. Romanae Universalis Inquisitionis ab EEmis ac RRmis DD. de Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis superscriptis dubiis, rite perpensis omnibus tum iuris tum facti rationum momentis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

‘Dentur Oratori Decretum S. Officii 5 Augusti, 1759, et Instructio S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 16 Ianuarii, 1797 ; et ad mentem. Mens est ut in dubiis iudicium sit semper in fidei favorem.’

‘Porro Decretum S. Officii 5 Augusti, 1759, ad *Episcopum Coccinensem*, in resp. ad II. sic se habet’ :

‘Cum militet ex parte coniugis conversi favor fidei, eo (privilegio) potest uti quacumque ex causa, dummodo iusta sit, nimirum si non dederit iustum ac rationabile motivum alteri coniugi discedendi, ita tamen ut tunc solum intelligatur solutum iugum vinculi matrimonialis cum infideli, quando coniux conversus (renuente altero post interpellationem converti) transit ad alia vota cum fidei.’

‘Instructio vero S. C. de Propaganda Fide 16 Ianuarii 1797, *pro Sinis* est prout sequitur’ :

‘In casu matrimonii dissolvendi ex privilegio in favorem fidei promulgato ab Apostolo duo haec tantum spectanda, de quibus fieri debet interpellatio: 1. Utrum pars infidelis velit converti. 2. Utrum saltem velit cohabitare sine contumelia Creatoris, nulla praeterea habita ratione, utrum nec ne praecesserit sive adulterium, sive repudium.’

Sequenti vero feria VI., die 21 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Pp. XIII. R. P. D. Adressoris S. O. impertita, SS. D. N. resolutionem EE, ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

REQUIEM MASSES FOR THE POOR

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM DECRETUM

CIRCA MISSAM EXEQUIALEM LECTAM, LOCO CANTATAE

Instantibus aliquibus Parochis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium propositum fuit: ‘An pro paupere defuncto cuius Familia impar est solvendi expensas Missae exequialis cum cantu, haec Missa legi possit sub iisdem clausulis et conditionibus quibus praefata Missa cum cantu conceditur.

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque rite expensis, rescribendum censuit: Affirmative seu permitti posse in casu Missam exequialem lectam, loco Missae cum cantu, dummodo in dominicis aliisque Festis de praecepto non omittatur Missa officio diei currentis respondens.

Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Quibus omnibus Ssmo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 12 Iunii eodem anno.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secr.*

THE ERECTION OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE ROSARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM¹
ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM

CIRCA DELEGATIONEM SACERDOTIS PRO ERIGENDA CONFRATERNI-
TATE SS. ROSARII

BEATISSIME PATER,

Iuxta Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum datum die 20 Maii, 1896, ad VI. Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum pro erigenda Confraternitate SS. Rosarii *certum Sacerdotem* delegare debet. Cum autem haud raro accidat Sacerdotem ita delegatum ex improvise impediri, quominus die statuto mandatum exequi possit, quin recursus opportunus pro nova delegatione obtinenda possibilis sit, hinc Magister Generalis, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter provolutus, postulat ut praeter Religiosum vel Sacerdotem sibi nominatim propositum, delegare possit alium Sacerdotem, Episcopo acceptum, quem ille in tali casu sibi substituat, hoc fere modo: 'tenore praesentium Rdum Patrem N. N. vel illum Sacerdotem, Episcopo acceptum, quem hic, Ipso forsitan impedito, sibi substituerit, delegamus.'

Et Deus, etc.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo PP. XIII. in audientia habita die 8 Februarii, 1899, ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae benigne annui iuxta preces. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis die 8 Februarii, 1899.

Fr. HERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

Ant. Archiepiscopus ANTINOEN., *Secretarius*.

THE BISHOP'S THRONE

EPISCOPUS CEDERE POTEST THRONUM SUUM ALTERI EPISCOPO
INVITATO, ETC.

Quum tanta commeandi itinerum suscipiendorum et perficiendorum facilitas illud etiam commodi attulerit ut Episcopi diversarum Dioecesium saepius conveniant sive ad festum aliquod

¹ In praeterito fasciculo p. 205, Col. B. initio, loco 100 *dierum*; versus finem, tollenda est paragr. incipiens verbis *Ex Aud. SS. die 6 Maii, 1899* . . . usque ad subscriptionem *L. M. Card. Vicarius* Firmis remanentibus caeteris.

solemnius agendum, sive ad coetus episcopales celebrandos, quaesitum est: utrum liceat Episcopo Dioecetano thronum suum alteri Episcopo cedere. Hinc Sacra Rituum Congregatio quaestionem super hac throni cessione sibi pluries delatam, studiose pertractare opportunum duxit. Quare ab Emo. ac Rmo. Domino Cardinali Andrea Steinhuber Relatore, in Ordinariis comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, propositum fuit. dubium: An Episcopus Dioecetanus gaudeat iure cedendi thronum suum alteri Episcopo cum Rmorum Canonicorum adstantia sibi debita?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate discussis atque perpensis rescribendum censuit: *Affirmative*, dummodo Episcopus invitatus non sit ipsius Dioecetani Coadiutor aut Auxiliarius aut Vicarius Generalis, aut etiam dignitas seu Canonicus in illius Ecclesiis. Sicut autem Cardinales Episcopi Suburbicarii alique Titulares Ecclesiarum Urbis, tantum purpuratis Patribus thronum cedere possunt, ita Praesules Cardinales aliarum dioecesium decet ut suum thronum nonnisi aliis eadem Cardinalitia dignitate ornatis cedant. Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Facta postmodum de his Ssmo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 12 Iunii eodem anno.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

L'APOTRE SAINT PAUL. Par l'Abbé S. E. Fretté. Paris :
Lethielleux. f. 600.

THE work before us is the outcome of much labour and research in a field of sacred science, cultivated with laudable assiduity, and no small fruit by the clergy of France. The personality of St. Paul has ever exercised an irresistible fascination over all who confess to an admiration of strength and nobility of character, while the important *rôle* he played in the spread of the Gospel invests the story of his life with a special interest for those who wish to study the history of the foundation of the Church. It is natural, then, that we should have had many studies and monographs upon St. Paul before M. Fretté undertook to give us the result of his reading of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles. All of them have their own special standpoints, features, and excellencies. M. Fretté, in his turn, may be said to strike the keynote in his declaration, 'Nous offrons notre travail à ceux qui veulent s' instruire.'

Thoroughly conversant with the Acts and the Epistles, well-informed upon Jewish and rabbinical customs, M. Fretté, in addition, draws largely from the rich quarry of tradition and legend bearing upon the period. He is thus in a position to fill up many of the lacunae existing in the biblical account of the Apostle of the Gentiles. But what will win for him the favour of those of a critical turn is his intimate acquaintance with the conditions and manners of the age and of the peoples with whom the Apostle came in contact, with the topography of the Acts as illustrated by the most recent discoveries, and consequently with the most probable appearance, physical and moral, presented by each of the towns St. Paul visited. His descriptions and reconstructions recurring at intervals through the work, proof of his patient research and accurate scholarship, place at the reader's disposal much valuable information otherwise difficult of access. By this means he endeavours, with a large measure of success, to make the old world live again before our eyes, assisting our imaginations to see it as it must have appeared in St. Paul's day, clearing up many passages of doubtful meaning, and giving

point to many allusions which would else be bereft of their due import. In his use of tradition he is reverent without being uncritical, neither unduly credulous nor hastily sceptical, invariably citing his authorities. On points of dispute his views are those more usually accepted, and we have seldom felt obliged to disagree with any of his conclusions. This is especially so of those questions of theological bearing which, from time to time, come up for treatment. The concluding years of St. Paul's life, upon which the Acts are silent, he illustrates from the Epistles and from trustworthy tradition. M. Fretté regards as a certain fact of history St. Paul's missionary journey to Spain, and with pardonable eagerness claims a share of the Apostle's labour on this occasion for the favoured land of Gaul.

From what has been said it will be apparent that we regard this work as an extremely able and learned study of the life and labours of St. Paul. But the title of the work led us to expect a biography of the Apostle, and approaching its perusal as we did with certain preconceptions on the subject of biography in general, and with an exalted idea of French biographers, we experienced at times a feeling akin to disappointment. We conceive it to be the duty of a biographer to make his hero move and act again before our gaze, standing out from his pages a living personality, enchaining our engrossed attention. To this standard, whatever be its truth, M. Fretté's work did not at all times rise. His introduction seems at first sight so irrelevant that it might introduce the life of anyone from Abel the just—Adam is given a few pages of it—down to the latest servant of God. His undeniably learned dissertations might have been served up in a less raw condition, more in touch with, and giving a more living interest to his subject. There is enough background, but we should like more picture proper. We are, however, well prepared to waive this objection on the author's assurance that his aim is to instruct. But are we to glean instruction merely from the outward facts of St. Paul's life? It is quite true that St. Paul's undying zeal, his invincible courage, his magnetic attractiveness, his contagious enthusiasm, and his human tenderness and amiability appear on every stage, and in every act of his life. Still, if a biographer is to be a guide, it should be part of his duty to point to those various traits as they appear. The dulness of those who cannot see, or will not see, should be reckoned with, and catered for accordingly. Yet

M. Fretté dismisses the many-sided character of St. Paul in a few words, nor is attention called to its striking traits as often as we would wish, in the course of the work. The elaboration of several contrasts proves M. Fretté's ability in such writing, and whets our appetite for more of it. And who could pass such touching scenes as the parting of St. Paul from the Ephesian elders at Miletus, from the Tyrians by the sea shore, from his spiritual children on his departure to stand before Nero, with the bare narration of the fact of parting? M. Fretté's capable treatment of these scenes makes us desire from his hands a more detailed study of the Apostle's character, a history of his interior life, and of his victories in the bitter struggles that rent his mighty soul.

On the sufficiently important question of chronology we cannot fall in with our author's new dating our Lord's death A.D. 33, and the Council of Jerusalem A.D. 51. We are of opinion, and for grave reasons, that the Council was held as early as A.D. 47, a view which has also the advantage of leaving more time for the journeys in Spain and the east after St. Paul's first imprisonment. We should have welcomed from the author a short statement of his grounds for accepting the view of Baronius, and preferably in an appendix. Indeed it strikes us, that it might have relegated several discussions to appendices, as is done in many kindred works. He would thus have the results of his sifting ready for expedite use, so as not to interfere with the easy flow of the narrative.

The publishers have done their part in a manner worthy of their high reputation. Two of the maps inserted would be the more useful for having traced upon them the routes of St. Paul's apostolic journeys.

There is a class of readers to whom a work of this kind will be its own recommendation; but to all students of the New Testament, to all lovers and would-be imitators of this great imitator of Jesus Christ, we cordially recommend this work on its own intrinsic merits as a valuable addition to any average library of biblical literature.

P. L.

NATURAL LAW AND LEGAL PRACTICE. By René J. Holland, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros. Price \$1.75.

FATHER HOLLAND's aim in publishing these lectures is worthy of all praise. He wishes to impress upon the minds of all law

students, the principles and ordinances 'written on the fleshy tables of the heart,' without which no human legislation can maintain stable equilibrium. The work is done with professional precision and accuracy, and nothing, certainly, is 'given away.' In a series of twelve lectures the author treats of the nature and existence of the natural law, the essential characteristics of man, the basis of morality, the various kinds of 'justice' (taking the term in its theological sense), the mutual relations of the individual, the family and the state, the rights and duties of property, the war between capital and labour, the obligations of judges, jurors, lawyers, and legislators. These lectures are valuable in themselves; but expanded and illuminated by 'the living voice' of the professor, they cannot fail to have produced a lasting impression on Father Holland's pupils. E.B.

A FULL COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN EXPLANATION OF
THE CATECHISM. By Rev. J. Perry. St. Louis:
B. Herder.

THE great sale this manual has commanded proves that it is above the average catechism companion. Indeed it is a veritable *summa* of Christian doctrine. To be sure, one would like to see a fuller explanation of some points, and a more popular exposition of many, but one cannot have everything. Father Perry is above all things a practical theologian, and his editor belongs to a congregation—the Vincentian—whose characteristic aim is the spiritual utility of its efforts. Most cordially, then, do we wish the thirteenth edition of Father Perry's Instructions a ready and rapid sale. E. N.

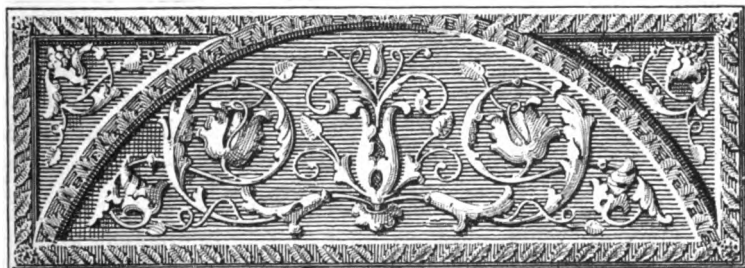
EXPOSITION OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. Part II.—Moral.
By J. J. McVey. Philadelphia.

'THE *Exposition of Christian Moral*,' says the Bishop of Tarentaise, 'is a worthy sequel to the *Exposition of Christian Dogma*, which has already met with the most flattering approval.' In these words the venerable prelate has given this substantial volume a hearty God-speed. We beg to endorse his Lordship's approval. For treatment so exhaustive, explanation so lucid, order so perfect, we have nothing but words of praise. This work is none of your mere dry-as-dust compilations. It is thoroughly up to date (in the orthodox sense), embodying the

teaching of the latest Papal Encyclicals and the latest American Synods. We are especially gratified to find the now famous *Rerum Novarum* done justice to in its pages. The paper, printing, and binding are excellent, and the price, \$2.25, under the circumstances, moderate. E. N.

THE SCIENCE OF THE BIBLE. By Rev. M. S. Brennan, A.M. Freiburg: Herder; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17, South Broadway.

WE cannot say that we are impressed very favourably by the result of Father Bennan's well-meant efforts. To our mind it is absolutely impossible to give in one small book 'an honest presentation of the branches of science touched upon in the Sacred Scriptures as compared with the same branches studied from a purely natural or secular standpoint.' The idea that the bearings of astronomy, optics, geology, biology, and anthropology upon the inspired word could be adequately or fairly dealt with in the course of three hundred and ninety small pages, is shortsighted and unwise. A great deal of matter is touched on, undoubtedly, and a great many authorities quoted; but the depths are sounded seldom, and the impression left on the mind is confused and vague. We believe, however, that the work will prove to many the inadequacy of the ordinary theological treatises on matters biblical. E. N.



POSSESSION IN MORAL THEOLOGY AND ANGLO-AMERICAN LAW.

POSSESSION is a notion of great importance in law and in morals. It is the subject of several titles and of many a chapter in the Roman Civil Law; a large portion of a whole title is given to it in the Canon Law. In Anglo-American Law the importance of possession is not less but greater. 'Possession is a conception which is only less important than contract,' says Mr. Justice Holmes.¹

What is it to possess? [asked Bentham]. This appears a very simple question:—there is none more difficult of resolution. . . . It is not, however, a vain speculation of metaphysics. Everything which is most precious to a man may depend upon this question:—his property, his liberty, his honour, and even his life. Indeed, in defence of my possession, I may lawfully strike, wound, and even kill if necessary. But was the thing in my possession?²

In morals possession is a notion of scarcely less importance than in law. It is a condition of title to property by prescription and by occupation. A finder of lost goods acquires rights and incurs obligations by assuming possession of the things found. Much is said in our text-books of morals concerning the duties and rights of possessors in good faith, in bad faith, and in dubious faith. A rule of law concerning possession: In doubt the position of the

¹ *The Common Law*, p. 206.

² *Works*, iii., p. 188; quoted by Sir F. Pollock, *Possession in the Common Law*, p. 6.

possessor is the better,—is by one school of theologians made a principal foundation of their system of moral theology.

A part, at any rate, of the significance of possession is due to positive law. Professor Lega of the Apollinare in Rome teaches this,¹ not less than English lawyers :—

It [possession] is a notion of particular or municipal law ; for these modes, events, and incidents may vary in different systems of law, and they have even in this country varied at different times.²

Molina³ ascribes the great difficulty which divines and jurists have always experienced in defining possession to the fact that it is a creature of the positive law, and so has no certain and invariable meaning.

But if possession is a notion of such importance, and at the same time a creature of positive law, it is worth while to inquire what it implies in Anglo-American law. Those who have hitherto written on Catholic moral questions have almost exclusively had in mind the rules of Roman Law as modified by the Canon Law, or, some system of law based on the Roman Law, if we take account of more modern authors. It was natural that while treating of possession, the older moralists should expound the dicta of the Roman and Canon Law, the common law of Christendom. That several of the privileges which, according to them, attach to possession were simply the prescriptions of the positive common law of Christendom, is evident to anyone who will consult such representative moralists as Laymann and Lacroix. English law, however, is not based on Roman law, though directly or indirectly it has borrowed largely from it, and according to English and American writers, the Anglo-American theory or doctrine of possession differs in several important details from the doctrine of the Roman and Canon Law.⁴

It is an interesting and important question whether these

¹ *Prælectiones jur. can.*, lib. i., vol. i., n. 194. Cf. Lessius, *De Just.*, lib. ii., c. iii., Dub. II.

² Pollock and Wright, *Possession in the Common Law*, p. 119.

³ *De just. et jure*, tract. ii., disp. 12.

⁴ O. W. Holmes, *The Common Law*, p. 210 ; Pollock and Wright, p. 9.

differences affect any of the principles or rules concerning possession which are usually laid down in our text-books of moral theology.

Before trying to answer this question let us endeavour to get as clear an idea as may be as to what possession is. A vast amount has been written about it by jurists, philosophers, and divines from different points of view. We shall discuss the matter from the standpoint of moral theology, and we shall by preference use the terminology familiar to students of moral theology, and only lay stress on what is of practical importance for our own science. It may well be that much may depend in law on some difference between the Roman and the English concept of possession, which difference may, nevertheless, be of slight import for the theologian. Thus in Roman law a depositary was said not to have possession of the deposit, while in English law he has; but however important in law this difference may be, in morals it would seem that we may almost disregard it; for whether the depositary be said to have possession of what is bailed to him or not, his duties and rights *in foro conscientiae* are much the same. About such questions as this, therefore, we shall have little or nothing to say; we shall confine ourselves to questions which interest the moral theologian.

Possession, then, must be carefully distinguished from the right to possess. The owner of a watch has the right to possess it, unless he has transferred his right to another. For ownership implies the right to use the thing owned; and in order to use it, to exercise one's activity over it, one must possess it. The right to possession, then, usually follows ownership; but the right to possession is not possession itself. A man who has lost his watch retains the right to possession, but he has lost the possession itself. Possession expresses not a right, but a fact. A man is in possession of his watch if he has it in his pocket, if it is lying on the table before him, if he has it in such a way that he can exercise control over it, and exclude others from its control. If a thief snatches it from his waistcoat pocket, but the guard still remains firmly attached to the watch and

to its owner, the latter still retains possession ; if, however, the guard breaks, the thief gains possession of the watch, and the owner loses it.

The meaning of possession is best seen by taking an instance of how it may be acquired. A fisherman sees a fine salmon in the river ; he would like to reduce it into possession ; but seeing it is not possessing it. He throws his fly, and the fish takes it, but it is not in his possession yet. As yet he has not got it under his control. After skilfully playing it for some time, he nets it and lands it ; he now has it safe, he has it in his possession. Now, let us suppose that instead of the salmon rising to the fly, this was taken by a miserable smelt, which came swinging through the air, dangling on the line towards the fisherman. It is worth nothing, and had better be thrown back. The fisherman, with the intention of throwing it far away into the river again, seizes it impatiently. He has no intention of keeping it, or making it his own ; he merely detains it in his hand long enough to detach it from the hook, and then casts it from him. He never possesses it in any true sense ; he had no intention of reducing it into possession ; he only wished to remove it from the hook, which he intended for nobler prey. So that possession implies physical control of the thing possessed, and a certain intention in the possessor ; it is a fact implying custody and control of a thing, with the intention of having it and of excluding others, at any rate to the extent of one's own interest.

This definition would seem to express with tolerable accuracy what theologians and canonists mean by *possessio naturalis*, and which English lawyers call *physical* or *de facto* possession. Theologians and canonists, it is true, following the Roman law, require for *possessio naturalis* the *animus domini* ; a man, according to them, has not natural possession of a thing unless he holds it as his own ; he must hold the thing *corpore et animo*, with the intention of having it as his own, of exercising dominion over it. The intention of exercising dominion or the rights of ownership over the object, is not necessary for possession in Anglo-American

law; it would seem to be sufficient if there be the intention to exclude others.

If what the law does [says Mr. Justice Holmes ¹] is to exclude others from interfering with the object, it would seem that the intent which the law should require is an intent to exclude others. I believe that such an intent is all that the common law deems needful, and that on principle no more should be required. . . . The intent to appropriate or deal with a thing as owner can hardly exist without an intent to exclude others, and something more; but the latter may very well be where there is no intent to hold as owner. A tenant for years intends to exclude all persons, including the owner, until the end of his term; yet he has not the *animus domini* in the sense explained. Still less has a bailee with a lien, who does not even mean to use, but only to detain, the thing for payment. But, further, the common law protects a bailee against strangers, when it would not protect him against the owner, as in the case of a deposit or other bailment terminable at pleasure; and we may, therefore, say that the intent even to exclude need not be so extensive as would be implied in the *animus domini*.²

Although English law does not require for possession the intention to hold the thing as one's own absolutely, yet it does require something more than holding in the name of another. A servant who carries his master's bag has only the custody of the bag; he has not possession of it in English law any more than in Roman or Canon law; so that the intention to have the thing to the extent of one's interest, and to exclude all others from it—at any rate to that extent—would seem to be required by English law. And many theologians required nothing more for natural possession. Thus Molina³ allows that the feudatory and the tenant for a long period have the natural possession of their fief and tenancy. So that I think we may say that the definition of the *naturalis possessio* of canonists and theologians is substantially rendered by the definition given above.

Such natural or physical possession is a fact which must

¹ *The Common Law*, p. 220.

² Cf. Pollock and Wright, *Possession*, pp. 13, 181.

³ *De just. et jure*, tract. ii., disp. 12.

⁴ Cf. Sir T. E. Holland, *Jurisprudence*, p. 160.

be very carefully distinguished from the right to possess and from the right of ownership. A thief has the physical possession of the watch which he has stolen; he has not the right to possess it, nor the right of ownership over it. Possession may be just or unjust, with title or without, implying ownership or not. It is a fact, and abstracts from rights and justice. Bare possession of itself gives no right of ownership; possession and ownership have nothing in common, as the Roman law expressly declares.

However, although possession is not ownership, law protects possession, and invests it with certain consequences and legal effects. The possessor must not be disturbed in his possession by private violence any more than the proprietor in the enjoyment of his property. There has been much discussion, since Savigny wrote, about the reason why the law throws the ægis of its protection around possession. Some would have it that the law does this in the interests of peace and public security. Public order requires that self-help should not be permitted indiscriminately. Another may unjustly have possession of what belongs to me; but the law cannot allow me to oust him *vi et armis*. If such proceedings were permitted, there would be an end of public order; and so the law protects possession in the interests of peace, forbidding possessors to be disturbed, even by rightful owners, except by process of law. Others prefer to derive the protection accorded to possession from the protection which the law gives to persons. An attack on possession would ordinarily involve an injury to the person, and so protection of the person necessitates protection of possession. Others, again, say that possession must be protected, because property must be secure. To prove ownership is frequently difficult, if not impossible; and it would be intolerable if proprietors were to be constantly liable to be compelled to show their title-deeds to what they hold. And so the law looks upon possession, which is a more evident fact, as giving a presumption of ownership, and, therefore, defends the possessor. Real owners may, perhaps, sometimes be the sufferers from such a rule; but it is better for the common good that a few should be kept from their own rather than

that the general rights of property should be unstable and insecure. Other writers rest the protection accorded to possession on the merits of possession itself. By the very fact of a man being in possession, he has more right than anyone who has not a better title; and so, as the law should protect all rights, it is its duty to protect possession.

Sir Frederick Pollock and Professor Maitland in their *History of English Law*,¹ tell us that all these reasons have had their influence on English Law; and it is not unlikely that the same may be said of other systems of law. Whatever the cause or causes may be, positive law has extended the meaning of possession, and invested it with legal effects of no slight importance. For a man retains legal possession of his property though here and now it is not under his physical control. A man leaves his dwelling in the morning, and goes to his business into town; throughout the day he retains possession of his house and all that it contains; when he leaves it, so that he no longer can exert his physical control over it, he loses indeed the natural or physical possession of it, but he still has what canonists and theologians call *possessio civilis*, and what English writers call constructive possession or simply possession. Much in the same way the owner retains possession of a watch which he hands to his servant to take to the watchmaker for repairs. The servant has the bare custody of it; he merely carries it for his master. All this is quite in keeping with the natural law; the positive law protects the right to possess, and regards it much in the same light as possession itself. The master can maintain trespass committed against his property while in the custody of his servant. Positive law further enlarged the meaning of possession so as to comprehend certain incorporeal rights, such as *servitudes* or profits, and easements, advowsons, services. These are said by the canonists *quasi-possideri*, for they cannot be grasped or detained corporally. Possession was further extended by operation of law to certain cases where there was neither the physical control nor the intention required

¹ Vol. ii., p. 43.

by natural and civil possession. Thus by operation of law,¹ the heir has possession of the property of one who dies intestate, the executor of the property of the testator, the property of the bankrupt vests in the trustee in bankruptcy on his appointment, and the heir apparent possesses the crown on the death of the sovereign. This is called by the canonists *possessio civilissima*.

Finally, moralists have enlarged the meaning of the term possession so as to embrace not only the subject-matter of the virtue of justice, but that of all the other virtues as well. Thus with regard to the most general of all virtues—obedience, human liberty is said to be in possession if there is no law that restricts it; in other words, we are at liberty to do what is not forbidden by any law or command of any lawful superior. On the contrary, the law is in possession if it once existed, and there is no reason to think that it has ceased to exist. In this case the law must be obeyed, for, in doubt the position of the possessor is the better. This is quite a legitimate use of the term and principle of possession; it is in keeping with natural reason and sound morality. And indeed the subject-matter of law and liberty is not so remote from that of justice as at first sight it may appear. For have I not a right to the use of my liberty if it is not restricted by any law? and rights come under the protection of justice. So that if it is right and proper that the possession of corporal things should be protected, is it not just that liberty should also be safeguarded? It is true that the use of the principle of possession in this connection has its limits, but to attempt to assign these limits would lead us into controverted questions, and too far afield for our present purpose.

In substance, then, English law attributes the same meaning to possession as Roman and Canon Law. But there are certain advantages or effects ascribed to possession by jurists and moralists, and these were so ample and important that *Beati possidentes*, 'Blessed are they who are in

¹ Pollock and Wright, *Possession*, p. 127.

possession' became a common saying among lawyers. Some of these effects flow from the natural law, from the very nature of possession; others are due to positive law, and it is a question of some moment for English and American moralists whether and how far the effects ascribed to possession in the ordinary text-books of moral theology are modified by Anglo-American law. I will take the chief advantages ascribed to possession by Laymann, and briefly comment on them from the standpoint of natural and English law.

1. Possession has nothing in common with ownership. This dictum is sufficiently clear from what has already been said on the nature of possession.

2. Possession continued in good faith for the length of time required by law gives ownership by prescription. Possession is also a root of title by prescription in English law, but it is less extended in its application than in Roman and Canon law, and the conditions are somewhat different.

According to the strict use of the term, prescription in English Law is acquisitive only, not extinctive; it applies to incorporeal hereditaments, such as advowsons, profits à *prendre*, and easements, not to land or movables; and the length of time required to prescribe differs much from that laid down by Roman and Canon law, and moreover, varies with different rights and circumstances. However, although prescription is not admitted as a title to land by English law, yet title to land may be extinguished by the Statutes of Limitation, which to this extent may be looked upon as extinctive prescription acts by the moral theologian. Property in movables cannot be acquired by prescription or Limitation Acts, according to English law. The laws of the United States, with the exception of Louisiana, which follows the Roman law, concerning prescription are based on those of England, but the terms of years vary somewhat in the different States.

English law does not seem strictly to require good faith in one who claims by prescription; it is sufficient if he is in possession for the required time peaceably, openly, and not with licence; but good faith is needful in conscience, for

one who knows that he is in possession of another's property against his will must surrender it to the rightful owner. As prescription is a title to property by positive law, it is obvious in this matter the moralist must follow the laws of his country, where these do not conflict with conscience.

3. If a person in good faith begins to doubt whether he is the owner of the thing in question or not, he should use moral diligence in making inquiry; and if after this the doubt remains, he may retain and use the thing.

This rule seems to follow from the nature of possession begun in good faith, for it would be unreasonable to expect a man to deprive himself of what in good faith he had possessed as his own, unless he is morally certain that it belongs to someone else. Such a one, therefore, might elect to go before the courts, prepared to take his chance, and to abide by the result.

4. If a possessor in good faith consume a thing, or the profits arising from it, or alienate it, and afterwards discover that it belonged to someone else, he is only bound to restore that by which he is the richer.

Laymann gives the Roman law as authority for this rule, but it seems also to rest on reason. Such a possessor of another's property is only bound to restore to the rightful owner what he has of his property, not what he consumed in good faith; for there was no theological fault in using and consuming what he sincerely thought belonged to himself, and so he was not the guilty cause of any unjust damage to the true owner. However, according to English law, the owner in such cases would frequently have a right of action for the profits accruing during the last six years, and moreover:—

Whenever it should appear in any ejectment between landlord and tenant, that such tenant, or his solicitor, had been served with due notice of trial, the judge before whom this cause was tried, whether the defendant should appear on the trial or not, should permit the claimant, after proof of his right, to go into evidence of the *mesne* profits thereof which had accrued from the time when the defendant's interest determined, down to the time of the trial; and the jury, finding for the claimant, were to give their verdict on the whole matter, both as to the recovery of possession, and as to the amount of damages to be paid for such

mesne profits; and this procedure would still be applicable in such a case.¹

Such laws are not unjust, and oblige after the sentence of the judge; so that, although as has been said, the *bona fide* possessor of another's property would not be obliged to account for what he had already consumed, unless condemned to do so by the court, after the sentence of the court he would be obliged in conscience to submit to it.

5. Possession throws the burden of proof on the plaintiff.

This seems to be a rule of natural law, for a peaceable possessor should be defended against all who cannot show a better title. But will it be sufficient for the plaintiff to show a *better* title? Or must he furnish full proof that he is the rightful owner of what is in the defendant's possession, in order to gain his cause? The common opinion of canonists and moralists seems to be, that it is not sufficient for the plaintiff to prove a better title; he must prove clearly that he is the absolute owner.²

However, the view that proof of better right would prevail against possession was maintained by some theologians, and it seems to be the opinion adopted by our law.

Thus our law of the thirteenth century [write Sir F. Pollock and Professor Maitland]³ seems to recognise in its practical working the relativity of ownership. One story is good until another is told. One ownership is valid until an older is proved. No one is ever called upon to demonstrate an ownership good against all men; he does enough even in a proprietary action if he proves an older right than that of the person whom he attacks.

And this appears to be the law still:—

We have seen that possession confers more than a personal right to be protected against wrongdoers; it confers a qualified right to possess, a right in the nature of property which is valid against everyone who cannot show a prior and a better right.⁴

6. One may use force in defence of possession, *cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ*, as the canonists say, and in

¹ Stephen's *Commentaries*, iii., p. 428.

² *St. Alphonsus*, i., n. 30.

³ *Hist. of English Law*, ii., p. 76.

⁴ Sir F. Pollock and R. S. Wright, *Possession*, p. 93.

retaking a thing possessed from a flying thief. The same principle holds good in our law.

A person is justified in forcibly defending the possession of his land against anyone who attempts to take it.¹

And

Self-defence is a natural act open to every man, and if a person has actual possession of goods or other personal property, and another wrongfully attempts to take the same from him against his will, he is perfectly justified in using all force necessary for the purpose of defending his own possession and preventing the act of trespass or conversion ; he must, however, use no more force than is, under the circumstances of the case, necessary.²

With regard to the recaption of goods that have been wrongfully taken, Sir F. Pollock³ says :—

The true owner may retake the goods if he can, even from an innocent third person into whose hands they have come ; and, as there is nothing in this case answering to the statutes of forcible entry, he may use whatever force is reasonably necessary for the recaption.

7. The acquiring possession of things without an owner gives property in the things by the law of nature, and by our law.⁴ Analogous to this is the qualified property which the finder acquires in a thing found, defeasible on the appearance of the rightful owner, but valid against the rest of the world.⁵

These are the chief advantages or emoluments of possession mentioned by moralists, and of interest to the moral theologian. It will be evident from our brief treatment of them that they remain substantially unaffected by the differences between the Roman theory of possession and that of Anglo-American law. However, we shall have gained something by our examination of the question if this fact has been made clear, and if we have succeeded in throwing any new light on the difficult subject of possession.

T. SLATER, S.J.

¹ Indermaur, *Principles of the Common Law*, p. 312.

² *Ibid.*, p. 337.

³ *The Law of Torts*, p. 313

⁴ Sir F. Pollock and R. S. Wright, p. 124.

⁵ Stephen's *Commentaries*, ii., p. 9.

THE MANNA

THE following study is an expansion of what in its original form was a draft of remarks to a class of Biblical exegesis in the monastery of which the writer is a professed monk. Its object is tentatively to determine whether, or in what degree, the gift of the manna was miraculous. Obviously, any such dissertation would be waste of time and paper were it directed to meet a criticism whose postulates are either the impossibility of divine communication and interference with the natural order, or the fact that miracles, though involving no contradiction, do as a fact not happen. We suppose, therefore, readers, Catholic or otherwise, who believe in the government of nature, not by inexorable forces, but by intelligent laws, subject in the wisdom of their Originator, not to repeal after a stability constituted commensurate in duration with the conditions whence their *ratio essendi*, but to derogation for ends regarding whose worthiness He, not we, must be competent to arbitrate.

It is hardly necessary to point out in this introductory section, that the assumption so far implied does not, apart from revelation, determine the character of the event we are to consider in these pages. The theistic reader as above described, if he be a believer in the Bible as historically trustworthy, still more if he regard it as an inspired book, no doubt approaches the subject with a leaning to the traditional view, biased by accepted interpretation or reverent associations. If he be a Catholic, he may further feel himself supported independently of critical examination, by the common persuasion of the faithful, in which from its having never been ecclesiastically corrected, he fancies himself secure, thanks to the passive infallibility of the *ecclesia discens* in its relation to the *magisterium* of the *ecclesia docens*. His frame of mind may be laudable; and that the use of Scripture in a spirit of uncritical devotion will in

many cases, perhaps in the majority, be more advantageous than the reading accompanied by scientific gloss, who will deny? The lines, however, have fallen to us in surroundings, with regard to which a reader of this last class must live in retirement more than monastic if his received and cherished notions never meet with the shock of critical objections. The present is, therefore, a time when he will do well to examine how far his traditional views can be sustained. He must be prepared to surrender belief in what may be shown to have been not really, but only seemingly, part of Catholic tradition. He need not be startled by the proposition that improved methods of dealing with the Scriptural text, and recent application of subsidiary knowledge may have taught us, not certainly any doctrine varying from the old as regards the essence of Holy Scripture, but a more enlightened mode of reading it, thanks to which he will be less likely to waste effort in defending what is untenable, or to risk quoting as certain what is only put forth as commonly circulated.¹ Scripture consists of two elements: the divine, which is not here our subject, and the human. The human being dependent for the clothing of its ideas on language, its means shares the imperfection of all language, viz., its inadequacy, or more precisely a degree more or less of obscurity. Hence the art of interpretation, which is but one in its devices for all and every expression of thought. Thus taking the human element of Scripture, subjecting it hermeneutically to critical canons the same for it as for work uninfluenced by inspiration, and now better defined and systematized than of old, he should even be ready for the possibility of what has so far passed for narration of the supernatural proving to be after all a record of the natural only, coloured by contemporary delusions of progressive humanity, which have practically, though not of necessity, obscured its truth. An instance of this is, perhaps, to be found in the fate of Lot's wife,² if we compare the idea of

¹ Cf. Newman, *Idea of a University*, Part II., Lectures vii., viii. Longmans, 1885.

² Gen. xix. 26; Wisd. x. 7.

Josephus as to the fact¹ with that of modern commentators. He should further be prepared to find that just as the miracle of Josue, for example, must not now be misunderstood according to its statement in ante-Copernican language; so possibly ideas of other facts may have to be similarly corrected by the discovery that the form in which their record is set has been misunderstood, either, let us say, by the figurative being taken as the literal, or by current terms passing for scientific. Nor, again, will it appear less possible that primitive ignorance, greater or less, of natural forces, or of secondary causes, may have occasioned writers in Scripture to believe a particular miracle to have been, in terms of scholastic classification, one *quoad substantiam*, when the accurate description would be *quoad subjectum*, or *quoad modum*, in which case the language will seem to fit only the first supposition; and it may involve some reconsideration of Scriptural phraseology to understand how compatibly with divine assistance the writer is not committed to it.

The writer of these pages wishes to state his conviction, that even lay Catholics will be immensely the gainers by adding to their devout reading of Holy Scripture a minute and intelligent analysis of its historical narratives, aided by those appliances of natural knowledge popularly but erroneously reputed to be in the long run subversive of childlike faith in, and veneration of, the written Word. This may read as a truism, but having in view the timidity with which such a line is approached in pious circles, we venture to think the remark timely. The result augured is the possession in Catholic society of more reasoned and intelligent Scriptural apologetics than are, unfortunately, at present common; with the further beneficial consequence that the often shallow but generally verbose critic, who meets us less in literature than at unexpected turns in everyday life, will be not unfrequently disappointed of what would pose as a display of critical acumen on being met by such concessions as candid examination authorizes us to make,

¹ *Antiquities of the Jews*, i., xi.

particularly when they appear perfectly consistent with Catholic definition ; and as often, let us hope, startled when, concession being out of question, a Catholic returns not a bare or timid contradiction, or, by way of evasion, an expression of his implicit trust in his Church, but a defence of his view that will be a credit to the religion and the body, lay or ecclesiastic, which he represents.

Not further to detain the reader 'per ambages et longa exorsa,' our plan is this :—I. We analyze and compare the accounts of the manna in the historical books, and examine what light may be thrown on them by references in books didactic or sapiential. II. We classify the conceivable interpretations, and attempt an estimate of their respective value in dealing with the matter under consideration.

I.

Our main reference in this section is Exod. xvi., *passim*, supplemented by particulars in Num. xi. 7-9 ; Deut. viii. 3 ; Jos. v. 12 ; from which we gather the nature, sequence, and harmony of the facts. Other references are more of the nature of allusions, valuable as external testimony of the highest authority to the traditional impression and interpretation of the Pentateuchal history on the point, down to the Christian era. From these sources we collect as matter of debate between views to be enumerated below, data, which for convenience of later reference it is convenient to class as—(a) historical ; (β) physical ; and (γ) traditional.

(a) Among the *historical* data, we are first introduced to a period of the wanderings, when all enthusiasm on the subject of racial emancipation, and prospects of mastery in an ideal land had evaporated in presence of the hard and unromantic realities of a journey through the desert, and the discipline imperative in this trying period of national life. In every case of national hardship, disaffection and revolt are incidents safely to be predicted *a priori*, irrespective of the justice or otherwise of complaints. In the case before us the unreasonableness seems sufficiently clear. But its cause, if our comparison of data be correct, would seem to have been not a prospect of starvation, at least

proximately, but a regulation of daily rations by economical enactment. In support, reference is invited to Exod. x. 26, xii. 38, xix. 13; Num. xi. 22, xxxii. 1, 4; which if read in their order seem to testify to live stock in continuously sufficient quantity. The sacrificial offerings in Num. vii. also imply the possession of herds, and stores of flour. Provisions even seem to have been procurable by purchase from native tribes; see Deut. ii. 6, 28. Any subvenience from heaven would be, under such a supposition, a solace, not a salvation; a mercy proportionate to the evil results of fancied grievances rather than a deliverance from famine.

It may be noticed that disgust with even a plentiful diet would be sufficient to provoke discontent in formidable proportions which would be productive of rebellion, or possible return to Egypt with its 'flesh pots,' and food without stint. Such a state of things was no unworthy occasion of divine interposition in furtherance of the destiny of a chosen nation.

The distress is met¹ by a promise of divine succour, and its fulfilment. Food from heaven is to come like rain, *i.e.*, figuratively in abundance;² and, probably, literally, from the sequel. It is to be gathered in sufficient quantity for the current day;³ on the sixth day alone is provision to be made for two days.⁴

Next,⁵ the nature of the subvenience is declared; a new variety of flesh is to be procurable in the evening, and 'bread' on the following morning: the prediction being confirmed by the words of God Himself to Moses from the cloud. In the evening, accordingly, a flock of quails in immense numbers is driven by a special providence across the track,⁶ so fatigued, as is common, by having been long on the wing that they were easily captured, their flight being low, 'two cubits above the ground,' as is stated in

¹ Exod. xvi. 4.

² Cf. Deut. xxxii. 2; Ecclus. xxxix. 9.

³ Exod. xvi. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13; Ps. civ. 40.

connection with their second appearance.¹ The quails, be it observed, would not have been slaughtered for immediate consumption alone, for in the account of their provision a second time, just referred to, we find that the people 'dried them about the camp,' and reserved them in quantities of at least ten 'cores'; i.e., they were acquainted with the Egyptian method and appliances for preserving the meat;² and, if the countless numbers in which these gregarious birds have been observed be taken into account, we may be sure that a store was secured sufficient to render the danger of famine fairly remote, independently of any other succour.

In the morning a dew fell around the camp, and with it, while distinct from it,³ a substance with which neither knowledge of Egyptian products, or experience of the Sinaitic peninsula had familiarized the Israelities; the surprise born of their ignorance giving it its name. 'They said to one another: *Man hu,*' which signifieth: 'What is this?' and hence, 'man' or 'manna.' The Hebrew, however, may also read: 'This is man;' either in allusion to some substance locally so named, as I understand is the case in Arabia; or meaning: 'This is a portion,' or 'gift'; deriving the word from the root *manan*, classed in Hebrew lexicons as Arabic.

The new article of food was eagerly gathered, each securing as much as he could carry away, and rations were dealt out from the common stock at the rate of a gomor for every head.⁴ This detail is accounted miraculous by Josephus;⁵ among fathers by St. Chrysostom and Theodoret, each commenting on 2 Cor. viii. 15; and among commentators by Corn. & Lapide. Yet the text scarcely warrants our taking it otherwise than we do here, with Calmet.

The manna fell regularly on six days of the week. On the seventh it was sought in vain by any improvident Israelite who, perchance, had not heeded the injunction to lay in a double supply on the sixth day.⁶ Some, too, who

¹ Num. xi. 31. See Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, pp. 231-233.

² Cf. Herod., ii. 77.

³ Num. xi. 9.

⁴ Exod. xvi. 16-18.

⁵ *Antiquities of the Jews*, iii. 2.

⁶ Exod. xvi. 27.

had neglected the order : ' Let no man leave thereof till the morning,' found whatever amount they had reserved in a state of putrefaction. Only from Friday, when according to the command a double quantity was to be gathered, till Saturday morning, did it undergo no change.¹ On Friday other culinary preparations were to be made for the Sabbath,² with which the manna could be mixed. So we infer from the Vulgate; while the Hebrew reads like direction for preparing the manna in various ways, as in Num. xi. 8.

The supply lasted for forty years; that is, until the Israelities were able to subsist on the harvests of the Promised Land,³ and required no special provision from Divine Providence.

(β) To turn to facts of the *physical* order.

From Exod. xvi. 21 we infer the manna to have been of a gum-like or resinous nature, exposure to the rays of the hot sun causing liquefaction; while under the influence of the cold morning dew, or removed into the shade, it remained solid or congealed, just as do exudations from trees.⁴ From our historical data it would seem that, probably, in the course of nature, it putrified in twenty-four hours. Some appliance may have been known to counteract putrefaction, as the reservation of a portion is ordered 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam.' Of this observance the only further notice is Heb. ix. 4, which supplies no additional information. In appearance the manna is described as a pounded white substance, resembling the globular seed corns of the coriander,⁵ which there seems no hesitation in identifying with the *Coriandrum sativum*, indigenous to Egypt, where the Israelites would have been familiar with its existence, and, probably, its popular employment as a condiment to bread or other food.⁶ It is needless to point out that comparison to the coriander implies, not identity, but distinction.

¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

² *Ibid.*, 23.

³ Exod. xvi. 35; Jos. v. 12; Judith v. 15.

⁴ Cf. Exod. xvi. 4, 16, 21; Num. xi. 9.

⁵ Exod. xvi. 14; Num. xi. 7.

⁶ Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, under 'Coriander.'

A further idea of consistency—perhaps also of size—is given by comparison with hoar-frost,¹ while the colour alone is likened to the bdellium.² The latter (*bdōlah*) is mentioned among the specialities of the land of Hevilath, in Gen. ii. 12, whence, from its apparent classification with onyx, has originated the suggestion that it is a mineral. Genesius, however, is of opinion that it is an animal production, probably a pearl. On the whole, we incline to the view of Josephus³ that it stands for a vegetable substance of resinous nature. A Bactrian species is mentioned by Pliny,⁴ but can hardly be identical with that here referred to, as its colour is stated to be, sometimes, at least, black; and, whatever its shade, to be *spotted* only with white. The reference is most likely designed to furnish a more specific description of the white, of which it may indicate some particular shade, as greyish or yellowish.

We have next an account of the taste. Baked⁵ or ground fine and boiled, it was made into cakes of sweet flavour, resembling bread with honey.⁶ In Wisdom xvi. 20, 21, we read of it 'having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste, for Thy sustenance showed Thy sweetness to Thy children, and, serving every man's will, it was turned to what every man liked.' If this is to be understood literally, the manna, besides being sustaining, had the property of serving at will for any physical disposition. To the passage we shall have to return.

Another particular is, that daily use engendered disgust, partly from home sickness in the 'mixed multitude' that accompanied the tribes, and partly through the disposition of the tribes themselves, corrupted by these hangers on.⁷ A second supply of quails was given as a corrective to disaffection.

(γ) Next, to take the evidence of *tradition*, which we can follow down to the time of the New Testament, and comment on the passages that concern us in their order.

¹ Exod. xvi. 14.

² Num. xi. 17.

³ *Antiquities of the Jews*, iii. 1, 6.

⁴ *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 19.

⁵ Ex. xvi. 23, Hebr.

⁶ Num. xi. 8.

⁷ Num. xi. 4, 6.

The first allusion to the manna as an event of past history occurs in Deuteronomy. The latest date assigned to this book need not detract from the value of its text as an early witness to the point. In the references that follow we must suppose the redactor either to give a report of a public utterance of the Mosaic period, or to put a speech in the mouth of Moses, the statements of which must agree with what he would have believed to be the truth on the subject, either supposition being consistent with, and one or other necessary for, the veracity of the book, if we are partisans of the late authorship.

In Deuteronomy viii., then, we have :—‘He afflicted thee with want (Hebr. caused thee to hunger), and gave thee manna for food, which neither thou nor thy fathers knew : to show that not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word (or *thing*, *al-kāl motsāh*) that proceedeth from the mouth of God.’¹ And further : ‘[He] fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not.’² From these passages two things are beyond question ; viz., first, that the manna was, at least, no substance so far known to the Israelites ; and, secondly, that it was regarded either as a special creation or as a substance indigenous to the country they had reached, but endowed (in virtue of the *potentia obedientialis*) with præternatural properties of nutrition, or, at least, provided not by the ordinary course of nature. Short of one of these ideas, the lesson that God is not limited to ordinary means would not be objectively taught as claimed.

In considering the Psalms as carrying on tradition, it is no easy matter to know with what period we have to deal. Of the two psalms that are to our purpose, the first, Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.), supposes the Temple already built (v. 69), which makes it safe to associate it with the post-Davidic period ; while its reproving tone, as regards the tribe of Ephraim, has been thought reason sufficient for assigning it to a time later than that of the secession of Israel from Juda. The second, Ps. civ. (v.), may be thought

¹ Verse 3,

² Verse 16,

Davidic from its citation, with selections from Pss. xcv. and cv., in 1 Paralip. xvi. But if internal evidence of subject, style, and diction consign it to *post-exilic* times, its incorporation into 1 Paralip. xvi. cannot mean that it was sung in connection with the event there related. And be it observed that nothing of the kind is historically there claimed. Reference to the chapter will show that, though the psalm editorially follows v. 7, it is not joined to it by any connection, logical or grammatical. The allusions, therefore, to the manna in the Psalter may be fairly cited as the tradition of the two periods of the division and the return from captivity.

The verses to our purpose are Ps. lxxvii. 18-29; civ. 40, 41. If these passages be examined, it will be observed that the manna is compared with two other providential supplies meeting want, viz., the quails, and the water out of the rock. Nothing in the language about the quails leads one to suppose anything beyond common providential assistance. The quails were supplied just as suitable weather might be sent in answer to prayer, or a plague in punishment to wrong-doing. It is otherwise with reference to the water from the rock. It is attributed to direct divine agency, without reference to any secondary cause (Renan's supposition of a divining-rod is scarcely worth discussion). And St. Paul's allusion in 1 Cor. x. 4, shows how much higher this subvenience was esteemed than that of the quails, and how easily it was understood to be full of mystical significance in the divine intention. Yet the language in description of the manna is more exalted still. The idea seems to have surpassed-credibility: 'Can He also give bread?'¹ For it the 'doors of heaven are opened,' the 'clouds commanded from above.' Above all, it is 'bread' or 'corn (*dāgān*) of heaven,' the *lehem abbirīm*, or 'food of the strong,' or 'of the nobles,' *i.e.* more dainty food; so St. Jerome translates; the reading of our Psalter, 'bread of angels,' being from the LXX. The Psalms being poetry, we may make large allowance for figurative language: *e.g.*, 'rained from heaven,'

¹ lxxvii. 20.

prædicated of the manna in v. 24, need not mean more than it certainly does mean in v. 27 of the quails, *i.e.* either provided in abundance, or caused to descend through the air. None of these expressions will prove a difficulty when we try by their force the view that will appear most plausible in the following section.

Proceeding with the historical books, we meet in Judith with a testimony of what the gentile world had learnt on our subject. The report of Achior to his master, on the origin and historical vicissitudes of the children of Israel, is coupled with a warning to think twice before interfering with a nation so favoured by their God (as long as they remained faithful to their monotheism), that when in any difficulty they had only to trust in Him to obtain a derogation from ordinary providential courses in their favour; a notable instance being the forty years' supply of 'food from heaven.'¹ The fact would scarcely have been so classed, or so solemnly mentioned had Achior's impression been that it was wholly removed from the præternatural.

For undoubted post-exilic tradition we may refer to 2 Esdras ix. 20: 'Thou gavest them Thy good Spirit to teach them, Thy manna Thou didst not withhold from their mouth, and Thou gavest them water for their thirst.' From the association of the manna with the supernatural gift of the Spirit, and with the præternatural supply of water from the rock, the inference seems clear that it is esteemed a benefit of an order far above the common, and exceeding anything like a merely abnormal supply of food.

The continuity of Old Testament tradition is kept up to a later age, that is, to from 120-30 B.C.; the following testimony being from Wisdom, a book venerated even where it is not accounted canonical. Its author in ch. xvi. 20, 21, contrasts the destructive dealings of heaven for the correction of the Egyptians with its saving measures in favour of the chosen people. The verses we must examine are the twentieth and twenty-first: 'Thou didst feed Thy people with the food of angels, and gavest them bread from

¹ Verse 15.

heaven prepared without labour; having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste. For Thy sustenance (*substantia ὑπόστασις*) showed Thy sweetness to Thy children, and serving every man's will, it was turned to what every man liked.¹ The expressions borrowed from the Psalms having been weighed in a preceding paragraph, we have only the latter part of the passage to analyze. 'Prepared without labour' would be true of either a natural product, the work of angels, or a new creation. The literal sense of the nutritive properties that follow can, on the whole, hardly be intended. There exists an intrinsic reason against it in the loathing for the heavenly food which succeeded its appreciation. The LXX. has instead of 'serving every man's will,' the words 'obedient to the will of Him that bestowed it' (τῇ δὲ τοῦ προσφερουμένου ἐπιθυμίᾳ ὑπηρετῶν). More plausible seems the meaning that conditionally on the good dispositions of the receiver the food had its desired effect.

Passing on at length to the New Testament, the allusion that interests us above others is that in John vi., too well known to require transcription. How far it may prove the manna to have had a mystical signification is, be it remembered, no part of our subject. Our only concern is to examine what light it may throw on accepted and contemporary Jewish intelligence of Exod. xvi.; and whether the received idea receives or not confirmation from the words of our Lord following its expression in verse 31. Following, then, the dialogue beginning at verse 26, we shall notice the allusion to the manna to be occasioned by the claim on the part of our Lord to a divine mission absolutely, advancing so far to justify it neither argument, credentials, or proof. Not unfairly the audience proposes the test of a 'sign,' reminding that the Moses in whom they were believers had for his part so established an analogous claim; and it is not a little remarkable that, citing Scripture in support, they do not choose the more drastic miracles of the plagues of Egypt, or of the Red Sea, which one might have expected would carry most conviction to the popular mind, but prefer the remem-

¹ Wisdom xvi. 21, 22.

brance of the 'bread from heaven,' which they consider convincing, and the like of which they will expect from any one of Messianic pretensions. We could scarcely find, it would seem, more unequivocal testimony to the belief of the times that the manna was no phenomenon explicable by natural science alone. In order, however, to weaken this contention, it has been the writer's fortune to hear it urged that it is corrected by the words of our Lord in following verse :—'Moses gave you not the (*sic* Gr.) bread from heaven.' The objection took no account of the original: for, if the passage be there studied, we venture to think two things will appear that traverse it. First, taking the collocation logically (as rendered in the English, Catholic and Protestant alike), the antithesis is between 'bread from heaven' in a wide, and the same in a stricter sense. That Moses gave bread from heaven is not denied; on the contrary, it is admitted. If conviction be needed, let the passages be referred to in which an apparently prohibitive 'not' is followed by 'but' in the apodosis; see, for instance, Luke x. 20; xxiii. 28; where the sense of the negative is permissive, while yet something higher is in the speaker's doctrine to be preferred. Secondly, if we examine the collocation in the Greek strictly, the grammatical position of the negative before 'Moses' (thus, 'Not Moses,' &c.) seems to establish an antithesis between 'Moses' and 'My Father, with the sense that the 'bread from heaven' in the lower sense as in the higher was the gift not of Moses, but of the same Divine Father from whom the mission now claimed has originated. It is quite possible that] both antitheses are intended under an elliptic form of expression. But either takes the force out of the objection. The further mention of the manna in vv. 49, 59 of the same chapter only brings out for its purpose that manna, like ordinary food, could do no more than sustain life during its allotted span.

Coming to the Apostolic period, we meet first with: '[They] did all eat the same spiritual food;' which might settle the question of the nature of the gift in the wilderness,

were it not that the word 'spiritual' (πνευματικός) is capable of two interpretations; viz., of *miraculous* (so *e.g.* Estius), and of *mystical* (so Lyranus). The latter quality may, of course, pertain to what is purely of the natural order.

The passage already alluded to, 2 Cor. viii. 15, is surely no more than an accommodation: and, in any case, adds nothing to what has been discussed above, on Exod. xvi. 18. Heb. ix. 4, is merely historic, and has been sufficiently noticed, where we enumerated historical data. The only remaining allusion to the manna in the New Testament is in Apoc. ii. 17, where it stands figuratively for consolation of whatever nature, with probable reference to those effects of 'sweetness, &c.,' of which in Wisd. xvi. 21, already considered.

II.

Having so far set before the reader every passage of Scripture bearing on our subject, with its literal interpretation gathered as well as we have been able, we may proceed to the principal part of our undertaking, as promised in our opening paragraph. Our task, then, here is to weigh how far we feel bound, on fair principles of exegesis to the view on the subject reputed traditional wherever the Bible is read devotionally alone, and where criticism is believed to border on irreverence; or whether, in formulating a restatement of the case adapted to meet criticism backed by knowledge statistical, geographical, botanical, &c., we shall feel obliged to modify it so far as to admit as at least tenable interpretations paring down, or even denying the miraculous altogether.

The views advanced on the nature of the manna are three, and may be termed, according to their respective characters, the *supernatural*, the *natural*, and the *mixed*.

According to the *supernatural* view, the manna was a special creation to meet a special difficulty, and no supply even in abnormal quantity of any natural product. To ascertain, therefore, as modern commentators seem fond of doing, the existence of Asiatic, or specially Sinaitic vegetation, the fruit of which resembles in whatever variety the 'bread from heaven;' or to collect known instances of any extraordinary 'rain' of such substances as gums or lichens,

is, as far as apologetics are concerned, mere 'vexation of spirit,' resulting in statistics scientifically interesting, but hermeneutically irrelevant.

Of this view let us say at once that no theistic reader, in the sense given in our introductory section, can oppose it conclusively on intrinsic grounds. To urge antecedent improbability would amount virtually to the denial of the postulate that, as governed by a loving Providence, we are not only subject to, but even the likely objects of, supernatural interposition,¹ the opportuneness of which, however, we are unable to determine. Nor can it be denied that, extrinsic objections apart, the view meets with no objection from our data historical, physical, or traditional, and even seems to find support in both the spirit and the letter of the various passages of Scripture quoted as witnesses to the traditional impression through age after age. Extrinsic objections, in default of anything demonstrative, amount, at most, to probabilities; and if to many these seem outweighed by what seems unequivocal textual evidence, the older traditional view may retain its possession.

This holds good if we read Scripture explained by itself alone. But if we care to read it, availing ourselves of the sidelights of scientific knowledge, and illustrated by the *communiter contingentia* of ordinary and ascertainable dispensations of Providence, these may suggest a wider and, as it will then appear, a more natural sense of Scriptural narratives than that which is drawn by mere grammatical and logical sequence. Thus, using our observations as a hermeneutical factor, we may reason thus: What God can do is one thing; what He is likely to do another. Now, if anything seems, by induction from observable facts, to be fairly established, it is that the divine power of interposition in the course of nature is never exercised needlessly: *miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. Accordingly, in the explanation of the abnormal, the presumption is always for the natural as far as it will go. To apply the reasoning to our subject. Should we find natural phenomena, ordinary or exceptional,

¹ Cf. Newman, *Essays on Miracles*, i., sect. 2.

that cover all or any of the particulars so minutely reported concerning the manna—even should they necessitate the language of the sacred writer himself, or of those he cites, being understood in a less literal or less elevated sense than seems at first sight intended—such phenomena, so far as they lead us, will afford the most probable explanation of the occurrence. And, according as they cover all or only a part of the narrative, we are justified in accepting an explanation wholly or partially natural. So stands the case for the natural or the mixed view, according as our data, historical, physical, and traditional may be fairly read by the light of certain natural facts now to be considered.

From botanical statistics, and from the reports of Eastern travellers, it seems safe to say that there exist three species of natural products that may fairly claim identity with the manna of Exodus. To describe them :—

1. The first is a resinous exudation from the branches of the tamarisk, a shrub or tree growing formerly in abundance, and not rare at the present day, in the Sinaitic peninsula; the local variety being termed *Tamarix gallica* or *mannifera*. Its flow is occasioned by the puncture of a tiny insect, the *Coccus manniparus*, which settles on the plants in great numbers during the seasons of spring or summer. The resin is observed to congeal with exposure to the air, but to return to a state of liquefaction under the rays of the sun. In its congealed state it is found on the ground in the form of white globules, which are eagerly collected by the Arabs, and preserved in the shade, to serve, after some preparation, as a condiment to more substantial food. This is the product exhibited, and, perhaps, sold by the present monks of Sinai as identical with the Scriptural manna; and support they may find in Josephus,¹ who certainly believes its fall, though now in due season only, to have begun from and lasted since its special creation during the wanderings. The taste is not unlike honey. Unless boiled it will not keep beyond about twenty-four hours, but breeds vermin.

¹ *Antiquities of the Jews*, iii. ii. 6.

2. The second so-termed manna, likewise an exudation, is gathered from a thorny shrub popularly known as the camel's-thorn, and technically called *Alhagi maurorum*. The exudation, in this case from the leaves, congeals into spherical droppings of the size about of the coriander seed, and of honey-like taste. This species, like the last, is collected and used for food, and is relished not only by man, but also by beast—camels, sheep, and goats. No particulars are forthcoming as to its duration, or its varying consistency when influenced by heat or cold.

3. The third product is a cryptogam of the lichen order, undoubtedly edible and nourishing, the *Lecanora esculenta* common throughout the regions of the Steppes, Armenia, Asia Minor, South Western Asia, and the north of Africa. Its external colour is a greyish yellow, but when bruised it appears purely white. When detached from its substratum, it is known to shrivel into small spherical bodies with a central cavity, in which state it is carried by the wind, and is known sometimes to drift in such quantities as to cover the ground to the depth of several inches. Collected it is reduced to flour, and made into a bread variously reported relishable or insipid. More than once has a 'rain' of this manna lichen afforded timely relief from the horrors of famine; as in 1829, during the war between Russia and Persia, in the district south-west of the Caspian; and in 1846, during a scarcity in the country around Jenischehir, in the east of Asia Minor. Remarkable falls are also chronicled in Persia, in 1828, and about Lake Van, in the east of Asia Minor, in 1841. The African specimen (differing, if at all, but slightly) was mentioned in a report by General Jussuf to the Governor of Algiers, in 1847, as having been thankfully received, and used as an article of food by the troops in the campaign of 1847.

It has already been remarked that the view we have termed the *supernatural* meets with absolutely no objection from textual spirit, phrase, or expression; at least, if we prefer a reading unmodified by the conclusions of studies not in themselves Biblical. Before estimating, as it only remains to do, whether as good a case of conformity to

Scriptural data can be made out for either the *natural* or the *mixed* view, it will be well to insist that although in certain items of our *traditional* data the spirit and licence of poetry authorises a wide or figurative sense (no vain observation, as will presently appear), the same does not hold good with regard to the data we have classified as *historical* and *physical*. If we are asked by advocates of theories now well known how in the case before us we distinguish history from myth, we answer, by the minuteness of the narrative. It is the genius of a myth to teach some truth under a beautiful presentment of striking imagery. Its strength lies not in statistics, which rob the image of its charm. It overlooks, accordingly, such minutiae as precise hours, exact shade of colour, approximate size, &c. These find no place in the fancy of a composer, but unmistakably reveal the work of the conscientious reporter. Presuming that few will care to discuss this further, we proceed on our inquiry.

The first product suggested as identical with the manna, i.e. the gum of the tamarix, has in common with it—(1) its resinous nature, inferred from its property of liquefaction in the heat of the sun;¹ (2) its form of small white globules, which scattered over the ground would give the appearance of hoar-frost;² (3) its honey-like taste;³ its corruption in about twenty-four hours,⁴ though this can be prevented by boiling, a fact which might account for the incorruption of whatever quantity of the manna was reserved to be laid up 'before the Lord';⁵ (4) and its fitness as an article of food. Against it, on the other hand, it is urged that if edible and palatable, it is, to say the least, most unsubstantial. To this one would, it seems, have no objection. It might be precisely at this point that the miraculous begins. It is a notable fact, by way of illustration, in the history of Elias, not that he was supported without food, but that the nourishment of one meal was rendered by

¹ Ex. xvi. 21.

² Ex. xvi. 14; Num. xi. 7.

³ Ex. xvi. 23; Num. xi. 6; Wisd. xvi. 20.

⁴ Ex. xvi. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xvi. 33.

divine power of sufficient efficacy to sustain him for forty days. The *potentia obedientialis* which was in the prophet's hearth-cake is similarly in gums, lichens, or any other edible matter, enabling them at the divine pleasure to work effects to which by ordinary dispensation they are not ordered. If we are disposed by what has been noted in favour of the *mixed* view, this satisfactorily meets the objection. But it may be questioned how far we are in need of the solution. Nothing, so far as we can see, seems to prevent the admission that the nourishment of the manna was in reality very slight. Earlier in these pages we have suggested that while the manna met a want it was not designed to save from starvation, that eventuality being averted by more substantial succour or stores. The suggestion even seems to find confirmation in the complaint of those who were dissatisfied with the heavenly food, at a later stage of their wanderings: viz., that it was 'very light' (LXX. *διάκερος*) or 'despicable' (Heb. *klokel*).¹

Of the so-called camel's-thorn, reference to what we have written will show that very much the same may be asserted of its similarity to the manna up to a certain point. Particulars, however, are less complete, particularly as to its duration.

In favour of the *lecanora* lichen, we have the clear evidence of its colour and size, and the certain fact of its suitability for food, and of its occasional abundance sufficient to allay hunger in whole districts. But of its capability of keeping incorrupt no particulars seem forthcoming. If it be as durable as the lichens more familiar to us in the West, then the miraculous alone can account for the point of the twenty-four hours keeping.]

Such facts as we have collected being duly examined and compared with Scripture, it will strike any reader that any or conceivably a combination, of these products lead us no little way in explanation of the particulars *historical* furnished by Exodus or Numbers. It will, however, be no less obvious that certain notable items of the narrative are not

¹ Num. xxi. 5.

covered by *botanical* statistics; to wit—(1) the supply every day of the week, the seventh excepted; (2) in a quantity sufficient continuously for so large a multitude; and (3) the preservation from corruption regularly from the sixth day to the seventh inclusive. From the acceptance of these facts as miraculous, try as we will, there is no possible evasion, except by those whose estimate of Scriptural authority is formed to be on all fours with an *à priori* cosmology Deistic, or if termed Theistic to be so represented 'with a difference,' *i.e.* a voluntary but irrevocable resignation of power so far as interference with a constituted order is concerned. M. Renan is an example of how a predetermined cosmology of this kind is forced to treat Scriptural records. He tells us in a chapter of his *History of Israel* that in regions where manna was not known save by report, the wildest legends have been combined with the original history; one of them in particular representing that for a time the sons of Israel had been sustained by the food of immortals, similar, we suppose, to the ambrosia of celestial banquets in Greek mythology. This, suiting his purpose, entails a stricter literal exegesis than it has ever been our lot to hear recommended to the Catholic student, be he ever so orthodox; for in reading such expressions as 'bread of heaven' or 'food of angels,' he scruples apparently to make allowance for any turn of speech figurative or poetical. About such expressions we need not repeat what we have said above.

As regards the *physical* data, we see, so far as the resinous productions are concerned nothing that cannot square with a natural explanation; but failing certain returns of the resistance of the *lecanora* to corruption, it may be necessary to admit 'the finger of God is there.'

We fail even to find any but apparent difficulty as regards the exalted traditional language of the later books. Should it be insisted that, as we have already remarked, the spirit and form of these passages seems at first sight altogether in favour of the *supernatural* view, it is equally worth consideration whether the facts taken account of and enumerated under the *mixed* view, facts of which no natural

explanation seems to us honest, would not in themselves warrant all that is said in the spirit of praise and thanksgiving. We may even further observe that, saving truth, the language may have seemed to the various writers to fit their possible, or even probable belief in a miracle *quoad substantiam*, as we should term it, and been at the same time overruled by the Holy Spirit to be not contradictory to an explanation to be in course of time proved to be the true one ; that, namely, of a miracle *quoad modum* only. This postulates no dictation of precise terms, but only that assistance and protection concomitant to substantial inspiration which ensures the 'omnia et sola quae ipsa juberet,' as says the Encyclical *Providentissimus*.

To form at length our conclusions, we submit that :

I. The *natural* view, if reconcilable with the *physical* data, is hopelessly at variance with important *historical* facts, and with the tone and terms of traditional evidence.

II. The *supernatural* is far from being discredited ; certainly not as a possibility, and not even as a probability ; and is further what one would most naturally gather from the unillustrated text of Scripture ; but that

III. A fair case can be made for the *mixed* view ; and all the above details considered, and especially the improbability of any waste of edible product being allowed, we may on the whole, and pending any decision on the part of the Church, adopt it as the most eligible.

JEROME POLLARD-URQUHART, O.S.B.

SOCIALISM, AND THE TITLE OF PRODUCTION

WERE a socialistic congress held to-morrow, with a view to presenting a united front against capitalism, and putting into a concise form the ethics of the new gospel, we feel confident that one of the principal, if not the chief, commandment of the future decalogue would run :—‘Render unto every man that which he has produced, and to none that which is not the fruit of his own labour.’ Doubtless, some leading apostles of the young evangel would question the propriety of introducing the first portion of the commandment, on the score that the main factor in production is not the individual but environment and inheritance. Doubtless, too, other socialists who sit in high places, and perhaps all, would quarrel for a time with the latter portion of the law, as all socialistic schemes proclaim that many who are incapable of labour must needs be supported by the toilers. However, were it understood that the law in the form proposed at once clearly forbids the sin of accumulation of capital by individuals, and commands that he whom socialists dignify with the title of the labourer should receive as his own the full value of his work ; and were it also pointed out that the law, being of necessity in a condensed form, would be capable of receiving the required limitations by interpretation, we are justified, we believe, in supposing that it would meet with universal acceptance. Let us examine to what conclusions the precept leads.

It is confessed on all sides that the strength of socialism lies in the principle that the producer has a strict, inviolable, claim to the thing produced. We are well aware that the majority, at least, of socialists understand the formula in the exclusive sense that production is the only valid title to property, and that, as a consequence, their position may be attacked by proving the existence of other titles. At present, however, we prefer to meet them on their own ground, to grant for the moment that production is the only valid title of property, and to demonstrate the inconsistency

of the socialistic theory by answering the question, who has produced and is daily producing the wealth of the nations, and to whom as a consequence that wealth should, on socialistic principles, belong.

Before proceeding to do so directly we would ask the prophets of the social millenium whether or not their theory, as a speculative theory, is a thing of value, and whether or not they would regard its promulgation among the masses as an addition to the wealth of the world. Of course we receive in answer an emphatic affirmative. Bearing this confession in mind, we would ask them to consider the socialistic body, both preachers and sympathetic audience, and see whether or not they recognise between the members any difference whose basis is the fact that some, a minority, have formulated and promulgated the theory; while others, the vast majority, have merely received it, and been set in motion by it to attain its ends? The answer to this question is not so prompt in coming. For many socialistic leaders, especially among the more modern schools, have committed themselves to the doctrine that though 'in the human species, as in every other species that has ever existed, no two individuals of a generation are alike in all respects,' and though 'there is infinite variety,' still this variation is confined to 'certain narrow limits.' They have, however, so far introduced the principles of advanced evolution into the sociology of to-day as to maintain that the results produced by those possessed of faculties slightly above the average are to be attributed rather to environment and inheritance than to the slight advantageous variations of the individual, so much so that the individual can claim as the fruit of his own faculties only 'one part in a thousand.' Reserving the consideration of this position for the sequel we shall at present take it that the division mentioned among socialists and its marked extent are evident to the most casual observer. We believe, and shall endeavour to prove, that a similar division runs through the ranks of wealth-producers in the ordinary sense of the term; and, finally, we maintain that, as a consequence, on socialistic principles the increase of wealth belongs to a minority inasmuch as they are the main producers.

Before stating our proof we would remark, that for the present we lay aside the question as to how far land produces wealth, and place the issue between human producers thereof. Furthermore, we would draw attention to this—that to prove our position it is necessary to show, firstly, that the principal wealth-producers are a minority blessed with faculties superior to those of their fellows; and, secondly, that they owe these faculties not to society, neither solely nor chiefly, nor yet to inheritance mainly, nor again to education principally, but that they have them congenitally.

To proceed, then, to proof. It must, we think, be granted, that if a number of causes working together for a given time produce a certain result—the maximum for them—and if when another cause is brought to concur with them the result is thereby increased, to the added cause is to be attributed the gain in result. Thus if twelve reapers reap a certain number of acres of wheat in a given time, and if when a machine is brought to work with them three times the area is reaped in the same time, the work done by the reaping machine in the time under consideration is represented by the reaping of an area double that reaped when the reapers were working alone. Let us apply this reasoning to wealth-production generally.

It is an historical fact, that the present century has witnessed a vast increase in the output of labour in these countries. It is also historically true, that in so far as labour is unaided by ability of a markedly superior kind, its results have been so fixed in quality for many centuries as to enable one to mark their limits with sufficient accuracy. Thus, the brick-makers of ancient Chaldæa could compete with the potter of to-day who would work without complex machinery. The stone-cutters of Greece and Rome have not been surpassed in their own line by their nineteenth century brethren. The ship-carpenters of Marco Polo's day did their work, as far as it was ship-carpentry, and not designing, as well as those of Belfast or Glasgow could to-day without our modern mechanical appliances. We might prolong the list almost indefinitely; but prolong it never so

far, the fact comes out only the more clearly, that the limits of the power of manual labour in respect of quality are fixed and so determined that no development of ordinary faculties could account for the rapid strides made by industry during the present century.

Nor can increase in the number of workmen serve as a *Deus ex machina*. For if, as is actually the case, a population of ten millions at the beginning of the present century could produce an annual income of one hundred and forty million pounds,¹ a population of thirty millions to-day, unaided by improvements, could produce merely some four hundred and twenty millions per annum. Still our present yearly income is thirteen hundred millions! What, then, has wrought the change? Without doubt, the change is due to those men, who, endowed with faculties beyond the ordinary, stood apart for a while from manual labour, and set their minds to devise some means of increasing the limited powers of the hewers of wood and drawers of water; and who, finally, succeeded in discovering these means in improved mechanical appliances, in more perfect plans of subdividing and controlling labour, or in new methods of employing, land, minerals, and the other materials given in the raw state by nature into their hands. This has been the real cause of the vast increase of wealth-production during the present century; and, therefore, to its credit is to be placed the increase in our national income. The work of such men, and the increase in the number of workmen, are the only varying causes of wealth-production that have been at work during the time under consideration. We have seen that the latter cause can account for, at most, one-third of our present income. Consequently, the main portion of our income to-day belongs, on socialistic principles, to a privileged minority.

Before passing on to discuss the objections against this argument it is well to draw attention here to the fact that

¹ The principal figures occurring throughout we take from Mallock's *Labour and the Popular Welfare*, and *Aristocracy and Evolution*, works frequently consulted in preparing the paper. Some of our mathematical deductions from these figures differ from his, but in so slight a degree as not to materially affect the argument.

while the argument comes out most clearly when applied to the increase of wealth caused by mechanical inventions, such as looms, saws, &c., and also to new methods of using the helps given by nature, such as the smelting of iron by coal instead of by wood, it applies with equal force to such parts of our enterprise as the subdivision of labour, the watching of markets, the legislation on trade and the foreign policy of the country generally. Steps in advance in these quarters have their effect for good on the wealth of the country as much as, if not more than, inventions and such like. They, too, as is evident on the most superficial examination are, due not to the manual labourer, but to that small minority who in these departments possess powers above the rest of men, and by whom, consequently, may be appropriated the increase of wealth due to the improvements which result from their work. Doubtless, companies may be floated and corners formed in our markets for unjust ends to be attained by unjust means; but these abuses, not uses, of the powers of the minority are capable of being checked by less sweeping and not less effective means than those of the latter-day socialist.

The first difficulty we shall consider is embodied in the principle 'every man is as good as his neighbour.' It has crept into the laws regulating franchise where it is *per se* calculated to produce results not beyond suspicion. It is often heard repeated by the rank and file of socialists. It has even been heard preached by leading socialists, and there is reason for believing that it is not proclaimed for the mere purpose of catching the ear of the crowd. It denies the supposition on which our argument rests, viz., that there is a minority of men superior to their fellows.

In answer, we reply that the denial is gratuitous; that it runs counter to the witness of history, to the common-sense of mankind from the birth of time, and to the immediate evidence of every-day experience. Taking our experience of socialists themselves, we believe that no one can fail to see among socialists the division caused by such superiority. The voices of men like Marx and Lasalle and Shaw are not voices in a crowd, nor are the men themselves mere

drummers beating time for the movements of their fellows. They are men whose words and works prove them to be possessed of intellectual power in an uncommon degree. True it is that these powers are frequently so misdirected as to oppose the dictates of common sense, and even the very principles they are employed to maintain. But, even when abused, their titanic strength is apparent, and places between them and the many-headed multitude who follow them a chasm which cannot be blinked.

The weakness of this argument socialists endeavour to strengthen by invoking the aid of environment and inheritance; in other words, society past and present, with all its aids and opportunities. When men grow to maturity, say they, there may, indeed, be great differences among them, but at the beginning of life it was not so. At birth all men are equal. Geniuses do not drop from the sky. It is the age that makes the man.

In answer, we object, in the first place, that all those who make a step forward as inventors, controllers of labour, and the like, are not to be denominated geniuses. Among all such men there are grades¹ varying from that of the controller of the smallest butter factory to that of the largest brewer or mill-owner; and, consequently, to state the doctrine here put forward as one which claims that advance in wealth and civilization is due to one or two men in a century is to utterly misrepresent our position. Putting aside, then, socialistic eloquence, we preface our reply by granting that a certain grade of civilization is indeed required for a successful effort of genius worthy of the name. A Verdi cannot arise at once among Hottentots, nor a Raphael among Afridis. But this is by no means a guarantee that, given the degree of civilization, the sublime effort will follow. If it were so, the fact that among the thousands who lived in precisely the same circumstances of time, place, education, and the rest, only one Shakespeare arose, were a miracle of miracles. What is true of a Shakespeare is true of a Watt and a Stephenson. Again,

¹ Cf. Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, Book II., ch. i.

let us appeal to recent events. If the age makes the man, how comes it that from so many possessing equal advantages some from the start outstrip their fellows? How comes it that so few Gladstones come forth from our public schools? Out of thousands who were similarly situated we have had but one Edison. One Pasteur is sent us in a century from hundreds who have succeeded in becoming village practitioners. One Arkwright we have seen, one Dudley, one Bessemer. Once more, if there is any fact proved by the history of invention and discovery up to the time when men were taught to submit themselves to master-minds in science and commerce, it is that, so far from being assisted by the age in giving to the world the fruits of their genius, our great inventors and discoverers have had to fight their battle against the powers of the masses and the jealousy of their compeers. Let the wrecking of Arkwright's power-looms, at the end of the last century, be one witness out of many. Finally, it is a notorious fact that many of those to whom we owe the greatest of our modern advances in industrial output have not had even equal opportunities with those from whom we should naturally expect such results. The inventors of the reaping machine, of the hydraulic press, of the steam engine, and of countless other modern machines, received no education as engineers. Hence, if facts are proofs, one thing is certain, viz., that the age does not make the man, but rather the man the age.¹

Denied of help by society contemporary with the agents of progress, socialists seek refuge in the past. Even though it be a fact, they say, that it requires a superior man to raise himself above the rest of men, still, when first he puts his hand to the work, he finds it already half completed. None of our inventions has sprung in full completion, as did Minerva, from the brain of an individual. During the years preceding the invention others were gradually developing the germs of the new birth. Stephenson himself has said that the steam engine is not the result of one man, but of a race of engineers in years preceding. This developing, and

¹ Cf. Smiles' *Self-Help*, *passim*; Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, *l.c.*

the machine being developed, were the property of society before the last inventor came. Hence he is not the sole cause, nor even the main cause, but at most one of a series of causes, whose work, compared with his, is as a mountain to a mole-hill.¹

Here, again, we recognise the principles of evolution ; but once again they are at fault. Each invention, it is true, is linked with the past ; but it could never have been made and joined to its predecessors except some man, or some few men, were able to assimilate the work of their fathers, to see what was wanting for perfection, and how that want could be supplied, by grouping existing inventions or adding to the ancient stock. Such men were needed, and such men arose. But they were a minority who required and possessed faculties for performing a gigantic work. By their fruits we know them ; and who will maintain that the work was within the powers of ordinary mortals ?

Printing is generally said to have been discovered in the fifteenth century, and so it was for all practical purposes ; but, in fact, printing was known long before. The Romans used stamps ; on the monuments of the Assyrian kings the name of the reigning monarch may be found duly printed. What, then, is the difference ? One little but all-important step. The real inventor of printing was the man into whose mind flashed the fruitful idea of having separate stamps for each letter instead of for separate words. How slight seems the difference ! And yet for three thousand years the thought occurred to no one.²

Men had for forty years to tolerate the single-fluid batteries, with all their inconvenience, until Daniell solved the problem. Similar facts are in evidence in the case of the steam engine, the telescope, and the rest. Hence, bearing in mind the fact that what is true in mechanical industry holds true also in commerce and legislature, we conclude that advancement is due to a minority. On socialistic grounds they are worthy of their hire—and socialists are honourable men.

¹ See Spencer, Kidd and Bellamy, as quoted by Mallock, *Aristoc. and Evolution*, Book I, ch. iii.

² Sir John Lubbock, *Peasants of Life*.

Nor will it avail to appeal to the fact that the same discovery has been made by different men in different countries at the same time ; which fact proves, say the socialists, that progress is upwards evenly through all society. For this merely proves that 'two or three men, instead of one man, are greater than their fellow workers.'¹

We have already noted that labour unassisted by ability of a superior stamp is fixed in its power of producing wealth. We have shown, too, that the increase in wealth noticeable during the present century must be due to one cause only—the powers of a minority. Hence, it would follow that labour is to be rewarded at a practically fixed rate for all time, while ability causing the increase in wealth is to go on for ever increasing its share in the profits. This appears to us to follow without question from the strict socialistic principles, and we congratulate the socialistic labourer on adopting principles that ward off so well the dangers of avarice. Should he regret the conclusions to which his first commandment leads, and desire a less stringent code, we would invite his attention once more to the industrial history of the century. It is a fact borne witness to by history, and even by the testimony of those who have watched the social question for even twenty years past, that the social condition of the labourer has during recent years been improved exceedingly. The cause of this advance has been that, instead of all increase of wealth due to industrial progress passing into the hands of those who invent, discover, and control, a great portion of it has found its way into the pockets of the labourer. So much is this the case, that if the general distribution of wealth clamoured for by some socialists had taken place at the beginning of the century, the labourer would not now find himself in as good a position as he actually is in to day. Indeed, if that distribution took place at the present time, the position of the average labourer would be seriously injured. Full proof of this fact, startling as it is to Socialists, would involve long quotations from statistics which would be somewhat out of place here. The

¹Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, Book I., ch. iii.

following will serve the purpose of the present paper. The yearly income of the United Kingdom is estimated at practically twelve hundred million pounds. The population is a little over thirty eight millions. Hence, at equal distribution the share of each individual would be about thirty two pounds a year. This, however, puts man, woman, and child on an equal footing—a proceeding which the most levelling socialist would scorn. If, to give each man, woman, and child proportionate shares, the amount of food required by each for a given period were taken as a standard of division, the results would be that each man would receive (taxes paid at present rate) seventeen shillings a week, and each woman not quite thirteen :—¹

Could such a condition of well-being be made universal, many of the darkest evils of civilization would, no doubt, disappear ; but it is well for a man who imagines that the masses of this country are kept by unjust laws out of the possession of some enormous heritage, to see how limited would be the result, if laws were to give them everything ; and to reflect that the largest income that would thus be assigned to any woman, would be less than the income enjoyed at the present moment by multitudes of unmarried girls who work in our midland mills—girls whose wages amount to seventeen shillings a week, who pay their parents a shilling a day for board, and who spend the remainder, with a most charming taste, on dress.²

This result is also put forward to show that it is the labourer's interest to maintain, in a modified form, perhaps, an existing order of things which has improved his condition in a manner undreamt of in any socialistic philosophy. By so doing he will go on increasing, as he has done in the past, his share in the enormous increase of national income.

It appears to us that the labourer, though his work considered in itself and apart from accidental circumstances is of a fixed value, can justly demand a higher wage in proportion to the increase of income of those who employ

¹ Mallock's figures are triflingly higher.

² Mallock, *Labour and the Popular Welfare*. Book I., ch. iv.

the kind of labour he is willing to offer. This action of the labourer can, to our thinking, be justified on two scores. Firstly, employers, though when compared with employees they are in a minority, are still many among themselves. Hence the gain each may acquire from labour is open to many competitors, and thereby the value of labour in the market rises in the common estimation of employers. Consequently a *pretium vulgare* is created which increases with the gain accruing to the employer, and which may, being *vulgare pretium*, be justly demanded by the labourer.

The other score on which the labourer has a right to the share in the increasing wealth is one which socialism, in spite of itself, suggests. Perhaps the greatest sin of socialism is the destruction of the family. It might, indeed, be said with a good show of truth, that the true foe of socialism is not the capitalist, but the family. Hence, to defend the family, to extend our defence of it beyond the hearth, to regard the employer and the employed as forming one great family—as on Christian principles we are warranted, if not bound, to do—is at once to put an end to the existing evils among the working-classes, to advance their welfare on the highest principles, and to guard against the curses which socialism brings in its train. This is no new teaching. It dates, at least, from the day when the Apostle of the Gentiles taught masters to remember that their servants were to them as they were to their Master in heaven. It is an old-world doctrine, but one which is so strange to the ears of men to-day that he who advocates it thereby defends himself from the charge of favouring *laissez-faire* principles.

Again, if it be the end of civil government to advance the greatest temporal good of the greatest number, it is within the scope of legislation not only to eradicate the evils at present in our midst, but also to assist the labourer to acquire the market value for his work. With these aids to acquire what he may justly receive, the working classes may combine co-operation to secure their share of our national income. However, it must be remembered always, and

especially by those of socialistic leanings, that the labourer's share in our growing income cannot be so far increased as to deter men of ability from developing their faculties as they have been doing in the past. For, no matter how eloquently socialists may proclaim that it is a noble thing to work for humanity, and that our models should be these many wealthy men who find their pleasure in disbursing thousands for the welfare of the poor, there will always remain embedded in human nature a disinclination to work to the best of one's power, except there be held out to the worker a reward far greater than that which socialists will allow, though, perhaps, not quite so great as might be justly claimed by our workers *par excellence* if the socialistic theory regarding the title of production were carried to its ultimate conclusions.

THOMAS WILSON.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. PATRICK

IN the August number of the I. E. RECORD several statements which I did not make are attributed to me. The following are some of them :—

1. It is said that I rely on the *Confessio* for the mention of Emporia. I did not; and I did not draw any argument whatever from the mention of Emporia in the *Confessio*.

2. It is said that I suggest the biographers of Patrick mistook Bretonia for Great Britain. I did not; on the contrary, I suggested that the biographers never heard of Bretonia.

3. It is said that I derive the word *Taberniae* from the Irish. I did not; I stated that I did not know what *Taberniae* meant, and I suggested a resemblance between it and two Irish words.

4. It is said that I admit Patrick always expresses Ireland by Hiberio. I did not; on the contrary, I showed that he always expresses Ireland by Hiberione.

5. It is said that I quote Probus for saying that Patrick was born near the Western Sea, and conclude the Western Sea means the Tuscan Sea. I certainly did not draw that conclusion from Probus; but I did draw from Probus and Eleran, that when Probus mentioned the Western Sea, he probably meant the Tuscan Sea.

Probus says that when Patrick was in his own country, in their city, Armuric, King Rathmit, from Britain, laid waste Armuric, murdered Calpurnius and Concessa, and led off captive their sons, Patrick and Ruchti. Therefore, Probus says Armuric was Patrick's city. The *Vita Quarta* (Eleran) says that the territory known as Armorica was near the Tyrrhene Sea. Assuming the Armuric of Probus to be the same as the Armorica of Eleran, the sea which Probus speaks of would be the Tuscan Sea. Why, then, does he call it *occidentalis*? I suggested that, as *iartar* may mean *Inferum*,¹ and as *iartar* also means Western,² Probus might have interchanged *mare Inferum* (the Tyrrhene Sea) for *mare occidentali*.

6. It is said that I adduce certain passages from the *Confessio*, the passages quoted,³ to prove that Patrick says Britain was not his country. I did not. I adduced these passages to show that Patrick does not say Britain was his country.

7. It is stated that I said it is dishonest to translate the word *presbyter* by priest. I did not say any such thing; I did say it is dishonest to translate it in the *Confessio* by priest.

8. It is stated that I said the year 404 was the year of Patrick's captivity. I did not say any such thing: I said:⁴ '388. It is this year that Patrick is brought to Ireland; in 394 he makes his escape.'

The purpose of what I have written about Patrick's birthplace is to show that all the places mentioned in the

¹ O'Reilly's *Dictionary*, p. 394, says it signifies the end or hindmost part of anything.

² O'Reilly's *Dictionary*, p. 300.

³ I. E. RECORD, June, 1899, pp. 502, 503.

⁴ Page 492.

Confessio as connected with his birthplace, and all the places mentioned in antiquity as connected with it are (with the exception of *Taberniae*), to be found in the North East of Spain and in the territory of the Indigites, or in due relation to it; Vicus, Empor, Cluaid (Clodianus), Bann (Alba), Aven, Fluvia, Rosas, Torrian Sea, Letha, Canigou (Cannacuc), Cruit Occident (Cap Creuz), Mons Jovis.

While, on the other hand, no one presumes to say that even one of all the names can be found elsewhere (if we except Clyde), either in history or geography, either in Itinerary or Peutingerian table; the utmost that anyone undertakes to show—whether Lanigan or Moran—is, that places can be found so shaped and situated that they might have been called by those names or by something like them.

There is one important passage which up to the present I did not advert to. I take it from the *Dublin Review*, 1887, and the I. E. RECORD, December, 1893 :—

Documenta de S. Patricio, edited by Rev. E. Hogan.

Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur Brito natione in Britanniiis natus Cualforni diaconi ortus ut ipse ait Potiti presbyteri qui fuit vico Ban navem Thabur indecha ut procul a mare nostro quem vicum constanter indubitanterque comperimus esse ventre.

To this must be joined the version of this text, which Probus gives as follows :—

Sanctus Patricius qui et Sochet vocabatur Brito fuit natione. Hic in Britanniiis natus est a patre Calpurneo diacono qui fuit filius Potiti presbyteri . . . de vico Bannave Tiburniae regionis haud procul a mare occidentali quem vicum indubitanter comperimus esse nentriae provinciae, in qua olim gigantes habitasse dicuntur.

This passage of Mactheni contains some ancient tradition, and gives us over again the country of the Indigetes and the Tyrrhene Sea.

In the map of France, lat. 42.29, long. 35, you will find Vendre. It is there called Port Vendre. Rousillon, the province in which it belongs to France since the peace of the Pyrenees, 1659; but before that belonged to Spain, and

formed part of Catalonia. At the extreme north of the coast-line of Rousillon we find Cette, on the Bay of Vendre; at the extreme south of the same coast-line we have the Port of Vendre. There is no landing-place for traffic between those two points. Ampurias and Rousillon formed one county (provincia). The Counts go back very far, even the recorded ones. There is a record of Suner II., Count of Rousillon and Ampurias, in the time of Charles the Bald; of Suner I., Count of Rousillon and Ampurias in the time of Louis le Debonnaire; of Armingol, Count of Rousillon and Ampurias, in the time of Charlemagne.

Here now we have a province in which we have Vendre giving its name to the whole coast-line from Port Vendre to the Bay of Vendre, one on the extreme south of Rousillon, the other on the extreme north; we have therein Vicus, we have Bann (Alba) aven (fluvia), and we have Indecha. Listen to Strabo speaking of this country: 'Empor has for its inhabitants some of the original people, the Indeketai.' Listen to Ptolemy, speaking of this country: 'Dekiana and Iungaria are inland cities of the Endigeton.' Take up any ancient atlas of Spain, and see between the Pyrenees and the river that flows out at Empor, the Indigetes (Indeke-tae). The termination tes or tae is not given, but the identification is not weakened thereby. Compare the names in Nennius, Claud, Theothas, and Cirine. The statement Probus makes that it was where giants were said in days gone by to have dwelt, is in complete accordance with his having this place in his mind, for the Indigetes were deified men gods, such as Hercules. The report that in ancient times giants dwelt there, is exactly what is to be expected as a popular version that heroes, indigetes, lived there.

Maetheni says that Vicus Ban Navem Indecha was not far from Mari Nostro. It is assumed that nostro is a pronoun, and that, of course, to find out what sea is meant, we should first find out who the *we* are, the *we* whose sea it is. I think that is a somewhat unusual form of designating a sea.

The word *nostro* is not a pronoun here, it is a part of a proper name. Mare Nostrum is by the *usus loquelae*, the

established and fully recognised name of the Mediterranean sea. Classical writers never called it the Mediterranean, but either Mare Internum or Mare Nostrum.

Cardinal Moran says the Life ascribed to Probus is only an amended text of the Life by Mactheni. It may be that the coincidence between Probus and Mactheni arises not from Probus copying Mactheni, but from them both copying a more original text, so that it may not be known who is the author of the Life ascribed to Mactheni; but no matter who he is, or where he wrote, a person writing at that early period could not use the words Mare Nostrum to express anything but the Mediterranean Sea. See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 'Internum Mare'; and Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*, vol. ii., p. 679, where it is shown that Isidore, a writer of the seventh century (the same period as Mactheni), was the first to use Mediterranean as a proper name: Mare Internum and Mare Nostrum being the recognised proper names for the Mediterranean up to that time, and, of course, for many centuries after.

A writer in the I. E. RECORD, December, 1893, points out that Thabur may mean river, and quotes O'Reilly's *Dictionary* to the effect that Thabur Seaghsa means the River Boyne. If that was accepted, then Mactheni's text would run who was of Vicus of Alba Fluvia, 'a river of the Indigetes not far from the Mediterranean Sea.' It is of importance to observe that in those foregoing passages Mactheni and Probus do not say that Patrick himself was from Vicus Ban-navem, but that his grandfather Potitus was. Eleran, who as well as Probus, mentions Armuric as the original residence of Patrick's parents, carefully points out that Armuric, the original residence of Patrick's father, was not the place of Patrick's birth. Much less would the original residence of Patrick's grandfather be the place of Patrick's birth. Eleran says: 'In that dispersion his parents proceeded to the district of Strath Clyde, in which territory Patrick was born.' Seeing that Eleran's statement, that Patrick was born in Britain, is in no way inconsistent with his statement that his father belonged to a distant district;

neither is Mactheni's statement that Patrick was born in Britain, in any way inconsistent with the text he quotes, that Patrick's grandfather was from ' Vicus not far from the Mediterranean Sea.'

EDWARD O'BRIEN.

THE NEW LEGISLATION ON THE INDEX

CAP. IX.—*De facultate legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos.*

REG. XXIII.—Libros sive specialibus, sive hisce Generalibus Decretis proscriptos, ii tantum legere et retinere poterunt, qui a Sede Apostolica, aut ab illis, quibus vices suas delegavit, opportunas fuerit consecuti facultates.

IN the foregoing chapters of the present constitution, the legislator has laid down some general rules, by which certain classes of books shall be forbidden to the entire body of the faithful. He has also stated that when occasion should require it, the Congregation would proscribe by special decrees books submitted to its judgment. But, there was something else needed. It will happen that some of the faithful will require to read and keep in their possession certain proscribed books; it will also happen that certain members of the faithful, and especially ecclesiastical superiors, will be obliged to denounce bad and dangerous books. Now to those two points the legislator devotes the two remaining chapters of Title I. In Chapter IX. he explains how we are to obtain permission to read proscribed books; and in Chapter X. he states who are bound to denounce bad and dangerous books to ecclesiastical authority.

In Rule 23 the legislator prescribes, that no one is to read or retain books proscribed by special decrees, or by the general rules of the present Constitution, unless he have obtained permission from the Apostolic See, or from those who have delegated power to grant such permission.

In this rule, the legislator mentions two kinds of proscription—proscription by special decrees, and proscription by the present general rules. A word in explanation: we have already explained in tracing the gradual development of the legislation on the Index, how it became necessary for the Church to condemn bad books in categories or classes. In the early ages of the Church bad books were very few, and those worthy of proscription extremely rare. Individual proscription was, therefore, quite easy and practicable. With the advance of ages, however, the flood of bad literature widened and deepened, as a river proceeding from its source; when the art of printing was introduced everybody began to write, and the tiny stream became a mighty deluge. Thenceforth, individual proscription was quite impracticable. Accordingly, the fathers of the Council of Trent threw the bad books into categories, and summarily condemned them. Now, the present rules do what the rules of the Council of Trent did: they proscribe in *classes*.

Individual proscription will, however, be sometimes made. It will generally be made by the Congregation of the Index; but the Supreme Pontiff may in exceptional circumstances take the case out of the hands of the Congregation, and pronounce proscription himself in person. All the books individually proscribed are collected and published in a list; and this is the list or index of proscribed books.

By the present rule, then, we are forbidden to read the books proscribed in a class, as well as those individually proscribed, unless we have obtained permission from competent ecclesiastical authority.

REG. XXIV.—Concedendis licentiis legendi et retinendi libros quoscumque prohibitos Romani Pontifices Sacram Indicis Congregationem praeponere. Eadem nihilominus potestate gaudent, tum suprema S. Officii Congregatio, tum Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, pro regionibus regimini suo subjectis. Pro urbe tantum, haec facultas competit etiam Sacri Palatii Apostolici Magistro.

In Rule 24, the legislator states who have power to

grant permission to read and retain proscribed books. The Congregation of the Index can grant permission for the entire Church; the Congregation of the Propaganda for the countries under its jurisdiction; the Master of the Sacred Palace for the City of Rome. Hence a permission from the Congregation of the Index holds good anywhere; permission from the Propaganda within the countries subject to it; and permission obtained from the Master of the Sacred Palace can be used only within the City of Rome.

REG. XXV.—*Episcopi alique prelati jurisdictione quasi episcopali pollentes, pro singularibus libris, atque in casibus tantum urgentibus, licentiam concedere valeant. Quod si iidem generalem a Sede Apostolica impetraverint facultatem, ut fidelibus libros proscriptos legendi retinendique licentiam impertiri valeant, eam nonnisi cum delectu et ex justa et rationabili causa concedant.*

1. In the foregoing rule it has been stated that the Master of the Sacred Palace, the Congregation of the Propaganda, and the Congregation of the Index, have all of them power to grant permission, to a certain extent, to read and retain proscribed books; hence, arises the question—have bishops power to grant a similar permission? This question is answered by Rule 25: bishops and other prelates having quasi-episcopal jurisdiction have power to grant the said permission only in particular cases and in urgent circumstances; if any bishops should have obtained from the Holy See *general faculties* to grant the aforesaid permission to their flocks, they are to be careful to grant it with choice and discretion, and only from a just and reasonable cause.

Eam nonnisi cum delectu . . . concedant.—What are bishops to consider before granting to persons permission to read and keep proscribed books? About what are they to use their *choice* and *discretion*? The answer to this question is supplied us partly from an *Instruction* of Clement VIII., and partly from a document published by the Congregation

of the Index subsequent to the publication of the present Leonine Constitution :—

CLEMENTINE INSTRUCTION.

Qui ¹ quidem gratis eam ² et scripto manu sua subsignato tribuent de triennio in triennium renovandam ; ea in primis adhibita consideratione *ut nonnisi viris dignis, ac pietate et doctrina conspicuis cum delectu* ejusmodi licentiam concedant ; iis autem in primis quorum studia utilitati publicæ et Sanctæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ usui esse compertum habuerint.

CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX.

Quamobrem concedere possis *viris dumtaxat probis eruditisque* licentiam legendi retinendique libros a Sancta Sede Apostolica prohibitos quoscunque (et ephemerides), *iis exceptis qui haeresim vel schisma propugnant, aut ipsa religionis fundamenta evertunt*, quorum lectionem iis tantum permittere valeas quos *doctrina, pietate, fideique zelo* praestantiores esse perspectum habeas ; *librorum vero de obscoenis ex professo tractantium lectionem nemini permittas.*³

We have already stated, in the introduction, that should we meet with any word or phrase in the present Constitution of doubtful meaning, we were to refer to former legislation on the same subject wherein the same words occurred, and endeavour to discover therefrom the meaning of the words in the present legislation. We now apply that principle to the words *nonnisi cum delectu . . . concedant*. Those words occur in the Instruction of Clement VIII. Although Leo XIII. has annulled and abrogated this Clementine Instruction, yet he has not changed the natural meaning of the words employed therein. Hence we can determine almost to a certainty the object of the choice (*delectus*) spoken of in the present rule from this Clementine Instruction. Now, Clement VIII. almost defines the object of the choice : ‘*viris dignis ac pietate et doctrina conspicuis.*’

Turning now to the publication of the Congregation of the Index, we find a still more definite answer to our ques-

¹ Qui = Episcopi et Magister S. Palatii.

² Eam = licentiam legendi ac retinendi libros juxta Regulas Tridentinas proscriptos.

³ P. Pennachi, p. 174.

tion. We see that books proscribed by the present Leonine Constitution are therein divided into three classes—1. Those proscribed under Rule 9 : ‘ Qui res lascivas seu obscenas ex professo tractant.’ 2. Those proscribed under Rule 2 : ‘ Libri qui haeresim vel schisma propugnent aut ipsa religionis fundamenta evertunt.’ 3. Those proscribed by the remaining rules. The Sacred Congregation specifies the qualities to be required in the persons seeking permission to read or keep books belonging to any of those classes. With regard to books treating *ex professo* of licentious things, bishops are to grant permission to no person. With regard to books condemned under Rule 2, they are to grant permission to those only who are remarkable for their *learning*, their *piety*, and their *zeal for the faith*. Persons requesting permission to read or keep in their possession books condemned under the remaining rules must, at least, be *learned* and of *good character*.

Since the power of bishops to grant permission to read and keep proscribed books is *delegated*, and not *ordinary*, the conditions to which it is subject must be carefully observed.

REG. XXVI.—Omnes qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos, nequeant ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet, aut ephemerides ab Ordinariis locorum proscriptas, nisi eis in apostolico Indulto expressa facta fuerit potestas legendi et retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatos. Meminerint insuper qui licentiam legendi libros prohibitos obtinuerint, gravi se praecepto teneri hujusmodi libros ita custodire, ut ad aliorum manus non perveneant.

Rule 26 states that should anyone have obtained permission from the Apostolic See to read and keep proscribed books, he is not thereby entitled to read and keep proscribed books or newspapers proscribed by his own bishop—unless there have been granted in the Apostolic Indult permission to read and keep books no matter by whom proscribed. Persons, moreover, who have obtained such a universal permission are carefully to bear in mind that they are bound *sub grave* to so keep such books that they cannot fall into the hands of others.

The latter part of this rule may be said to refer in a certain way to the management of libraries. It would be well to have a section of the library set apart for proscribed books, and to give no one access to it, who had not the required permission.

In our remarks on Rule 1, we stated that the present Leonine Constitution interferes in no way with diocesan proscription made before its publication. We now present the present rule in confirmation of that statement.

CAP. X.—*De denunciatione pravorum librorum.*

REG. XXVII.—Quamvis catholicorum omnium sit, maxime eorum qui doctrina praevalent, perniciosos libros Episcopis aut Sedi Apostolicae denunciare; id tamen speciali titulo pertinet ad Nuncios, Delegatos, Apostolicos, locorum Ordinarios, atque Rectores Universitatum doctrinae laude florentium.

1. After having treated in the foregoing chapter of faculties to grant permission to read and retain proscribed books, the legislator now turns his attention to the *denunciation* of bad and dangerous ones. With regard to the denunciation of them he does three things: 1°. He states *who* are to denounce them. 2°. He explains *how* they are to be denounced. 3°. He indicates in general terms what books bishops are to proscribe themselves, and what ones they are to forward to the Congregation of the Index for examination. To each of those three points he devotes a rule.

2. In Rule 27, he states that although all Catholics, and especially those who excel in learning are expected to denounce bad and dangerous books to their bishops, or to the Apostolic See; yet papal nuncios, apostolic delegates, bishops, and rectors of universities, are under a special obligation to do so. It is to be remarked that the terms *Apostolic See* imply—the Congregation of the Supreme Inquisition, the Congregation of the Index, and the Congregation of the Propaganda.

The legislator says that it is the part of *all* Catholics to denounce bad books; all, however, are not *equally* bound. Catholics in general are bound to denounce bad books only by the virtue of charity; and hence they are bound only *sub lege*—except in very exceptional circumstances. Papal

nuncios, apostolic delegates, and rectors of universities, are, moreover, bound by the virtue of justice; and hence they are usually bound *sub grave* to denounce bad books.

By reason of having used the adjectival phrase *doctrinae laude florentium*, we are not to suppose that the legislator has cast a slur on *some* universities. Adjectives generally, indeed, restrict the extension of their subject, but sometimes they merely define or explain its meaning. And it is in this latter way that the legislator has used the said phrase in the present context; all universities are supposed to be focuses of talent and learning.

3. In our remarks on Rule 10 we enumerated certain classes of persons who are permitted by the general legislation, by reason of their office, to read classic works treating of immoral subjects. We now present the present rule in confirmation of that enumeration.

REG. XXVIII.—*Expedit ut in pravorum librorum denunciatione non solum libri titulus indicetur, sed etiam quoad fieri potest, causae exponantur ob quas liber censura dignus existimatur. Iis autem ad quos denunciatio deferitur, sanctum erit denunciantium nomina secreta servare.*

1. Rule 27 determines *who* are to denounce bad books.

Rule 28 determines *how* denunciation is to be made. It states that in denouncing bad books it will be useful to indicate not only the title of the book, but also the reasons why the book is considered worthy of proscription. Those to whom the denunciation is made are strictly bound to keep the names of the denouncers secret.

The present rule is nothing more than a repetition of some of the instructions given by Benedict XIV. in his Bull *Sollicita et Provida*, already explained by us. It imposes no obligation; it merely states what would be useful and convenient for the expedite transaction of business.

Any person at all, then, may denounce a bad book. The denunciation is made either to one's own bishop or to Rome. If to Rome, it is directed generally to the Prefect of the Congregation of the Index or to his Secretary. It may, however, be made to the Prefect of the Congregation

of the supreme Inquisition ; or, if the denouncer belong to a country under the administration of the Propaganda, it may be made to the Prefect of that Congregation. Under extraordinary circumstances it may be addressed even to the Supreme Pontiff himself.

In denouncing a book it will be useful both to the denouncer himself, and to the *consultores* of the Congregation, to state the reasons why it is deemed worthy of proscription. It will be useful to the denouncer : because he will thus show the members of the Congregation that he has been led to make the denunciation neither from personal motives nor from flimsy reasons. It would, indeed, be a strange thing for anyone to denounce a book unless he were able to show that he was committing no calumny against the author by doing so. It will also be useful to the *consultores* of the Congregation : for it will make known to them the general tone of the book, and, perhaps, unfold to them the character and history of the author, which will be of the greatest assistance to them in passing a just criticism on the work.

Authors, however, are not to be uneasy because their books must stand solitary and alone on their own merits before the bar of the Congregation—with no one to befriend them or plead their cause. Benedict XIV. would, indeed, allow a Catholic author of good repute to choose a champion to plead the cause of his book ; but even though he should not choose one, he is not to be afraid of unjust treatment. The report forwarded by the denouncer will go very short in securing the proscription of the book. When the book is received, the Secretary of the Congregation selects two *consultores*, and with them he carefully examines the book, to see if there be any foundation for the charges alleged against it. If they discover that there is really foundation for the charges, the book is given for examination and criticism to a *consultor* skilled in the matter of which it treats. The book is not allowed to pass the preparatory Congregation until two adverse decisions have been pronounced against it by two different sets of *consultores*.¹

¹ Cf. *Sollisita et Provida*, § 5.

Every precaution, therefore, is taken in order to arrive at a correct and impartial judgment.

Finally : the denouncers are not to be afraid that their names will be devulged ; for the members of the Congregation are strictly bound to keep them a dead secret.

REG. XXIX.—Ordinarii etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicæ, libros, aliaque scripta noxia in sua Dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere, et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant. Ad Apostolicum iudicium ea deferant opera vel scripta quæ subtilius examen exigunt, vel in quibus ad salutarem effectum consequendum, supremæ auctoritatis sententia requiri videatur.

Rule 29. is one of the key-stones of the present Leonine Constitution, for it applies to the government of each diocese the entire legislation on the Index. It prescribes that bishops—not only as ordinaries, but also as delegates of the Apostolic See, are to be careful to proscribe and to remove from the hands of the faithful bad books and other dangerous kinds of literature published or circulated through their dioceses. They are, however, to remit to the judgment of the Holy See, works and writings that require a more than usually careful examination, as well as those that require the declaration of supreme authority in order that salutary effects ensue.

The present rule, it will be remarked, brings home to each diocese the entire Leonine Constitution. It applies general laws to the government of limited areas ; the laws made for the universal Church are brought to bear on the internal management of each diocese. Now, circumstances will differ widely in the various dioceses throughout the Catholic world ; hence the application of the present constitution to the affairs of each diocese will demand the exercise of consummate prudence.

'*Prudentia*,' says St. Augustine, 'est cognitio rerum appetendarum et fugiendarum' ;¹ we must know what we are to seek, and what we are to avoid, before we can be said to be prudent. The present rule, then, which is intended to be, as it were, a rule of prudence to the bishops, does two things :—It tells them what they are to aim at, and what

¹ Apud S. Thomas, ii.-ii., 47, i.

they are to avoid. It is, accordingly, composed of two main parts; and the second part is again subdivided into two minor parts. Its division may be thus graphically shown :—

PART I.—Ordinarii etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicæ libros, aliaque scripta noxia in sua Dioecesi edita vel diffusa proscribere et e manibus fidelium auferre studeant.

PART II.—(a) Ad Apostolicum iudicium ea deferant opera vel scripta quæ subtilius examen exigunt.

(b) *Ea quoque deferant*, in quibus ad salutarem effectum consequendum, supremæ auctoritatis sententia requiri videatur.

We shall, therefore, first treat of the exercise of episcopal proscription; and, secondly, of the cases which must be submitted to the judgment of the Apostolic See.

§ 1.

Bishops, it would appear have always had power to examine and condemn bad books within the boundaries of their dioceses. This is evident in the first place from the history of the Index, and from the constant exercise of this power in every country, and in every age of the Church. We read, for instance, that Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, condemned the works of Origen in 385, and did so even against the will of his suffragan bishops. In 1121, the bishops assembled at the Synod of Suesson, condemned the works of Abelard, before they were condemned by the universal voice of the Church; in 1204, the Synod of Paris condemned the works of David a Dinando; in 1382 the heretical works of Wicliffe were condemned by the English bishops; and, omitting all further instances, have not bishops, even since the publication of the present Leonine Constitution, more than once condemned bad books without having had recourse to the Holy See?

But, apart from the history of the Index, it is manifest that bishops possess this power, from several declarations of the Supreme Pontiffs. In 1825, Leo XII. admonished all patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops throughout the entire Church, that since it was quite impossible for the Congregation of the Index to examine and proscribe *individually* all bad and dangerous books, they should, on their own

authority (*propria auctoritate*), take such books out of the hands of the faithful.¹ In 1864, Pius IX. directed through the medium of the Congregation of the Index, a letter to the bishops of the universal Church, in which he gives them the most explicit instructions with regard to the condemnation and proscription of bad books :—

The lawful pastors [he says] who watch over the flock of Christ, in order to avert this baneful pest (*i.e.*, bad publications) from those committed to their charge, are accustomed in their zeal to send bad books to the Sacred Congregation of the Index, that they may deter the faithful from reading such productions by reason of having obtained the judgment of the Roman See. Nor has the Sacred Congregation, whose sole aim and desire is to fulfil the duty assigned to it by the Supreme Pontiffs been ever slow to lend assistance. However, as it is overburdened from the increasing number of denunciations that pour in from the whole Christian world, it is not always able to pronounce a prompt decision on every case submitted to its judgment; and hence it is that occasionally the provision is too late, and that the remedy is thereby inefficacious, as enormous damage has in the meantime been caused by the reading of such works.

To remove this inconvenience, steps have been more than once taken by the Roman Pontiffs. Omitting instances which occurred in other ages, Leo XII. in our own times issued a mandate on 24th March, 1825, . . . by which bishops were ordered to proscribe, on their own authority (*propria auctoritate*), all bad books published or circulated within their dioceses, and to remove them from the hands of the faithful.

Lest, however [the letter continues] anyone should rashly dare to despise, and set at nought the judgment and proscription of bishops, on the ground that they have not the requisite jurisdiction, or on any other ground, his Holiness (Pius IX.) hereby grants bishops powers to proceed in this matter also as delegates of the Apostolic See.²

2. Now, what is the *nature* of this power possessed by bishops? Is it ordinary or delegated? We are of opinion that bishops have both ordinary and delegated power to condemn and proscribe bad books within their dioceses. That they have *delegated* power to do so, is manifest from the letters of Leo XII. and Pius IX., already cited, as well as from the present Rule of the Index; and unless they had *ordinary* power to do so, why would Leo XII. have told

¹ Cf. Pennacchi, p. 186.

² Cf. Pennacchi, p. 187.

them to proscribe bad and dangerous publications *on their own authority*? How can we regard bishops—who are placed as scouts (ἐπίσκοπος) on the watch-towers of the Church—as supplied with suitable weapons to repel the foe, unless they have power of their own to safeguard the minds of the faithful from being corrupted and led astray by dangerous literature? Bishops, then, have both ordinary and delegated powers to condemn and proscribe bad and dangerous publications; and, hence, the legislator in the present rule joins *ordinarii* and *Delegati Sedis Apostolicae* with a *cumulative* conjunction: ‘*Ordinarii etiam tamquam Delegati Sedis Apostolicae.*’

3. Now, what is the *specific object* of this episcopal power? Or, in other words, what kinds of books or writings can bishops proscribe? It would appear that bishops have not, by reason of their office, power to judge and proscribe every class of bad literature. P. Arndt, S.J., thus writes on the ordinary power of bishops to proscribe bad books:—

Attamen non tanta episcopo competit potestas ut quasi locum Concilii universalis, vel Romani Pontificis in judicando doctrinas obtineat. Non potest ergo ipse librum prohibere *ob propositiones, quas Ecclesia non damnavit, nec rejecit. Dubiae proinde propositiones quae tamen ab Ecclesia tolerantur non possunt prohibitionem justificare.* Verum cum propositiones dubiae proponuntur, quae quam proxime ad damnatas sententias accedunt, *Episcopo fas est librum in sua diocesi vetare.*¹

There is a limit, then, to the ordinary power of bishops to proscribe bad books: their power does not extend to all classes of such books. Bishops are as stewards placed over a department of the king's household;² or as sentinels placed on high to watch and guard a portion of the flock of Christ. As subordinate stewards, they cannot speak for the management of the entire household; nor, as merely sentinels, can they issue orders in the name of the supreme leader. They can, however, announce to those subject to them the wishes and the mandates of him who holds supreme power, and enforce obedience thereunto.

¹ P. Arndt: *De libris prohibitis*, p. 213.

² Cf. Matt. xxiv.: ‘Fidelis Servus et prudens quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam.’

Accordingly, as bishops cannot speak for the universal Church, nor issue commands in the name of the Supreme Pontiff, so they cannot proscribe a book for propositions that have never been condemned by the Church, nor for those that have been tolerated by her. As, however, they can repeat the decisions of the universal Church, or of the Supreme Pontiff, and force their subjects to obey them, so they may condemn a book for propositions that have already received the condemnation of the Church, or that are very closely connected with such.

The *delegated* power of bishops to proscribe bad books seems to be co-extensive with their ordinary power. This is evident from a letter of Pius IX., addressed to the bishops of the entire Church through the medium of the Congregation of the Index in 1873 :—

Quod si omnis ab Episcopis est adhibenda cura ut docti probatique utriusque cleri viri, verbis ac scriptis sana doctrina refertis, errores publice grassantes impugnent atque confodiant, pariter ab iisdem non est praetereundum examen operum videlicet et ephemeridum *quae fidem moresque directe impetunt*.¹

4. With what *dispositions* are bishops to enter on an examination of books subjected to their judgment? Benedict XIV. gave the four following rules of guidance to the consultores of the Congregation of the Index :—

1. That they were to bear in mind that their duty was—not to strive by every means to procure the proscription of the books submitted to them for examination—but to give the Sacred Congregation a faithful account of their contents after a careful reading thereof.

2. That care should be taken that the book be given to a consultor skilled in the matter of which the book treats. If anyone should discover that from the peculiar nature of the book, he is unable to pass a just criticism on it, he is to bear in mind that he is not free from sin if he does not make this known at once to the Sacred Congregation.

3. In passing judgment on the book, the mind must be free from every prejudice. The consultores are to bear in mind that they are to drive far off the sympathies of their country, of their race, of the schools wherein they were trained, and of the institute to which they belong. They are to be guided by the dogmas of the Church, and by the common teaching of Catholics, as

¹ Cf. Pennacchi, p. 189.

contained in the decrees of the general councils, the Constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs, and in the traditions of the fathers.

4. They are to remember that a proper judgment cannot be formed as to the mind and meaning of the author, unless the book is read through; for it often happens that different parts of a book throw light on one another, and that an author expresses himself more clearly in one place than in another.

5. If one wishes to judge a book as Benedict XIV. would have him do it, it is not enough for him to have good and impartial dispositions: he must also have correct premises to work on. The judgment passed on a book, or on a writing of any kind, is, as it were, a conclusion drawn from the two premises of a syllogism. In order to make up this syllogism we take in one hand the *Sollicita et Provida* of Benedict XIV., together with the present Leonine Constitution: and from them we get our major premise; we take the book in the other hand: and from it we get our minor premise; we ourselves are to be accountable for the conclusion deduced therefrom.

6. Having now treated of the *existence*, the *nature*, and the *object* of episcopal power to judge and condemn bad books, a question of the utmost importance, presents itself for solution, with regard to the *extent* of the binding force of episcopal proscription. Are regulars bound by episcopal proscription? or, have bishops power to enforce diocesan proscription in the monasteries and convents that may exist within their dioceses?

This question is nothing else than a particular phase of the general question regarding the relations between regulars and episcopal jurisdiction. Those two questions are related to one another in much the same way as the major and minor premises of a syllogism: one cannot be well solved without the other. With regard to the relations existing between regulars and episcopal jurisdiction, especially where there is mention of censures, long and intricate controversies have existed amongst canonists. Even St. Alphonsus, it would appear, notwithstanding his extensive knowledge of Canon and Civil Law, and his remarkable power of collating different laws and bringing them to bear on a particular point, was unable to extricate

himself from the puzzling mazes of this question; and P. Ballerini, S.J., does not hesitate to say that the Holy Doctor has not been quite consistent with himself in the different places through his writings in which he treats of this general question.¹ Since the whole field, then, has been the scene of such a hot and complicated contest amongst canonists, little wonder that there should be a difference of opinion when any particular case turns up, like the present one. Accordingly, amongst the commentators who have heretofore written on the Rules of the Index, there are two opinions on the present question:—

1. P. Vermeersch, S.J., and l'Abbé Pèries, hold that regulars are exempt from diocesan proscription, and accordingly that bishops cannot enforce their proscription within the religious houses that may exist in their dioceses. P. Vermeersch, S.J., thus writes:—

*Habent enim regulares proprie dicti (et etiam quarundam Congregationum alumni, v.g., C. S. S. Redemptoris) generale privilegium exemptionis. Inter exceptiones autem factas huic privilegio, quas tamen diligentissima cura collegerunt auctores, nullibi indicatur praesens casus. Nec materiam istam praetermiserunt, cum disserte doceant regulares quoad praeviam censuram subdi episcopis.*²

P. Vermeersch, S.J., would, therefore, argue thus:—If regulars enjoy general exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, we are not to suppose them subject to episcopal jurisdiction in any particular case that may turn up, unless we have positive proof to that effect; but in the present case we have no such positive proof: because, although canonists enumerate a great many points in which regulars are subject to episcopal jurisdiction, yet they omit the present point. According to P. Vermeersch, then, the original jurisdiction over religious orders, has been completely emptied from the hands of bishops into the Holy See, by the privilege of general exemption, and we are not to suppose that any has been poured back again, except what we have positive proof for.

¹ Cf. Guri-Ballerini, vol. ii., p. 955.

² Page 30.

And l'Abbé Pèries writes to the same effect :—

Les Reguliers exempts ne sont pas obligés, de tenir compte des condamnations des livres ou des journaux faites par l'evêque du diocese, où ils resident puisqu' ils ne sont pas ses sujets.¹

2. P. Pennacchi, however, strenuously maintains that regulars are bound by diocesan proscription just as seculars. He looks at *exemption* from another side, and says, that *originally* religious orders were all subject to episcopal jurisdiction, and that it was only gradually that they were released therefrom.² Accordingly, he founds a major premise the direct contradictory of that of P. Vermeersch, and l'Abbé Pèries—that when any particular case turns up, we are to suppose regulars *subject* to episcopal jurisdiction, unless we have positive proof to the contrary; but in the present case we have no such proof; therefore, it would appear that regulars are bound by diocesan proscription. P. Pennacchi sustains his opinion with arguments founded on decrees passed at the Council of Trent, on the Bull of Pius IX., *Inter Multiplices*, and on the present Leonine Constitution; he, moreover, alleges that before coming to a final decision on this question he consulted several canonists, and some religious superiors in Rome, and that it was the belief of all, that regulars were not exempt from episcopal proscription.³ On the whole, we must say, that we prefer the opinion of P. Pennacchi.

¹ Page 155.

² Cf. P. Pennacchi, p. 193.

³ The opinion of P. Pennacchi is supported by P. Franciscus Saverius Wernz, S.J., in his *Institutiones Canonicae*, at present in process of being printed. With kind permission, and assistance we have been enabled to employ the following note in confirmation of the opinion of P. Pennacchi. In treating of episcopal jurisdiction this Jesuit canonist writes of Rule 29 of the present Leonine Constitution, to the following effect (page 130, note 82) :—

‘ Cf. Mandatum Leonis XII. 26 Martii, 1825, Pii IX. litteras Apostolicas *Inter Multiplices*, 24 Aug., 1864, ex quibus Reg. xxix hujus Constitutionis desumpta est. Episcopi igitur præter propriam sive ordinariam auctoritatem habent etiam jurisdictionem a Sede Apostolica delegatam ad proscriptionem librorum in suis diocesibus. Quas jurisdictionis delegata secundum formulam Concilii Tridentini Concessa, nequaquam restringenda est ad potestatem cumulativam in suis subditis, sed juxta meliorem interpretationem a Fagano, Palmiéri, aliisque probatam sese extendit etiam in exemptos. Inde consequitur regulares quoque exemptos obligari prohibitionibus librorum Episcopi Diocesani. Tunc obligatio regularium jam est indubitata propter argumentum indirectum; nam practice vix fieri potest ut regulares exempti absque scandalo hujusmodi prohibitiones negligant (cf. Suarez; *De Legib.*; lib. iv. Cap. xx.; n. 10). Porro

In explanation, then, we should say that there are three questions that must carefully be distinguished one from the other—1. The present question of the extent of the binding force of diocesan proscription. 2. The general relations existing between regulars properly so called, and episcopal jurisdiction. 3. The nature of general exemption. The solutions of these questions depend one from the other. We cannot well solve the present question of diocesan proscription, without determining in some way the general relations between regulars and episcopal jurisdiction; and we cannot know what those relations are unless we know the nature of exemption.

All who follow a religious life must be subject, in one way or another, to a religious superior; for religion implies the severance of the bonds that might keep us separated from God—wealth, carnal pleasure, and self-will.¹ Be he, therefore, a general of a religious order, a provincial, a lay-brother, or a hermit in the desert, he cannot be said to belong to the religious state, unless he is subject to some religious superior.

Religious orders grow up, like tender plants, in the midst of some diocese. By the bishop they are nursed, and fostered, and sheltered from attack, until they are strong enough to withstand resistance. Accordingly, to the bishop they become subject by reason of their origin. This subjection may be

exemptio alligari nequit; nam regulares exempti, licet ipsorum conventus quasi avulsi a diocesi dicantur, tamen non sunt vere avulsi, sive separati, sed potius intra diocesin siti, nisi agatur de monasteriis nullius. Insuper in casu hoc particulari, Episcopi gaudent jurisdictione in exemptos suae diocesis; ergo frustra invocatur generale privilegium exemptionis, cum generi per speciem fuerit derogatum.

The Canonist refers to a species of Exemption, which it may be well to explain. Stretching out a bishop's diocese as a sheet before us, we perceive that it is composed of two main elements—the area, and the population. If any portion of the area be removed, or torn away (*avulsus*) from the diocese, it cannot be said to belong to the diocese; and if a monastery be built thereon, that monastery may be said to be a *Monasterium nullius diocesis*. The Benedictine monastery of *Monte Cassino* was exempt in this way.

Nearly always, however, exemption touches not a portion of the area, but a portion of the population; and if that portion of the population have a monastery within the diocese, although it be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, yet it is not torn away from the diocese; or, as P. Franciscus Wernz would put it, *etsi sit quasi avulsus, tamen non est vere avulsus*.

¹ Cf. St. Thomas, ii.-ii. 186, 5.

of different kinds. Sometimes the bishop may not only be patron, but also religious superior; and while this state of things lasts the members of the community are subject to the bishop by a double bond—by the vow of obedience and by ecclesiastical law. Sometimes the bishop will be patron, but not religious superior; and then the members are bound under his jurisdiction only by ecclesiastical law. Lastly, sometimes the rules of the community rest on nothing higher than episcopal sanction: the bishop may alter or add to them as he deems fit. Now, while such is the state of the religious congregation, there can be no doubt with regard to diocesan proscription. As the whole institute is under episcopal supervision, so all the members are bound by episcopal proscription.

Matters, however, do not always remain that way. As the religious congregation grows in strength and size, the Holy See begins to cast its eyes on it. The rules of the institute are taken and examined, and after a time, perhaps, solemnly approved of. Episcopal jurisdiction over the congregation is thereby considerably restricted. Bishops are, in a certain way, the lieutenants of the Supreme Pontiff: they hold his place within limited areas. As long as the religious congregation rested merely on episcopal approbation, its management lay in the hands of the bishop. When there acceded the approbation of the Holy See, its management fell from his hands into the hands of the Supreme Pontiff. As much as the Holy See sets its seal on, it takes to itself. Before the approbation of the Holy See, bishops might have altered the rules of the institute as they thought prudent; after the approbation of the Holy See, they can no more interfere with them than an inferior officer can countermand the orders of the supreme commander. As officers, however, they can make the rounds, and see that the rules approved of by the Holy See are faithfully observed.

Although religious congregations are released from episcopal jurisdiction by reason of the approbation of the Holy See, yet they are not thereby completely released; the amount of release will be measured by the nature of the approbation and the amount of special privileges. At

present it would appear that there is no religious congregation entirely released from episcopal jurisdiction; for in the 4th, 24th, and 25th Sessions of the Council of Trent we read several cases in which regulars are bound under episcopal jurisdiction, and canonists have collected many more such cases from particular declarations of the Holy See. For instance, one author, Chockier, enumerates as many as one hundred and sixteen cases; and Barbosa, a canonist of well-known moderation, cites no less than fifty-two such cases, *and amongst them that regarding the publication and use of books.*¹

Now, to what shall we liken all this? The Church is as a mighty tree that has spread its branches far and wide. Rome is the core of this mighty tree, and from the Bishop of Rome all other bishops in the Church derive the plenitude of their jurisdiction, as the branches of a tree derive their life and nutriment from the trunk thereof. Religious congregations do not grow up as independent parts of the Church, nor do they spring from the heart of the tree; they spring from the boughs or the branches. Accordingly, under the jurisdiction of the bishop they exist at the outstart, and they are gradually released therefrom by the Holy See, in order to give scope and liberty to the development of the vital force within them.

Summing up, then, it would appear that all religious congregations are, by reason of their origin, subject to episcopal jurisdiction, except in so far as they have been expressly released therefrom by the Holy See; but they have not been expressly released as regards the publication and use of books. Therefore, it would seem that they are subject to diocesan proscription.

Apart, however, from considerations founded on the nature of general *exemption*, the opinion of P. Pennacchi is supported by positive legislation on the use and publication of books. The legislation we refer to is found in the 4th Session of the Council of Trent and in the present

¹ Cf. Ballerini, S.J., *Opus Magnum*, vol. vii., p. 29.

Leonine Constitution. We here place the different laws side by side :—

CON. TRID. : SESS. 4.

Sancta Synodus : decernit et statuit, ut posthac Sacra Scriptura, potissimum vero hæc ipsa et vetus Vulgata editio, quam emendatissime imprimatur : nullique liceat imprimere, vel imprimi facere, quosvis libros de rebus Sacris, sine nomine auctoris : neque illos in futurum vendere, aut *apud se retinere nisi primum examinati probatique fuerint ab Ordinario.*

Et si Regulares fuerint, ultra examinationem et probationem hujusmodi licentiam quoque a suis superioribus impetrare teneantur.

LEONINE RULES.

Rule 26 : omnes qui facultatem apostolicam consecuti sunt legendi et retinendi libros prohibitos, nequeunt ideo legere et retinere libros quoslibet, aut ephemerides, ab ordinariis locorum proscrip-tas, nisi eis in Apostolico Indulto facta fuerit potestas legendi et retinendi libros a quibuscumque damnatus.

Rule 36 : Regulares præter Episcopi licentiam, meminerint teneri se Sacri Tridentini decreto, operis in lucem edendi, facultatem a Praelato cui sub-jacent obtinere.

From a survey of those laws the strength of the case against the opinion of P. Vermeersch and l'Abbé Pèries, becomes at once apparent. Let us examine them one by one. The Council of Trent states that no one is to retain a book that has not been examined and approved of by the bishop ; and it expressly includes regulars. If, then, regulars are forbidden to read and retain books that have not the sanction and approval of a bishop, how can they be excused when there accedes his positive condemnation ? Is not condemnation more than non-approval ? If, therefore, non-approval can prevent regulars from reading and keeping certain books and newspapers, much more so proscription.

Again : in Rule 26 of the present Leonine Constitution, it is very clearly implied, that no one is to read books or newspapers proscribed by the local bishop, unless he has express permission to do so. Now, how can regulars be excluded from the universal term 'omnes' ? And if they be included, where is their express permission ?

Lastly : in Rule 36, it is stated that regulars are required to respect and seek episcopal approbation for any work they publish. Now, if they are required to seek his

approbation, they are at least expected to observe his proscription.

How, now, are we to solve the argument of P. Vermeersch and l'Abbé Pèries? *General exemption* may be viewed from two different standpoints. Viewed from one side, it appears to be a *positive entity*: a completely new state of things, arising from the fact, that jurisdiction over regulars has been poured completely from the hands of the bishops into the Holy See, just as if we emptied one vessel of water into another. This view of general exemption would seem to be justified by the tendency of canonists, to cite the cases in which regulars are subject to episcopal jurisdiction, and not the cases in which they are released, as well as by the *modus agendi* of the fathers of the Council of Trent. For if the jurisdiction of the bishops with regard to regulars was not at one time or another poured completely into the Holy See, would it not have been more natural and expedite for canonists to measure the amount that was poured out, rather than to go to such trouble in measuring the amount that has been allowed to remain? And if religious congregations are naturally subject to episcopal jurisdiction, would it not have been more scientific for the Holy Council to state the cases in which they are exempt therefrom than cite the cases in which they are subject thereunto? If we view general exemption from this side, it would appear that the opinion of P. Vermeersch, S.J., and l'Abbé Pèries, has, at least, some foundation to rest on.

General exemption, however, when viewed from another side, appears to be a *negative entity*. This view is justified:

1. By the form of the word itself. If the thing be not negative, why have got a negative term to express it?
2. By the simplicity of this view: for religious congregations were originally subject to episcopal jurisdiction. Would it not appear, then, that every degree of withdrawal therefrom is a subtraction from the original quantity of jurisdiction? Moreover, total withdrawal is an *historical fact*; historical facts are not to be admitted till proven with documentary evidence; and P. Vermeersch and l'Abbé Pèries will not be able to produce documentary evidence to prove that regulars

have been totally withdrawn from episcopal jurisdiction? 3. This view is tested and corroborated by the strong argument founded on the decree of the Council of Trent, and the Leonine Rules; for how can a correct conclusion be deduced from a premise, unless that premise itself be true?

Viewing *general exemption*, then, from this latter standpoint we may thus solve the argument of the Belgian and French commentators. In solving questions in moral theology—and indeed generally in judging any penal case—we are in justice bound to suppose at the outstart the penitent free; and we are to bind him, step by step, only as evidence is forthcoming; and the reason of this is, because his first state was immunity from sin, his second subjection to it. In the present question, however, the process is quite the reverse. Religious congregations were first subject to episcopal jurisdiction, and afterwards they were partially liberated. Accordingly, when any particular question arises, we are to suppose them subject to episcopal jurisdiction, unless there is positive proof to the contrary. That there is no such proof with regard to diocesan proscription, is manifest from the evidence of the Council of Trent, of the present rules of the Index, and of the canonist Barbosa.

7. Can religious superiors proscribe books on the members of their communities? P. Vermeersch, S.J., is of opinion that they can; for, speaking of the power of bishops to proscribe books and newspapers on their subjects, he writes:¹ ‘Eadem facultas ut patet, competit Praelato regulari quoad suos subditos.’ P. Pennacchi, however, deems it well to make a distinction. If there be question of proscription based on the rules of the Institute, and enforced through the vow of obedience, then it would appear that religious superiors have the said power. If, however, there be question of proscription based on the legislation of the Index, it would appear that they have no such power; because neither in the present Leonine Constitution, nor in the *Sollicita et Provida* of Benedict XIV., do we find the slightest trace of it.

¹ Page 29.

§ II.

In the second part of the present rule two cases are stated wherein the bishop is to refrain from proscription,—when the book requires a more than usually careful examination, and when the judgment of supreme authority is required in order that salutary effects may ensue. Attention, therefore, is called to the *examination* of the book, and to the *execution* of proscription. Sometimes it will be very difficult for a bishop to know whether a book really deserves proscription or not ; and sometimes, although it be as clear as noon-day that the book deserves condemnation, yet it may be doubtful whether good results could ensue from episcopal proscription or not ; in such cases the book is to be remitted to the judgment of the Holy See.

1. Many things may render it difficult to know whether a book is worthy of proscription or not. The proscription of a book or of a newspaper is, as it were, a practical conclusion deduced from the two premises of a syllogism. The major is obtained from the present legislation on the Index ; the book itself is to yield the minor ; we, ourselves, are to draw the conclusion. About the major premise there will generally be very little difficulty ; we can locate at once the rules and clauses under which the work falls, and make out their meaning. The minor, however, will not always be so easy ; a good deal of experience and of positive particular knowledge will be required, and a great many circumstances will have to be weighed and considered.

The judgment of a literary work may be compared to the solution of a moral question. Every question in moral theology is a deduction from a syllogism, the major of which is a speculative proposition, and the minor a practical one ; the conclusion, in consequence, will be practical, since :—*Pejorem sequitur semper conclusio partem*. The major lays down the end to be attained ; the minor specifies the means thereunto. The major is always founded on some dogmatic principle ; the minor on some moral precept, or on some positive legislation. Hence we may know the major premise with certainty ; about the minor there will occasionally be some doubts, because different minds will view particular

things in different ways, just as persons with different ranges of vision will see distant objects with greater or less distinctness. Furthermore: in moral theology we are not to exact that certainty which is required in dogma; we are men, and we must live and act as men. As we are not expected to see distant objects with the naked eye as clearly as with a telescope; nor to perceive tiny things as distinctly as with a microscope, so we are not expected by Almighty God to discern between good and evil in particular things, with the delicacy and precision of pure spirits, but only in accordance with the moral perception with which He has endowed us; and thus it is that in morals probability becomes the rule of life.

Now: as no one can solve a moral question who is not acquainted in some way with the *ends* of human actions, so no one may justly pronounce a literary work worthy of proscription, who is not in some way acquainted with the legislation on the Index.

Again: just as an easy question in moral theology may be solved by anyone acquainted with the general principles of dogma, so some books may at once be perceived worthy of proscription even from a superficial knowledge of the present legislation on the Index. Finally, as a difficult question in moral theology will require for solution a great deal of positive information, and a great deal of experience; so the examination of a book will occasionally demand a great deal of experience in the management of the Index, and a great deal of positive knowledge about the matters treated in the book, and of the manner of treatment. In order to obviate the danger of unjust condemnation, the book in such a case is to be forwarded to the Holy See, *quia nimirum subtilius examen exigit*.

Even after having come to a decision regarding the bad character of the literary work, the *execution* of the proscription is to be furthermore considered. It may sometimes happen, that proscription would bring no good fruits, although it be as clear as noon-day that the work deserves proscription. Recurring to our former simile for illustration: it is not enough for the moral theologian to have arrived at

a correct conclusion as to the goodness or the badness of a certain mode of action : he must, furthermore, determine the means of making his conclusion practical, and suitable to the circumstances of daily life. In order to do this he must be both *cautious* and *circumspect* : he must be circumspect in making his conclusion square with all the surrounding circumstances ; and he must be cautious, lest more harm than good result from the application of his conclusion. If he be not circumspect, he may be like the painter that would paint a palm-tree in the midst of the waves, or the poet that would describe a shoal of dolphins as playing among the green groves ; and if he be not cautious, he may be like the husbandman that would go forth to weed the cornfield, and tear up the good wheat with the cockle.

Now, although it be quite clear that a book be deserving of proscription, yet in executing that proscription one would require to be both cautious and circumspect ; he would require to be cautious lest more harm than good result from his proscription ; and he would require to be circumspect in taking account of all the surrounding circumstances. If he be in doubt that happy results may not follow his proscription, he is to remit the work to the Holy See, in order that it be condemned by the voice of the Supreme Pontiff, and happy results thereby ensue.

This ends the rules of Title I.

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

THE MASONIC PERSECUTION IN MEXICO

IN the paper on 'Freemasonry and the Church in Latin America'¹ there was room for only a passing allusion to Mexico, and yet the trials of the Church in that country form one of the most eventful pages of contemporary history. In 1821, under its last Viceroy, Don Juan O'Donoju, Mexico revolted from Spain, and has never since long enjoyed the blessings of just and stable government. From the first, two parties were formed, the Conservative and the Liberal; the leaders of the latter, though always influenced by Masonic ideas, never felt strong enough to declare themselves openly until about forty years ago, when President Comonfort, in 1857, proclaimed a thoroughly Masonic constitution. He fell in 1858, and was succeeded after a year's anarchy by Jaurez, a pure Indian, who fought his way, as usual, to the seat of power. As Chief Justice under Comonfort he had co-operated in the work of the new constitution, and resolved now, at all hazards, to enforce it to the letter. Wherever the Liberals prevailed church property was seized, religious communities were dispersed, nuns were expelled from their convents, and this often at dead of night; priests were held to ransom, or placed in the front ranks in red shirts armed with muskets, or burned alive. English writers on modern Mexico hardly allude to these doings of the 'brethren,' or if they do so at all it is only to palliate them, as we see in the volume, *Mexico of the 'Story of the Nations.'* In this volume (2nd edition, 1897), otherwise so moderate and free from offensive bigotry, the only blame administered is reserved for the bishops for their unwillingness to be plundered. There is not a word of blame for those who had driven hundreds of cloistered nuns from their convents, and cast them on the world to beg their bread.

¹ I. E. RECORD, July, 1899.

Men capable of such deeds were not likely to respect even private property. In 1862, France, Spain, and England, demanded in vain compensation for their subjects, and had at last to send a combined armed force. The empire lasted from 1863 to 1867, when Juarez resumed the presidency; and from this date the persecution has never ceased. He died of apoplexy, in 1872. He had banished all the bishops, suppressed all the religious orders, closed all the seminaries, expelled all the nuns, hunted the priests like wild beasts, and confiscated every atom of church property on which he could lay his hands; this amounted, according to the new *Encyclopedia Britannica*, to £75,000,000, and a third of the land of the country.¹ The *Encyclopedia* has not a word of blame for all this savagery, and the English press never said much about it: another instance of the benevolent silence extended to foreign Masonry.

It will be asked, if the Mexicans be true Catholics, how did they permit all this? Well, the Conservatives did their best to prevent it, but failed, as we did against Cromwell. And good reason they had; for, apart from all religious interests, confiscation, exile, and even death itself awaited the best families in the country. But the population, even in 1893, was only 12,000,000, dispersed over a territory equal to more than one-half of Europe. It is easy to see how a dictator can tyrannize over such a country if he can only manage to seize the helm of the state. We must also remember that the population is not homogeneous; whites, 19 per cent.; Mestizos, 43 per cent.; Indians, 38 per cent. There are only 10,000 negroes, as slavery did not exist in this country. The Aztecs were a superior race, and were treated like the serfs and vassals of Europe at the same period; they are now in every way the peers of their old

¹ The State gained very little by all this: it was squandered in the execution, seized by the 'brethren' and their followers, as in Italy, and paid to England and the United States for loans advanced to the various revolutionary governments. The United States lent 25,000,000 dollars to Juarez, in 1862. All these loans, up to 1868, were unproductive. Since then English and American money has built railways, &c., which the Church property was to do. Deputies get 3,000 dollars each.

masters, and have given Presidents to the Republic. When shall we see an Indian President at Washington?

Juarez left the Church of Mexico as prostrate and desolate as Cromwell had left our own; but Masonry was not satisfied, the lodges began at once to call for a penal code. The 'brethren' had shared largely in the plunder, and dreaded above all things a religious revival. This agitation went on for two years in the Masonic press, until at last, in 1874, a penal code elaborated in the lodges, was presented to congress. The debates began in November, and lasted to the 8th of December, for there were even Masons who questioned the prudence of some of its forty articles. The twentieth, which aimed at the only communities—the hospital sisters—still remaining after the general wreck, was hotly debated in several sittings, and from words the legislators came to blows. The people filled the galleries day after day in a menacing attitude, for these sisters were extremely popular. When a deputy protested his honourable motives, and appealed to those who knew him, the gallery answered, 'Yes, we know you for a drunkard.' When a moderate deputy pleaded for the twelve thousand children in the schools of these sisters, a fanatic shouted, 'Yes, this is their chief crime.' And so it really was in the eyes of these impious men whose hatred of Christian education was intensified by the consciousness that it might imperil their title to confiscated property. One of them exclaimed, 'If we permit this, all our work will be undone before ten years.' On the 3rd of December, a deputy named Don Juan Baz made a furious speech against the poor sisters, and next day a caricature appeared in which he was photographed to the life with his musket pointed at two sisters, one of whom was caring a patient, the other teaching a child to read. Angry protests arrived from every city in the Republic, deputies were accused of treason to their constituents, the crowds about the chambers became every day more menacing, until at last these apostles of liberty turned out the people on the 8th of December, filled the streets with soldiers, closed their doors, and in the dead of night voted an infamous penal code which still disgraces the statue-book of Catholic Mexico.

It is a unique specimen of hypocrisy and tyranny, as the reader can easily see from a few of its enactments :—

The liberty of worship is hereby ratified, but it can be exercised only within the temples, and under the inspection of the police. An agent of the government shall specially superintend the services of every kind. His jurisdiction shall give him the right to silence the preacher if he remarks anything deserving censure.

It is prohibited to exhibit in public any symbol of religion.

The prohibitions against all religious communities are hereby renewed; whether their vows be solemn or simple, perpetual or temporary; and no matter what may be the end of their institute, or whether they are subject to one superior or to more than one, for all this is contrary to personal liberty. No religious costume shall be tolerated, for it wounds liberty of conscience.

Should anyone bound by vow obey a superior, even though they do not live in community, that superior shall incur the penalty which his crime deserves.

The right of association is hereby renewed and ensured to all the citizens of the Republic.

It is easy to imagine the feelings of indignation and shame which this infamous code aroused in the minds of all true Mexicans; the following protest will give some idea of it. It appeared immediately in all the papers, and received daily, whole columns of adhesions.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE REPUBLIC

Gentlemen, the Catholic women of your nation venture to address your august assembly, making use of the privilege graciously accorded by your predecessors who, however, reserved to themselves the right to disregard the complaints of the oppressed should they happen to be expressed too strongly or with too much truth. We know that we shall not be heard, for party spirit sees nothing, hears nothing but the Masonic watchword which must be obeyed, were it even to consume the world. We shall, however, raise our voices to make known the true sentiments of the people. We do not want the whole world to attribute to our good and persecuted nation the infamies of representatives who have betrayed it. We want also to confess our faith and assuage our indignation. By what right do you seize our churches, despoil our priests, and demolish our holiest institutions? Even that collection of trash which you call a *constitution* does not authorise this. You proclaim liberty, and

hunt down the ministers of God ; you preach independence, and enslave the Church ; you give liberty of association, and banish four hundred Mexican ladies guilty of the unpardonable crime of associating for the care of the afflicted.

Gentlemen, you are worthy of the Masonry to which you have sworn obedience, and it may be proud of you ; but the anathemas of the Church overwhelm you, the people curse you, and every decent member of society abhors you. For you have left many a family without bread, thousands of orphans without mothers, whole populations without teachers, hundreds of sick without care, and an immense number of unfortunates without consolation or resource. You have saddened the hearts of all honest people, spread grief and desolation in the bosom of families, and caused them to shed bitter tears, equal to the libations of your ignoble feasts. You have insulted the public opinion of which you pretend to be the organs, and excited the indignation of the people by turning against them your cannons ; and on coming out from your brutal session you have gone to wallow in beastly orgies to celebrate your infamous triumph, like Nero at the burning of Rome. We declare, in the face of the whole world, that the man who thus abuses his mission is a traitor ; that he who thus outrages and insults our sex is a vile and impudent wretch ; and that he who votes such laws against the religion of his fathers may be the deputy of the lodges, but not of the Mexican people. As we see that men who still call themselves Christians tremble before you, we women bind ourselves by a solemn vow to resist to the death the impious laws of our modern Julians, and to obey our pastors, whether they address us from the pulpit, the land of exile, or the scaffold. We promise never more to recognise as spouses, sons, or brothers the men who have taken part in this iniquitous business, and we are ready to suffer with joy every persecution which this protest may bring upon us. We request the Catholic journals to publish our protest, with the names of all the Mexican ladies who may send in their adhesions. We shall be only too glad if the organs of impiety reproduce it, even in mockery, in order that the whole world may learn how the tyranny which sets itself up for law earns the reprobation of all honest people.

The treason here so often alluded to is the plague of all those countries. Freemasons get elected under false pretences, and then, without shame or scruple, betray their constituents. In this way a civil marriage law was recently enacted in Peru, in spite of the protests of the whole country and of the Prime Minister, Alejandro Romana, who resigned his office rather than sign this Masonic law.

And yet, according to the latest statistics in the *Masonic Token*, there are only twenty-six lodges in Peru, against two hundred and forty-five in Mexico, one hundred and eleven in Brazil, and four hundred and seventy-six in France. It is a singular fact that the power of Masonry, where the lodges are select and few, is greater than where they are more numerous in proportion to population. There are one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four lodges in England, and three hundred and ninety-six in Ireland, against twenty in Belgium, and seventy in Portugal.

As the English press seldom gives any Mexican news but what relates to the rise or fall of its stocks and shares, some readers who have heard of this terrible persecution may ask whether the Church still survives in the country. Well, I shall merely offer in reply a few authentic facts. Before this terrible persecution the hierarchy consisted of one archbishop and twelve bishops; it consists at present of five archbishops, and twenty-two bishops, thirteen of whom assisted at the Latin American council, opened at Rome, on the 28th of May. There was no provincial council held in Mexico since 1771; there have been five since 1894. To ensure the gradual extinction of the ministry, Juarez not only banished all the bishops, but confiscated the diocesan seminaries. Visitors to the city of Mexico will remember the splendid Hotel Gillow. Its history is connected with the seminaries. It was built for the archdiocese by Mr. Gillow, a Lancashire gentleman who had married a Mexican heiress; and was ready to be presented to the Archbishop when the confiscations began; seeing no chance of its being used for the purpose intended, Mr. Gillow sold it for an immense sum which, as we shall see, went to found a seminary for another archdiocese later on. His only son, heir to his immense fortune, is now Archbishop of Oaxaca (Antiquera) where he has built a seminary, a college, an hospital, and numerous schools. All the bishops have reopened or founded seminaries. To give an idea of the difficulties they had to overcome, one instance will suffice. The Bishop of Merida had a fine seminary, which the Government turned into municipal offices; he transferred

the students to a private house ; but in 1877, at midnight, they were turned into the street by the police, and the house was closed up. This was an act of illegal violence, but there was no use in appealing to a Masonic court which had been installed in his own seminary. Still, he did not give up ; he lodged the students in private families, and brought them daily to class in the cathedral ; after a time he took another house, and from that day to this his seminary has continued its work. I may remark, that the exiled bishops had returned under the empire, and for some reason or other were not again banished on its fall.

A special feature in Mexican piety is their extraordinary veneration for the Mother of God. Missionaries and dollars were poured into the country from the United States, and got churches, schools, and every kind of encouragement from the Masonic Government. They began by denouncing 'Mariolatry,' but soon found that they had begun at the wrong end. In their annual reports, not content with denouncing 'Mexican bigotry,' they complain, that only for the protection of the police their lives would be in danger, especially in the Indian villages. In their very last reports they confess that the Mexican mission is a complete failure. Even the very Masons who patronize them will not profess themselves converts to Protestantism.¹

The one thing on which Masonry relies for permanent results is godless education ; it is in such full operation in Mexico that no one can open even a private school without using the Government class books. They have endeavoured to make Catholic schools and colleges impossible by the law against religious communities ; and yet their godless education is everywhere confronted by Catholic schools and colleges. The laity, so long accustomed to have everything done for them out of the wealth of the Church, have nobly done their duty in this most vital emergency.

¹ The *Story of the Nations* is very reticent on this point ; it merely says (p. 414) : 'Since 1868 a movement in favour of the Protestant Episcopal Church has increased to one of importance. Other Protestant denominations maintain missions in different parts of the country. There is still a wide field open in Mexico for teaching the natives of Anahuac the simple tenets of the religion of Christ.'

Missions were, in the best of times, absolutely necessary in Mexico ; and this was thoroughly understood in the lodges. Scattered over immense areas, the villagers were often whole years without seeing a priest. But they were full of faith, and came immense distances to hear the word of God and receive the sacraments when the missionaries came among them. All this was gall and wormwood to the Masons, who often endeavoured to put a stop to it by fanatical harangues and open violence. They at last thought to dry up the source by completely dispersing the religious. But here again their malice was defeated. The dispersed religious,¹ and even secular priests, continued the missions even at the risk of their lives, and the faith of the people rose to the occasion. There was no law against these individual missions, but the 'brethren' found means to make up for this. Bandits, calling themselves Liberals, got a free hand ; not daring to attack the *Padres* during the missions, they lay in wait for them, brought them off to their lairs, held them to *plagiar* (ransom), and subjected them to every species of indignity and hardship until the stipulated sum was paid. When the reader learns that the missions were continued in face of this satanic violence, he can form some idea of the temper of the clergy and people in Mexico. For the past twenty years this Masonic violence has ceased, and these missions are more flourishing than ever.

Masonry established the liberty of the press chiefly to calumniate the Church and corrupt public morals ; well, in 1870, two Catholic associations—one of ladies, the other of gentlemen—arose as if by magic, and had at once thousands of members ; their object is to combat impiety, and sustain the Church by means of the press and every other legal

¹ *The Story of the Nations* tells us, (page 418), that, with the exception of the Jesuits, they were allowed to remain in the country as individuals. In justice to Juarez, we must observe that he had recourse to no Tudor hypocrisy of 'correcting abuses' ; it was all a pure stand-and-deliver business from first to last. It was not a mere *disestablishment* such as we have seen in our own time in Ireland. The exception against the Jesuits is another instance of Masonic unity of principle and conduct all the world over. And yet English Masonry pretends to have no responsibility for the fanatical, or even the atheistical doings of its foreign brethren.

weapon. It is to the Catholic press worked by these associations we owe our knowledge of the savage deeds of Masonry in those days.

I have now before me a letter written by a priest who saw Mexico from end to end in 1880. He says :—

I arrived under the full conviction that piety had been extinguished, and the work of the Church made impossible. But I soon found out my mistake. To my astonishment I found an extraordinary spirit of religion and piety in all classes of society. All external manifestations are prohibited, and the Church is no longer able to give the old *eclat* to her solemnities ; but this has only served to develop interior piety more and more. One sees every day religious festivals at which the faithful assist in great numbers and with evident fervour. In the capital the Forty Hours are kept during the whole year ; retreats for men and women are frequent and attended by immense numbers. Many fervent Christians discipline themselves even unto blood to appease the wrath of God. The priests diligently and courageously preach the word of God ; numerous members are enrolled in the various confraternities ; the conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, and the Ladies of Charity, labour with boundless zeal to multiply the Catholic schools. The Children of Mary abound, constantly wearing their blue ribbon, and exercise immense influence.¹ The attendance at daily Mass, the anxiety to hear the word of God, and the number of daily communicants, are striking features in this great capital. On the feast of the Assumption, without any special invitation, there were more than twelve thousand communions at the cathedral, and, at least, fifty thousand in the city, And who furnishes on great feasts those rich ornaments, those tapestries of silk velvet with gold lace, which cover the walls, those countless wax lights, this exquisite music ? The faithful people for whom the Church used to provide all this before the Masonic spoliations. I heard of one sacristan who had for such purposes received donations to the amount of two thousand pounds.

These facts bring us down to 1880. Since then, for one reason or another, moderate counsels have prevailed ; stable government and some sort of legality have continued. The Church, though crippled in every way, has made good use of

¹ After the enactment of the penal code in 1874, the authorities made war upon this blue ribbon, but it is quite clear that the ladies soon defeated them, for in 1880 they gloried in wearing their ribbon everywhere and at all times.

the little liberty left to her.¹ By the merciless suppression of all her religious communities and the strict prohibition of new ones, Masonry has tied up her right arm. Who is to conduct the seminaries and colleges? Who is to continue the missions? Who is to conduct the Catholic primary schools? Who is to give a Christian education to the girls of the middle and upper classes? Who is to manage in a Christian spirit the orphanages, industrial schools, reformatories, &c.

But why do not these earnest Catholics strive to repeal this Masonic code? Alas! it is much easier to enact such laws than to repeal them. Proud men do not like going to Canossa. The Centre is the strongest party in the German Reichsrath, and now occupies the presidency, and yet it has not repealed the May laws; it could easily do so by blocking necessary legislation; but it is too patriotic for this; they prefer to practise a little patience and bide their time. This is exactly the attitude of Mexican Catholics. The country is slowly recovering from nearly a century of revolutions, the latest in 1877; Masonry has no patriotism, and would require only a slight pretext to disturb this much-needed peace—the longest which the Republic has ever known. Rather than furnish them with a pretext the Catholics prefer to bide their time, using meanwhile the liberty allowed them. The President, Porfirio Diaz, now in his fourth term, is a moderate man; the Vatican is represented by an Apostolic Delegate; and there is no disposition to strain the law, as was done in 1874, against the ribbons of the Children of Mary. The greatest injury inflicted at present by this penal code is the impossibility of employing communities of any kind; they could do nothing with such a code hanging over them. The President's fourth term expires in 1901; he will

¹ *The Story of the Nations* (p. 413) says: 'In any of the smaller cities and towns the parish priest, almost without exception, is a worthy and faithful *cura*, of devout and godly reputation and leading among his flock a simple life, wholly occupied in ministering to his charge according to the best of his abilities. Since the enactment of the laws of the reform there is nothing to tempt men to adopt their calling, but their love of God and genuine interest in the welfare of their parish, often composed for the most part of ignorant Indians.'

then be in his seventy-first year, and who or what his successor may be no one could safely predict for such a country. As a Liberal he took part in every revolution of his time, and this is his chief claim to popularity with his party. Though Republican in theory, the Government is very personal in practice. Juarez and Diaz, of the same race, differed much in their ideas of government, as we have seen.

The writer on Mexico, in the *Story of the Nations* tells us,¹

The general testimony of such observers as civil engineers, telegraph men, and others who in the development of the resources of the country have penetrated remote parts of it, is that the native Mexican is peaceful and quiet in disposition, leading a domestic life with his faithful wife, fond of his children, and diligently toiling to support his family.

We may be sure that such people are the victims, not the authors, of revolutions. The same writer tells us,² 'that in 1880, for the second time in the history of the Republic the retiring President gave over his office to his legally elected successor.' Porfirio Diaz has been thrice peacefully installed since then; should a new revolution break out in 1901, the reader will know where to locate the blame: it will be the work of some ambitious soldier of fortune trained in the Masonic lodges.

P. BURTON.

¹ Page 415

² Page 398.

DOCUMENTS

MAY A BISHOP YIELD HIS THRONE TO ANOTHER

DECRETUM QUOAD DUBIUM AN EPISCOPUS DIOECESANUS IURE
FRUATUR CEDENDI THRONUM SUUM ALTERI EPISCOPO ETC.

Quum tanta commeandi ac itinerum suscipiendorum et perficiendorum facilitas illud etiam commodi attulerit, ut Episcopi diversarum Dioecesium saepius conveniant, sive ad festum aliquod solemnitus agendum, sive ad coetus episcopales celebrandos, quaesitum est : utrum liceat Episcopo Dioecetano thronum suum alteri Episcopo cedere. Hinc Sacra Rituum Congregatio quaestionem super hac throni cessione sibi pluries delatam, studiose pertractare opportunum duxit. Quare ab Eñño ac Rño Dño Cardinali Andrea Steinhuber Relatore, in Ordinariis comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, propositum fuit dubium : ' An Episcopus Dioecetanus gaudeat iure cedendi thronum suum alteri Episcopo cum Rñorum Canonicorum adsistentia sibi debita ? '

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate discussis atque perpensis, rescribendum censuit : *Affirmative*, dummodo Episcopus invitatus non sit ipsius Dioecetani Coadjutor, aut Auxiliaris aut Vicarius Generalis, aut etiam Dignitas seu Canonicus in illius Ecclesiis. Sicut autem Cardinales Episcopi Suburbicarii alique Titulares Ecclesiarum Urbis tantum Purpuratis Patribus thronum cedere possunt, ita Praesules Cardinales aliarum dioecesium decet ut suum thronum nonnisi aliis eadem Cardinalitia dignitate ornatis cedant. Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 12 Iunii, eodem anno.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

REQUIEM MASS WITH CHANT, ETC.

DECRETUM: DUBIUM QUOAD MISSAM EXEQUIALEM CUM CANTU ETC.

Instantibus aliquibus Parochis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium propositum fuit: 'An pro paupere defuncto, cuius familia impar est solvendi expensas Missae exequialis cum cantu, conceditur. Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque rite expensis, rescribendum censuit: *Affirmative*, seu permitti posse in casu Missam exequialem lectam, loco Missae cum cantu, dummodo in dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto non omittatur Missa officio diei currentis respondens. Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Pp. XIII. per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit. Die 12 Junii, eodem anno.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praefectus*.

L. ♣ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. *Secretarius*.

OCCURRENCE OF FEASTS

ROMANA DUBIUM QUOAD PRAECEDENTIAM IN OCCURRENTIA DUORUM FESTORUM ETC.

Hodiernus Parochus Ecclesiae S. Catharinae a Rota de Urbe a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentis dubii solutionem humillime flagitavit, nimirum: An festum fixum prae mobili et magis proprium prae minus proprio, quae duo festa in occurrentia, ceteris paribus, praecedentia pollent iuxta Rubricas generales Breviarii Tit. X. n. 6, eadem gaudeant praecedentia etiam in concurrentia?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate expensis, respondendum censuit:

Negative.

Atque ita rescripsit die 19 Maii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praef.*

L. ♣ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C., *Secret.*

VESPERS OF THE CHAPTER

CAURIEN. DUBIA QUOAD CONSUETUDINEM PERSOLVENDI VESPERAS
A CANONICIS

R. D. Vincentius Cosme, Sacerdos et Caeremoniarum Magister Ecclesiae Cathedralis Caurien. de consensu sui Rm̃i Ordinarii sequentium dubiorum solutionem a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime expostulavit, nimirum :

In Ecclesia Cathedrali Caurien. viget consuetudo persolvendi vespervas a Canonicis, cum cantu, etiam in duplicibus minoribus, semiduplicibus, simplicibus et feriis ; quam consuetudinem, iuxta Decretum in *Derthonen.* d.d. 22 Maii, 1841, ipsi servare tenentur ; sed cum in praedictis vespervis Celebrans est paratus, altare thurificatur et per statutum speciale eiusdem Ecclesiae assistunt due Beneficiati pluvialibus parati. Quaeritur :

I. An in Vesperis, ita persolvendis, servandum sit Caeremoniale Episcoporum ?

II. An attenta consuetudine, Celebrans possit manere in habitu choralis usque ad Capitulum, et tunc tantum assumere pluviale ?

III. An praedicti pluvialistae assistere debeant Celebranti thurificationem altaris facienti ?

IV. An si faciendae sunt commemorationes, persolvendae sint cum cantu propter uniformitatem ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. et IV. *Affirmative.*

Atque ita rescripsit die 19 Maii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praefectus.*

L. ✕ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C., *Secretarius.*

FUNERAL OF CANONS

DUBIA QUAE OCCURRUNT SAEPE IN EXEQUIIS

R. D. Emmanuel Martinez Garcia Caeremoniarum Magister Cathedralis Ecclesiae Gaditanae, de consensu sui Revm̃i Episcopi, sequentia dubia quae frequentur occurrunt in exequiis, Sacrae

Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione humillime exposuit, nimirum :

I. Cum sepeliendum est cadaver alicuius Canonici seu Beneficiati huius Cathedralis Ecclesiae Gaditanae, iuxta consuetudinem duae cruces praeferuntur in processione; una processionalis Ecclesiae Cathedralis, altera quae dicitur Capitularis. Quum autem Rituale Romanum tit. 6, cap 3, n. 1. dicat: 'clerico praeferente crucem,' quaeritur: Utrum tolerari possit haec consuetudo? et quatenus negative, quatenam ex dictis crucibus praeferenda sit?

II. Circa modum quo cadaver componendum est, inter alia praecipit Rituale tit. 5. cap. 8, n. 4: 'ac parva crux super pectus inter manus defuncti ponatur, aut ubi crux desit, manus in modum crucis componantur.' Quum autem in Dioecesi Gaditana et in aliis eiusdem regionis adsit consuetudo ponendi inter manus defuncti (si fuerit sacerdos) non parvam crucem, sed potius calicem qui aliquando solet esse argenteus, et ad Missae celebrationem assignatus, quaeritur: Permitti potest haec praxis?

III. Circa translationem cadaveris e domo in coemeterium omnes docent deferendum esse pedibus versus ulterius, si laicus fuerit defunctus; sin autem clericus, non omnes conveniunt. Aliqui auctores docent in hoc postremo casu cadaver esse deferendum pedibus retro, et huic opinioni favet praxis, in aliquibus locis servata, deferendi clericorum cadavera capite versus ulterius. Etiam textus Ritualis congruere videtur huic sententiae dum asserit: 'presbyteri vero habeant caput versus altare:' tit 6, cap. 1, n. 17. Quaeritur ergo, utrum tenenda sit haec sententia et praxis?

IV. In Rituali tit. 6, cap. 3, n. 1 legitur: 'parocho praecedente feretrum': hoc non obstante, in civitate Gaditanao viget consuetudo, qua defunctus, si e clero cathedrali sit, defertur praecedens eum, qui officium sepulturae peragit, id est in medio eorum qui assistunt processioni. Estne toleranda haec consuetudo?

V. Quum Rituale dicat tit. 6, cap. 4, n. 4: 'lectiones leguntur tolerari potest consuetudo eas decantandi, praecipue vero si ita fiat a musicorum coetu, prout fit in Cathedrali Ecclesia Gaditana quoad primam et secundam lectionem?

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, attentis expositis, respondendum censuit:

Ad. I. quoad primam quaestionem: *Negative*; et quoad

alteram : *Crux Capitularis*, quae est etiam *Crux Ecclesiae Cathedralis*.

Ad II. *Affirmative*, dummodo calix adhibeatur quae Missae non inserviat.

Ad III. *Negative*, et cadaver cuiuscumque defuncti pedibus per viam deferatur : in Ecclesia autem quoad Sacerdotes servetur *Rituale Romanum*.

Ad IV. *Servetur Rituale Romanum*.

Ad V. *Affirmative*.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 8 Iunii 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secr.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. Auctore Bernard Tepe, S.J. Paris : Lethielleux.

THE student of moral theology generally finds in ordinary text-books two things unavoidably wanting. The one is a clear and reasoned statement of the general principles which the treatise applies to particular cases. It is impossible, with the mass of details which have to be discussed, to do more than lay down very briefly the principles which underlie the conclusions arrived at. To explain their ultimate reason, and the foundations on which they are based, is impossible, except in the most cursory fashion. The result of this is, that the student has constantly to be satisfied with a decision based simply on authority, without being able to see the process by which it is reached. The second deficiency of which he is conscious, as he pursues his study of moral theology, is the absence of a sufficient discussion of what we may call the positive side of the subject. The one idea which seems to run through every text-book is that of telling him all about the sins he is to avoid, without any exposition of the virtues that he is to practise. He is tempted to think that perhaps there is some sort of foundation for the charges brought by Protestants against Catholic text-books, that they dwell almost exclusively on the 'seamy' side of human nature, and appear to be looking out for every possible sin that a man may possibly commit, instead of bracing him up to virtue, and inculcating moral virtues, the presence of which necessarily exclude the sins against which he is so elaborately warned. The utter falsity of such a notion is indeed clear enough to everyone who has had sad experience of human frailty; and most priests will accuse their books of moral theology of giving them too little rather than too much instruction, in the almost innumerable varieties of sin to which poor human nature is exposed. But, at the same time, everyone must desiderate sometimes a book which will not make sins to be avoided its main subject, but which will dwell more largely on the pleasant prospect of virtues to be acquired, and points of perfection to be aimed at, and that may help the confessor in the more congenial task of leading on his penitents to the practice of those sweet

works of supererogation which those outside the Church so strangely misunderstand.

These two wants are admirably supplied by the book lately published by F. Tepe, whose many years of teaching at St. Beuno's College, N. Wales, have given him a grasp of theological principles of which he makes good use in the present volumes for the benefit of the student of moral theology. He makes no attempt to discuss any moral details, or to supply rules for the immediate solution of cases of casuistry ; but in his first volume he treats of the various aspects of human acts, the binding force of conscience, probabilism, and the ultimate sanction of laws, human and divine, ecclesiastical and civil, as well as the amount and character of the obligation they impose on conscience. It is easy to see how many interesting and important questions present themselves under these various heads, and what an excellent propaedeutic they form for one who is commencing the study of the details of moral theology.

In his second volume, after a preliminary discussion of the general nature of sin, and the distinction between mortal and venial sin, F. Tepe passes on to the loftier regions of the infused virtues, in general and in detail ; to the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit, and to the perfection aimed at in religious life. This volume is not merely a basis for moral action considered in detail. It is also a treatise of high spirituality, and suggests ideas and principles of a most practical nature. It supplies sound material for a series of meditations, and the preacher will find in it a treasure-house of valuable matter for sermons. We take by way of instance, the very first passage we light upon. It is a Scholion respecting the gift of Wisdom, and runs thus :—

Wisdom, as a gift of the Holy Spirit, is not only speculative, but also practical. The reason is that it does not rest on God merely as the object of our intellect, but considers Him also, as being infinitely good, infinitely beautiful, infinitely worthy of our love ; and thus it is of its own nature a means of attaining to true sanctity and to an intimate union with God. Hence, although it is essentially in the understanding, yet it has joined to it of necessity an act of the will, so that by this gift God is not only intimately known but also ardently loved. The contemplative life, says St. Thomas, although it essentially consists in an act of the intellect, yet has its source in the will, inasmuch as it is by charity that a man is led on to the contemplation of God. And since the end corresponds to the source, it follows that the end and object of the contemplative life has its being in the will,

when anyone takes delight in beholding the object of his love, and this delight intensifies his love of the object he beholds. Hence, Gregory says : that when anyone beholds one whom he loves, his love is kindled more towards the object he beholds. This is the perfection of the contemplative life, that the Divine Truth be not only seen, but also loved. (pages 296, 297.)

We recommend this book to all priests and students of theology, as one that will not only be a useful accompaniment of their theological studies, but most useful for spiritual reading, and for enabling them to make solid progress in the spiritual life.

THE KING'S MOTHER. By Lady Margaret Domville.
London : Burns and Oates, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

MRS. MARKHAM'S NIECES. By Francis Kershaw. London :
Burns and Oates, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

THE CHILD OF GOD. By Mother Mary Loyola London :
Burns and Oates, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

THE first volume at the head of this list is an appreciative and graceful sketch of a very interesting and very worthy English-woman. Henry VII. was a really great king, though his name is eclipsed by that of his saintly son, and it is no exaggeration to say that his mother, the Countess of Richmond, contributed largely to the formation of his character and the achievement of his successes. A loyal daughter of the Church, a generous benefactress of the poor, a munificent patroness of religion and of letters, 'her death,' in the words of Bishop Fisher, 'gave all England cause for weeping.' Cardinal Newman once intended to write her life, but the project was abandoned for reasons that have become historic. An essay by Miss Halsted and a memoir by Charles H. Cooper were the only attempts made hitherto in that direction. Lady Margaret Domville has at length done full justice to her memory. The mother of the first Tudor king could not have found a more sympathetic biographer.

Miss Kershaw's devotion to the cause of Catholic literature needs no proof to-day. To be sure her *Baby*, her *Little Snow-white*, and *Mrs. Markham's Nieces* have no pretence to any kind of greatness ; but they are pleasant, harmless reading, excellent in tone and aim, and they may be the forerunners of something destined to survive herself.

Mother Mary Loyola is already favourably known to readers of her *First Communion*. *The Child of God* is another children's book, characterized by the same liveliness of treatment and wealth of familiar illustration as its predecessor. A thoughtful preface from the pen of Fr. Thurston, S.J., graces the elegant volume. We believe there can scarcely be any need to recommend it to the favourable notice of Mother M. Loyola's sisters in religion; there could not be many books found more suitable for a convent library. It tells in a homely way what comes of our baptism; it interests the reader by dialogues, short stories, and interrogations; it develops the Catholic doctrine on the effects of baptism in a manner that renders its explanation to children an easy matter, and yet a befitting dignity of style is maintained throughout. It is altogether a useful and beautiful book, and will suit many 'children' who are no longer young in years.

E. N.

A DEAD MAN'S DIARY. By Coulson Kernahan. London: Ward, Locke & Co. Price 6d.

We confess to a feeling of sadness on laying down this six-penny booklet. It is so surpassingly beautiful in language; it bespeaks an imagination of so high an order; its moral tone is so high; its ideals so lofty; its religious sincerity so unmistakable, that one grieves to find them misspent in the cause of a Christianity that is fragmentary and inadequate. A Protestantism akin to Dean Farrar's runs through the book; and surely such a system can never generate what the author evidently yearns for—purity of life. May the kindly light of the true faith burst in mid-day effulgence on his soul, and secure his services for the dissemination of Catholic truth!

DIRECTOIRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT RELIGIEUX. Par l'Abbé Dementhon. Librairie Delhomme et Briguet. Paris. Prix 3 fr. 50 c.

In the introduction to this work the rev. author points out the inadequacy of the religious instruction given to the Catholic youth of France, and its consequent baneful and only too plainly visible effect on the French Church. In the work itself he explains his views with regard to the system of religious education that should be followed, and the organization that should be carried out. He insists on the fact that the knowledge of revealed truth that

would suffice for the labouring class, will not do for the educated ; the latter will necessarily come into contact with those who regard religion as the offspring of ignorance or deceit, or at best as a matter of perfect indifference. Finally, he points out the obligation of those responsible for the training of young people to have them so grounded in the principles of religion that they shall be able to answer current objections, and give a reason for the faith that is in them.

We think that, unfortunately, there are good grounds for believing that things are not much better here amongst us ; that those leaving our schools and colleges are not sufficiently trained to fight the battles that will have to be fought if their faith is to be kept bright and unsullied. On this account, as well as on account of the intrinsic good qualities of the book, we have great pleasure in recommending the Abbé Dementhon's work.

J. J. H.

THE HISTORY OF ENNISCORTHY. By H. H. Grattan Flood.

The History of Enniscorthy is an octavo volume of close on two hundred and fifty pages, and may be procured for the modest sum of three shillings and sixpence. Its author expresses a hope in his preface that his work will supply a long-felt want. Well, we think his hopes run a far better chance of being realized than those of many who use that time-worn expression. His history will be welcomed by those who take an interest in the fine old town of which he writes, or in the gallant stand in defence of their homesteads, the virtue of their women, and the free exercise of their religion made by the brave but ill-starred followers of the Fathers Murphy. He deserves to be congratulated on his painstaking research and strict impartiality. His style, though somewhat bald, is clear and strong.

J. J. H.

SAGESSE PRATIQUE. Par l'Abbé Collin. Libraire Delhomme et Brigue, Paris. Prix 3 fr. 50 c.

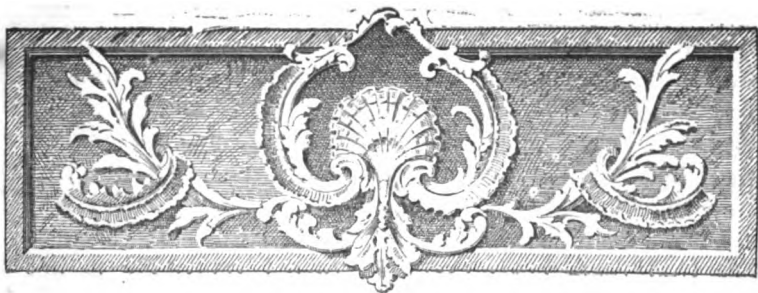
Sagesse Pratique is a translation of a German work written by R. P. Weiss, of the Order of St. Dominic. Though we have not seen the original, we venture to pronounce the translation a success, otherwise the language and idiom could not be so thoroughly French.

Sagesse Pratique is intended for the use of students in univer-

sities and colleges. It is a collection of essays written at different times, many of them in the sick-room. The essays may be divided into three groups. Those of the first group treat of the dogmas of the Catholic religion ; education under its many-sided aspects is discussed in the second ; in the third batch the author gives practical advice, and undertakes to teach the readers of his book 'how to get on.' The book is written in a quaint, old-world style. Though it contains nothing new, it puts things in a striking way.

We think it a pity that the publishers compressed the work into five hundred pages ; the print is trying on the eyes, and is not as good as is generally found in the publications of Messrs. Delhomme and Briguet.

J. J. H.



THE EXISTENCE OF EVIL

'In Dei administratione, multa a nobis nisi in obscuris ænigmatibus perspicui nequeunt; sive hac ratione arrogantiam nostram coercere velit; sive nos ad æterna revocare.'—*Greg. Nazianz. Orat 17 post. reconcil.*

PART I.—PHYSICAL EVIL

AMONG the various problems that come before us from time to time, to disturb and trouble our equanimity, one of the most formidable is, perhaps, the existence of evil. Generation after generation has to face this difficulty in turn, and it is very important that sound Catholic ideas should be formed on the subject, and that the faithful should not be led away by the false and dangerous theories of certain worldly-minded men.

Evil undoubtedly exists. It is all around us. Why does it exist? Why does not God exercise His omnipotence to stamp it out? Why does He not interfere when things are going wrong, and the innocent suffer even more than the guilty? Such questions are ever in men's minds, and any particularly sad and distressing event, such as an earthquake, an inundation, a war, or a pestilence, or even a serious conflagration, such as that of the bazaar at Paris a year or two ago, is enough to bring them to the surface. This difficulty forms one of the favourite topics of the atheist and the unbeliever. He will select some individual case that has especially struck him, and then proceed to enlarge upon it, and to weave together his poor but mischievous human theories. 'Look,' he will cry out, 'just look

at yon unfortunate cripple. See ; he was born into this world a mass of deformity. Never will he be able to walk, or run. His whole career is blighted. His life must ever be a miserable one, and devoid of all pleasure and enjoyment. Contemplate his state, and then tell me: why did God allow such a monstrosity to be created? Do you say that God is good? Will you seek to excuse Him? If you urge that God *could* not prevent it, then I reply, He is not almighty; and if not almighty, then not God at all. Or do you prefer to say that He might have prevented it, and could have arranged things differently, but would not? Well, then I declare, if God could easily have prevented it, and He nevertheless refused to do so, He is neither good nor merciful, nor even just; and if not good nor just—then not God at all; and I, for one, will not believe in Him.'

Some little time ago chance brought me into contact with a young lady whose mother was lying seriously ill. The daughter was naturally in the deepest grief. She had no brothers or sisters. Her father died when she was a child, and her mother was, to use her own words, 'the only true friend she had in the world.' The poor girl felt she could not live without her. Accordingly, she prayed, and prayed, and prayed that God would spare the life she held so dear. But, in spite of all her entreaties, the disease ran its ordinary course; and, finally, the mother breathed out her last. Then the girl arose from her knees, and, in a fit of passionate vexation and disappointment, declared with many a bitter oath, that she neither would nor could believe any longer in the existence of a good and merciful God.

This attitude of mind is not only very awful and very sinful, but it is also most foolish and unreasonable, and indicative of excessive pride and presumption; yet similar expressions may be heard, again and again, from the lips not only of unbelievers, but even of some unthinking and foolish Christians. It may be well to make some considerations on this subject without further preamble. We will begin, then, by observing that—

1. It is the acme of conceit and stupidity for ignorance

- to attempt to sit in judgment on the acts and decisions of Infinite Wisdom.

2. When reason itself supplied us with innumerable and irrefragable proofs of God's goodness and love, it is absurd to set aside and to ignore all these proofs on the very first difficulty that presents itself.

3. We look over the earth, and we behold many things which strike us as cruel, wrong, inconsiderate, and unjust, and we may, in our folly, dare to blame and censure the great Ruler of the universe; yet this can be ascribed solely to our imperfect and partial knowledge. It is absolutely certain that could we see the *whole* of God's plan, and could we read, as God reads not merely the immediate, but also the ultimate consequences of things, our difficulties would disappear. Yes, were it possible for us to gaze, as He gazes, into the infinite future, and to tell, as He can tell, precisely how the present will affect that future, and how every individual event and circumstance works out and fits in with every other, according to one great symmetrical plan, we should at once realize and perceive that whatever God does is good; that whatsoever He permits is permitted for some wise, beneficent, and loving purpose; and that often His highest and greatest favours come to us in disguise; yea, that not unfrequently He is most kind and most considerate precisely in those things in which He appears to be the harshest and the most cruel. When Joseph was sold into Egypt by his own brethren, who would have imagined that that was in reality the first step in the process of his exaltation as ruler of Egypt and chief magistrate and official of the king?

But from these general considerations we will pass to a more detailed exposition of our subject. Evil. What is evil? In its widest sense I take it to be whatever hinders or interferes with justice, truth, order, comfort, happiness, and the general harmony and perfection of existence.

From this definition, it is clear that there are two distinct kinds of evil, viz, physical and moral. By physical evil we mean all that interferes with our physical and material well-being, such as poverty, sickness, disease, hunger, thirst,

hard and painful work, the loss of friends, of property, of reputation, old age, and, of course, death. In this paper we will confine ourselves to the consideration of physical evil. The question of moral evil we will, with the editor's permission, deal with at a future time.

The question, then, before us is : Does the presence of physical evil in the world really indicate any want of perfect goodness on the part of the Supreme Being who rules our destinies? To answer this query, we must begin by striving to see things from God's point of view, and in so far as it is possible, with God's own eyes. We must set clearly before us the divine purpose and intention. If this world were the only world, and if this life were the only life, we might find some difficulty in joining issue with the atheist and the scoffer. But so soon as we realize that this present and momentary existence is but a prelude to, and a preparation for another, and an eternal one, and that the whole purpose of God's Providence is to fit and dispose us for that other, our difficulties lose their force, and grow weaker and weaker, until, at last, what we call physical evil is found to be, in sober truth, no evil at all. It is admitted by every theologian, that moral excellence and moral worth, or, in other words, the existence, expansion, and promulgation of supernatural virtue, is of immeasurably greater importance than mere mental and bodily comfort, and physical perfection, whether of the individual or of the race. To grow rich in grace, in sanctity, and in merit, is infinitely preferable to any advance in material wealth. Consequently, God by reason of His very goodness, will often sacrifice a man's physical interests for the sake of his spiritual interests. To preserve what is higher and better, He will lovingly allow him to be deprived of what is lower and of less value. That is to say, God permits physical evil, in order that He may promote and increase the sum of moral good. Hence, so far from being shocked at the sight of physical evil around us, we should be filled with admiration at the thought that God can, and actually does, draw so much good of a higher and more permanent kind out of evil itself.

Let me state the case thus :—(1) God is infinitely good.

(2) Because of His goodness He sincerely desires for His creatures the highest good of which they are capable. (3) Consequently, He will desire both their physical and their moral good, in so far, be it always understood, as the one is compatible with the other. (4) Where they conflict He will obviously prefer the higher to the lower. Hence, since their moral good is as much above their purely physical good as eternity is above time, and as heaven is above earth, He will in thousands of instances manifest, by external acts, His preference for the former over the latter. In fact, where He foresees that their moral good may be increased and advanced by the whole or partial withdrawal of their worldly prosperity or bodily health, it would be but in accordance with His known goodness and love were He to deprive them of the lesser for the sake of the greater. Perhaps my meaning may be best illustrated by means of the following touching incident which came to my knowledge a few years ago.

An Australian gold digger, after years of successful digging in the goldfields, was returning home with his prize when a terrific storm arose. After some hours the ship foundered, and he found himself amid the waves struggling for dear life. Around his waste was a belt full of golden nuggets, the hard-earned fruit of years of toil. He soon became convinced that he could never hold out, nor reach the shore with this dead weight clinging to him and dragging him down. The gold was indeed precious—yes, most precious. But his life? Ah! That was immeasurably more precious still. Well he understood, in that extreme moment, the wisdom of sacrificing the less for the sake of the greater. In an agony of regret he loosened the leather belt, and let it sink to lie with rock and shell, and, utterly ruined and penniless, reached a place of safety. It was not that he prized the nuggets less; it was simply that he prized his life far more.

In a similar manner, temporal blessings may often imperil our spiritual life; and in a similar loving regard for our safety, God may do for us what we have not the courage to do for ourselves, and deprive us of temporal gifts or the

sake of the eternal. Who shall say how many souls have been rendered capable of reaching the bright and glorious shores of heaven solely because God has caused them to be deprived of certain temporal and worldly goods, which, clinging to them and filling their hearts, would have dragged them down to hell.

Such a Providence is, surely, no mark of severity or cruelty, but rather of fatherly kindness and solicitude. Yet it goes far to answer the objections we are now occupied with. Instead of dealing with the matter in the abstract, we will select a specific example from the inspired pages of Holy Scripture, and then the unassailable nature of God's position may, perhaps, be more readily grasped. 'There was a certain man,' the Bible informs us, 'in the land of Huss, whose name was Job. He was simple and upright, and fearing God, and avoiding evil.' Now let us here pause to put to ourselves the question: How should we be inclined to treat such a person, if we had the disposal of his fortune? An ordinary man of the world would, probably, argue somewhat after this fashion: Here is a truly good and holy man; one distinctly above the average; a man of God, remarkable for his piety, uprightness, and sanctity of life. Surely we must reward such fidelity by protecting him from evil, preserving his herds and flocks, giving him health and happiness, and making him secure in his possessions. Yes, that is the view of the ordinary critic of Divine Providence. But it was not God's view. In fact, God's view was diametrically opposite. And how comes it that God's plans and purposes are often so opposite to ours, and so unintelligible to us? Is it because we are wiser, or holier, or more generous and loving? No, just the reverse. God acts so differently, because He is what He is, that is to say, the infinitely holy, the infinitely wise, and the infinitely loving.

No mother ever looked down upon her only child with half the tenderness and love with which God looked down upon Job. He contemplated his virtue, and rejoiced at it. He

¹ Job i.

saw within him the makings of a great saint. And, if we may express ourselves in a human way, God mused within Himself: 'I will reward this man. He is holy now, but I will raise him up to a yet higher degree of holiness; I will so chasten his virtue in the furnace of affliction, that it will glow with a splendour and a beauty all its own.' Patience and conformity to God's will are always good. But patience under trial and misfortune, and bitter temptation is a very different thing to patience when all is done according to our desires, and when the world smiles and blesses us. Conformity to God's will is, in very truth, the essence of perfection, and the very root and foundation of all sanctity. But, again, let me point out, conformity to God's will in seasons of pain, and humiliation, and poverty, and disease is one thing, and conformity when all is favouring and flattering us is quite another.

Hence God, out of His very love for Job, and because He wished to place him for ever in the very front rank of His chosen servants, and to make him one of the princes of His people, allowed the severest trials and sufferings to come upon him, according to the principle laid down by St. Paul: 'Whom the Lord loveth, He chastiseth.'¹ His servants were put to the sword; his children were slain, his sheep and oxen were destroyed, his barns and houses were burned down, and he was, in an incredibly short time reduced to a state of abject poverty and misery. Nor was this all. His own body became the seat of disease and loathsome sores. Ulcers and pustules and boils were formed upon his flesh, and covered him from the top of his head to the soles of his feet; so that, at last he sat on the top of a dung-hill, the picture of sadness and desolation, like one abandoned by God and man; while with a potsherd he scraped the corrupted matter from his gaping sores.

In this figure of misery and misfortune the sapient fault-finders of to-day would probably discern nothing but another startling example of evil, and of cruelty and injustice on the

¹ Heb. xii. 6.

part of Almighty God, for they are spiritually blind, and cannot read God's thoughts. Yet, they would be altogether mistaken.

The virtue of Job, under such difficulties increased and developed, and rose far above the level of common virtue, into the regions of the sublime. Who indeed can measure the moral attitude in which *he* lives, who amid extreme suffering and humiliation, is able to reproach the scoffers of God's providence, and to justify God's action, saying: 'If we have received good things at the hand of God, why should we not receive evil?'¹ Yea, who can even bless and praise God while His hand is actually laid heavy upon him? 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord.'²

Who, contemplating this picture, can refuse to acknowledge the exalted nature of Job's sanctity? Who can doubt of the splendour of the reward he is now enjoying? But to what is it owing? To what circumstances are we to ascribe it? Surely, to the very fact, of which men are so ready to complain, that God allows physical evil and disaster to come upon even those who are most near and dear to Him.

And God's goodness, which is abundantly vindicated and evident in this case, is equally certain in cases where the proofs of it are not so manifest and conspicuous. Men may, of course, frustrate the designs of God by the evil exercise of their free will, and may allow misfortunes to harden and embitter them—that is their own fault; but if they choose to make a proper use of such opportunities of grace, their's will be all the gain, their's all the merit.

Before concluding, it may be well to take a somewhat different instance. Go, then, into some great hospital where suffering and disease are so rife. Look at the gentle Sister of Charity, or of Mercy, as she flits about so softly and so unobtrusively among the sick and the dying. Observe how attentive she is to her charges, and how sweet-tempered and patient. See with what loving-kindness and solicitude she waits upon the poor sufferers, as though in each she

¹ Job ii. 10.

² Job i. 21.

recognised the person of Christ Himself. She has renounced the world, and turned her back upon its joys, amusements, and delights. She has spurned its favours, honours, and dignities, and consecrated herself for life, by a solemn vow, to the service of the poor, and the suffering. Her time, her talents, her thoughts, her energies are all directed to this noble task. And she finds strength and courage in the thought of and in the love of Him, who said: 'When you have done it to the least, you have done it to Me.'

Such generous-hearted souls ennoble our nature besides giving glory to God. Such lives are purer, holier, more self-sacrificing and in every way sublimer than the lives of others. They are a credit to our religion and a glory to our race. Now, to what do we owe them? Is it not to the very presence of physical evil in our midst? Most undoubtedly. Were there no poor, no orphans, no sick and diseased, no men nor women needing help, instruction, nursing, and sisterly care and attention, why the very *raison d'être* of the Sister of Charity would be gone. The urgent needs which gave birth to this beautiful religious Order not existing, the Order itself would never have come into being. The 'Sister Teresa' or the 'Sister Clare' who now moves about the fever or small-pox ward as an angel of light and consolation; clad in her rough habit, and administering to Christ's afflicted members, might, under other circumstances, have been the 'Hon. Mrs. Smith,' or 'Lady Timkins of Timkins Hall,' and have been following her own sweet will in the fashionable world. She might have been a very amiable person indeed, and have won heaven at last; but the higher and sublimer paths of charity, chastity, and self-denial would scarcely have been trodden by her.

It is to the fact that pain and temporal calamities and misfortunes are permitted, that we must ascribe the sheer existence of this sisterhood, and all the glory to God of which it is the source and the mainspring. And the same may be said of countless other orders and religious societies of various kinds, both of men and of women. If God were to do away with every bodily ailment and every earthly

calamity, He would at the same time do away with innumerable opportunities of exercising virtue; while the splendid examples of heroism and devotion which now so often startle us and fill us with wonder, would have no place on earth.

In the vast majority of cases, we can (with a little goodwill) actually see how God draws good out of evil. We realize for ourselves, for instance, how suffering produces admirable patience, as in the case of holy Job; how poverty and want beget the most consummate resignation, as in St. Benedict l'Abré; and how opposition and persecution awaken the most unheard-of charity, as in the case of St. Stephen, who prayed for those who were stoning him to death. And where the good results are not so evident and unmistakable, we can surely attribute that to our own limited range of intellect, and fall back upon the general principle that God is the infinite and uncreated Goodness, who disposes all things lovingly, whether we can recognise His love in every particular case or no. '*Omnia in mensura, et numero et pondere disposuit.*'¹

Even in the natural order, we often fail to discern the reason and the use of things. Take the human body, which is such a living miracle of wisdom and divine adaptations of means to ends, and in which every part is so marvellously disposed, and so exquisitely arranged and contrived. Do we not even here, sometimes come across an organ or a substance, whose precise use and purpose we are unable to determine? What is the use of the spleen? What end does it serve? I know not if doctors have *now* discovered a use for it, but certainly thousands of learned medical men have lived and died without being able to solve the problem. Yet no one doubts but that it fulfils some useful purpose.

So will it often be in regard to the existence of evil. There may, and do, arise special and particular instances which we find it difficult to reconcile with our notions of

¹ Wisdom.

perfect goodness and infinite love. But, dear reader, are we justified in such cases in doubting the goodness of God? Is our confidence in the Infinitely Holy so flimsy and unstable that it melts away at the first appearance of difficulty? Are we going to trust His mercy and His tenderness only so far as we can actually test them for ourselves? Ah! So to trust, is not to trust at all.

Shall we make our limited powers the supreme measure of all right and wrong, of all good and evil? Or does God really cease to be good, just when His goodness becomes too deep and wide and unfathomable for our puny minds to sound its hidden and mysterious depths? As well say the sea is bottomless because we cannot actually touch the bottom with the end of our umbrellas. Our general knowledge of God's goodness more than warrants our trusting Him, even where appearances are dead against Him.

Take the case of a maimed and suffering child—a child as yet incapable of actual sin. I grant it is a difficulty, but yet, we may be absolutely certain, that did God reveal His whole mind and purpose to us, the difficulty would vanish, and the wisdom and justice of God would be vindicated even here. Then why, someone may ask, does He not make it clear? May it not be because He wishes to bring good even out of this very evil of ignorance, from which we are suffering? To trust God with the difficulty still unsolved; to trust Him when we cannot see nor even imagine its solution; to trust Him when every circumstance seems to condemn Him, that surely, is trust, indeed. Yes; trust under such conditions honours God in an immeasurably higher degree, than if we could penetrate His motives, and read His secrets, and see as He sees. 'You believe,' said our Lord to St. Thomas, 'because you have seen: blessed are they who have believed and have not seen.'

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

IDEALISM AND REALISM IN ART¹

DISTINCT altogether from the several arts, there is a study known as the Science of the Arts, which, unlike the arts themselves, is critical and speculative, or, at least, only indirectly practical. It embraces such questions as the proper sphere and purpose of art, its legitimate methods, its various departments, and their relations one to another. Two schools or styles of art, in particular, generally known as idealism and realism, have been made the pivot on which most of the controversies raised by these questions mainly turn—controversies that have had a marked effect on the views of artists, their methods and technique, and on the general character of the art of this century. I purpose, therefore, to examine these two schools of art, idealism and realism, and to state very briefly what we may hold about their respective merits. To treat of them, however, in relation to every variety of art would carry me far beyond my purpose, so I shall confine myself merely to painting; and, when I speak of art, I wish it to be understood that it is only to painting I am referring.

Let us begin with idealism. It makes very little difference by what name we call it—style, school, or theory; and, therefore, I may define it as a theory which maintains that the highest and truest function of art is to represent nature at her best, without any of her defects, and with whatever of her beauties may be brought together without incongruity. What constitutes a defect, and what a perfection, or how they are to be discovered in nature, it is not my province now to determine. I take it for granted that there is in man a faculty called ‘taste,’ whose function it is to reveal defects and discover beauties, which acts spontaneously, and on principles of its own,

¹ A lecture delivered in Dublin, in April, 1899. Some apology is due to the reader for the summary references here made to certain works of art. In the lecture these references were illustrated by the aid of lime-light views.

and with marked uniformity in its decisions. This faculty testifies to innumerable blemishes, both in form and colour, all through nature, and supplies at the same time the principles on which these faults may be corrected. Positive defects are possible, only in organic natures, such as trees, animals, and men; where individuals, on account of their structural uniformity, are seen to approach to, and deviate from a type. By a type, I mean a faultless instance of any species of organism, either constructed by the mind or exhibited ready-made in nature. In inanimate nature, where there is no unity of structure, as is the case with lakes, mountains, stretches of country, positive defects are out of the question; but there is even here a scale of perfection, a more and less of the elements of beauty, such as the majestic, the striking, the harmonious, the delicate, and of what are known as suggested attributes, the gentle, the lively, the quaint, the reposeful. It is therefore the aim of idealistic art, to remedy defects on the lines of these types, supplying shortcomings, softening, harmonizing, eliminating, and intensifying, according as the faculty of taste suggests.

Idealistic art interprets nature from many points of view: literally, if nature can be so reproduced; figuratively, if the limitations of art so require. Of these two styles of reproduction, figurative art is the more prolific in artistic subjects, for by the use of imagery which is its proper instrument, it can colour nature very highly as well as interpret her very variously. The dawn, for instance, literally represented, is always the same: one can vary it, of course, by altering the landscape, or the colours in the sky; but, in general, the sunrise is one and unchangeable. Its interpretation, on the other hand, in figurative art admits of numberless new creations—the varied expression of all that a cultured and artistic mind sees in the sunrise over and above mere lines and colours. Every image used in ‘Prometheus Unbound’ to express sunrise could be turned into a complete picture of the dawn—the car, the steeds on the gold dust floor, the singing spirits, &c: whilst of Guido Renis’ ‘Aurora’ at least four perfect ‘Auroras’ could be made—the steeds, the

cupid with the torch, the laughing goddesses, and the girl scattering roses from her cloak.

With these two styles of reproduction at its disposal, the literal and the figurative, idealism is not content until it has eliminated from nature all her defects, and intensified her perfections. Not that it claims in the re-arrangement of nature to take liberties with, and ignore her laws. There are, of course, artistic licences which a painter may use as well as a poet. It was by licence that Raphael felt himself dispensed from attempting an impossible perspective between the two parts of the Transfiguration—the figures on the mountain and the possessed boy beneath. Licences, however, are not principles of art, but exceptions to them: and idealism in its principles is altogether on the side of nature, following her closely where nature has only one course at her disposal, as in the general formation of the human figure or the general structure of trees; but giving scope to the artist to let out freely wherever a multiplicity of forms is possible, as in the features of the face, the portrayal of passion, the play of impulse in look and on limb, and in everything that appertains to the general setting of a subject, like architecture, grouping, drapery, &c. In these things there is room for the artist's best and most sweeping conceptions; for where nature follows no definite system, the artist is confined by no definite formulæ. Infinitely wide, therefore, is his field of subjects, full and varied as nature herself, for the only restrictions to an artist's conception are the laws of nature, and the canons of taste. These canons, I admit, are numerous enough. They are much more subtle than the laws of nature; and whilst few great artists have violated the latter, only the greatest succeed in observing the former. One error in taste can vitiate an otherwise perfect painting. Let me take, as one instance of it, Claude Lorraine. Claude was an untiring student of nature. At Rome he used to sit out all day, and sometimes all night, watching the colours come into the heavens, and transferring them to his scrap-book. It is said he was acquainted with all the tints of the sky and all the humours of the sea. Yet Claude has spoiled

more than one of his pictures by crowding his canvasses to overflowing, forcing into them everything that could bring out an effect in colour—trees, mountains, cattle, lakes, dancing peasants, temples set in the middle of woods, churches, aqueducts, mills, &c. This sense of surfeit, prominent in the greater part of his work, is a permanent drawback to what would otherwise (so critics tell us) be perfect art.

The function, then, of idealistic art is to perfect nature, in the way I have described, and as nature seldom reaches her best, that best must be created by the artist himself. This is what is known as the creative element in art, and it is just this element that gives art a place above colour-photography. It opens out broad and fruitful fields of artistic subjects, co-extensive with the artist's own conceptions, which are practically infinite, there being no end even in a single species to the number of perfect forms it may contain. This is a proposition that needs explanation, and I am glad of the opportunity of enlarging on it, because critics have questioned it. In his *Discourse on Painting*, Sir Joshua Reynolds says that in every species there is only one type, one perfect form, which nature is always trying to approach, from which, therefore, an artist should never deviate without necessity. If this be true, see how we have limited the range of art subjects. Idealism is supposed to pursue the perfect; but according to this theory, the perfect human face is one; there cannot be two; the human figure has one type only; each species of animal one perfect instance; and at the representation of these types, and these types only, all art should aim. I said above, in opposition to this view, and admittedly in the interests of idealism, that in any species the number of perfect forms may be infinite. I see no reason—Reynolds gives none—for departing from this view. And I say, moreover, that the theory expressed in the *Discourse on Painting* is not borne out by Reynolds himself. In his beautiful 'Group of Angels' Heads every face is formed on a distinct model, and approaches a wholly distinct type. And if we take the faces that remain to us

from Grecian art, and compare them with those, for instance, of Rossetti, we shall have no doubt, I think, that a perfect is possible in each of the styles, though differing from each other *toto cælo*. And does not all this only stand to reason? For what is beauty but perfect harmony in form and colour? Let an artist draw one curve of one feature, and a perfect face may start out from that. Change that curve, and a face may be drawn perfect in symmetry, but different in type. He might not be able to go on *in infinitum*, but who shall say where the limits are?

Idealism, therefore, with its creative element, opens out a very wide field of subjects, limiting art to no definite or inferior phases of nature, and calling on artists for the exercise of their highest and most varied conceptions. Its principle is this—art has its rough materials in nature; but the refining touches may come from the mind, must come from it, in fact, since art looks out for what is best in nature, and nature is seldom at her best.

It may be asked: Is it certain that art can improve on nature? It is suggested that we cannot paint the lily, nor gild refined gold, and that the artist is altogether at his best when he holds the mirror up to nature merely to reflect her. Or it may be said, that ivied ruins which nature plans are more beautiful than any of the temples of art; that there is more beauty in the bark of fallen trees covered with green mould, than in the living trunk; much more grandeur in clumps of trees thrown up confusedly from among rocks and ferns, than in stately avenues laid out artificially like cathedral pillars; more beauty in a sunlit patch of green bank, or a field of after-grass, than in any of the creations of Claude Lorraine. I have even heard it asked—What has nature to learn from art on the forms of animals? If you want to see a war-horse, chafing, do not look for it in oils or water-colours, but in nature herself, out on the battlefield, smarting with bayonet points, held up to the fire of a line of muskets. What, therefore, is left for art to create? In fact, one might deny my whole contention, that the end of art is the pursuit of the perfect. For beauty, even as sought by art, is

often found in the lowest and weakest, the maimed parts of nature. Cheeks are beautiful in consumptive beggar-boys, and art has been at prison gates even, painting wan faces, under old worn cloaks. And what common things are the children in Millais' 'Autumn Leaves,' or Le Page's 'Flower Girl!' We meet them a hundred times daily. Yet which of the creations of mediæval art is more beautiful than they are, in their own way?

All these things have been urged at times against idealism as a theory of art. The only answer I can return is this:—Idealism, as I have already insinuated, improves on nature when it ought, and where it ought, and allows for the fact that deformity may have a beauty of its own, that there are beauties in neglected faces and in common-place scenes. All these things, therefore, it will take into its canvasses, at their very best; not as realism would, bringing out every line and shadow, but in broad outline and rough, round reality, as Millet paints. There are few deformities that may not be allied to some perfection. Weakness suggests gentleness; rudeness, strength; villainy, ability; passion, power. Gentleness, strength, ability, and power become the theme of the artist. Mere weak ugliness, mere rude effrontery, are left to the caricaturist. Caricature and art differ as widely as art and photography. All three are representative. Each has its special province to depict—photography, fact; art, the ideal; caricature, the grotesque. The caricaturists of the beginning of this century, in France and England, are known in the history of modern painting as 'the school of the draughtsmen,' not as artists. Crime, cruelty, and cunning, therefore, have their legitimate hold on the artist's attention; but grossness and vulgarity in the mode of representing them are precluded by the conditions under which art receives them. Even therefore in defects, art may still be dealing with the perfect; and that is one way in which classic art differs from idealism; classicism also pursues the perfect, but only amongst the very highest forms of imagination or of history, such as the pagan divinities, or the Christian saints. But idealism finds it in the furrowed fields, and is interested in ordinary

sowers and gleaners—not for their plainness, but principally because of the beautiful conceptions it can make them embody. The portrayal of these conceptions, hidden beneath mere line and colour, is what is known as the *mind* element in idealism. Let us see how Millet contrived his subjects, for Millet had all a poet's nature and a poet's conceptions: he was a dreamer, in fact. Early in the morning he went out into the forest. If the sun was shining, and the silence was unbroken, he was able to work. If the clouds gathered or voices approached, he could work no more. 'Chut! papa travaille,' his eldest daughter used constantly to whisper to her brothers playing outside their cottage. Now Millet has painted only sowers and gleaners. On what, therefore, was all his poetry expended? or how have his pictures set the world dreaming of furrows and the scent of clay? The charm of his pictures is the conceptions he has made them all embody. His own estimate of the 'Angelus' was, that we should 'hear those bells stealing over the furrows.' That was the conception hidden beneath mere line and colour, that he would embody in his picture, and suggest to the spectator in a hundred trifles. And, surely, if we miss that thought we have missed all that he meant, for there is very little in the picture but the sound of bells; stillness in the fields broken by the quiet music of bells; the long day's labour ended by bells summoning to prayer; bells marking the monotonous history of peasants, day after day, until their old hands drop from plough and harrow, and they are taken to their rest. Millet's thought was always with the commonplace, and therefore he has sometimes been called a realist. But he read things in the commonplace which the eye could not discern; and these things are the sermons we all feel him preaching in his sowers and gleaners, and wood-cutters, and ploughed fields.

Unconsciously, I must confess, I have begun to advocate the principles of idealism, though in starting out I only undertook to explain them. But it is a mystery to me how anyone can refuse to grant to painting the privileges so generously conceded to poetry. A poet can chasten and colour

nature, and express her in symbols, and clothe her in imagery, and select just that in which she shows most richly, neglecting the rest. Why may not the painter do all that too? There is, I grant, an art of the commonplace. The *genre* paintings or pictures of common ordinary life, have their own place in art. But there is certainly higher art than this, an art that can transcend the common present, and reveal the finer efforts of nature, exhibited in fact, or built out of the richness of an artist's imagination.

I am quite aware that in recent years idealism has fallen into great disfavour. But I do not think that that disfavour should alter our estimate of the principles I have been advocating. The disrepute into which idealism has fallen was not reached by inference from artistic principles. It is only the result of the rough-and-ready stand that has been made in modern times against the maintenance in our schools of classical art, an art in which idealism was an important element. 'Return to nature,' became the cry of the modern artistic world; and it is only natural to expect, that the movement that ensued should not be over-refined in its courses or sensitively just. That is how idealism has become unpopular. It was associated with classicism. In the main, we can sympathise with the anti-classicists, though we cannot shut our eyes to their follies. Everybody was weary of those old Greek plasters, repeated in all the studios of Paris, and turning up monotonously year after year at the art exhibitions. And we know that at the Revolution France had seen a new life generated—a highly-coloured life and manner which, certainly, had enough in it to interest art. The French imagination was scarcely one to keep looking into the dead past for all that could interest the eye and heart, and aspirations of an age, in comparison with which it deemed all old-world institutions puerile. France was awakened to the idea of revolution in everything as well as in art, and when a young Norman painter, called Gericault, gave the signal for action by telling his master in the presence of the students, to open the shutters and let in the light from the living day, I scarcely exaggerate when I say, that classicism began to

drop down from the walls, and a great deal of cobweb and conventionality after it. It was then that artists began to pour out from the lanes and top garrets of Paris, with their easels on their backs, towards the Forest of Fontainebleau; for thither this new pulsation led them, where wild birds lived, and sunbeams could be caught pure out of the heavens. That, briefly, is the history of the anti-classical movement. It was during that movement that popular prejudice ran down idealism, and it will take some years to effect its revival.

It may be well before passing to the consideration of realism to say a word on the new idealism, a school of art recently introduced by Rossetti into England. Dante Gabriel Rossetti was by nature an idealist. He was a dreamer like Millet, and seemed to live unconscious, almost, that there were things around him to be touched with real hands, or to be looked on with real eyes. He lived in the midst of mysterious beings, with lustrous bodies. He paints them languid and melancholic, with a consumptive atmosphere all about them, and a depressing mysteriousness like the air of the death chamber. What are we to think of it? We can only say, that it is a beautiful but a very unhealthy art. But it paves the way for the revival of the old Renaissance idealism, which must certainly reappear, strengthened and enriched with the great and vigorous harvest of ideas reaped in three centuries.

In a future number I shall speak of realism, with the two great schools of the pre-Raphaelites and the Impressionists.

M. CRONIN, M.A., D.D.

To be continued.

CATHOLICS AND FREEMASONRY

IT is universally admitted that one of the best organized and most influential societies in existence is Freemasonry. Throughout the world its members, differing in nationality, in religion, in social status, extend to one another the hand of fellowship.

It is natural that Catholics, prohibited as they are by the Church from becoming members, should, as a rule, have but very vague ideas about it. They are aware that Freemasons help one another in business, in professional life, and the like. They may have found by experience that in the employment of certain firms and companies there is no chance of promotion for those who are not Freemasons. However, in these countries especially, they cannot fail to observe that the *personnel* of the society includes numbers of men of the highest standing; and, moreover, perhaps they have met Freemasons socially, and found them upright and honourable men. Many Catholics, then, may be puzzled to know why Freemasonry is condemned by the Church, and why they are excluded from its benefits. That some Catholics, too, while they obey, feel sore about the matter, is evident from letters which appeared recently in the *Catholic Times*. Some information on the point may be welcome and useful. I shall draw it principally from within; that is, from Masonic rituals, papers, speeches, and the like from which it can be made quite clear that the Church is justified in her condemnation of Freemasonry. It may be well at the outset to state the extent and force of this condemnation.

The first Papal condemnation of the society was issued in 1738, by Clement XII. in the Bull *In eminenti*. His words are:—

Wherefore to each and all of the faithful in Christ, of whatever state, grade, condition, or order, we ordain stringently and in virtue of holy obedience, that they shall not under any pretext

or pretence, enter, propagate, or support the aforesaid societies known as Freemasons, or otherwise named; that they shall not be enrolled in them, affiliated to them, or take part in their proceedings, assist them or afford them in any way counsel, aid, or favour, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, by themselves or others, in any way whatever, under pain of excommunication to be incurred by the very act; from which absolution shall not be obtainable, except through ourselves or our successors, the Roman Pontiff for the time being, unless in the article of death.

This condemnation was renewed by Benedict XIV. in 1751; Pius VII., in 1814; Leo XII., in 1825; and by Pius IX., in 1864. In his Encyclical *Qui pluribus*, confirming the condemnation of his predecessors, Pius IX. says:—

We declare that those by the very act incur excommunication reserved to the Roman Pontiffs, who join the Society of Masons, or of Carbonari, or other similar societies . . . and they also who show these societies any countenance whatever (*favorem qualemcumque præstantes*).

The present venerable Pontiff Leo XIII. is not content with condemning Freemasonry, but he even charges the craft with crimes of murder. His words in the Bull *Humanum genus*, are:—

Under deceitful appearances, and adopting dissimulation as a rule of conduct, the Freemasons, like the Manicheans of old, spare no effort to conceal their proceedings. As it is their great concern to appear widely different from what they are in reality, they assume the character of friends of letters, or of philosophers combined for the cultivation of the sciences. They speak only of their zeal of the progress of civilization, and of their love for the poor. If we believe their assurances, their one object is to improve the condition of the masses, and to extend as widely as possible the benefits of civilized life. But even granting that they pursue purposes of this kind, these are far from being the whole of their projects. Those who are admitted to the order must promise to obey, blindly and without examination, the commands of their chiefs, to hold themselves ready at the least sign to execute the task assigned to them, pledging themselves beforehand to accept the most rigorous punishments—even death itself—in case of disobedience. As a matter of fact, it is not a rare thing that the punishment of death is inflicted upon those who are found guilty of having betrayed the secrets of the society, or of having disobeyed the orders of its chiefs. But to keep a

course of dissimulation, and to remain hidden, to place men like mere bond-slaves under strict obligations, the nature of which is not properly explained to them, to use them at the discretion of others for all manner of crime, to arm their right hand for slaughter, securing them immunity from punishment of their crime—those are enormities condemned by nature itself . . . Reason and truth are enough to prove that Freemasonry is opposed to natural justice and morality.

This condemnation is emphatic almost beyond precedent, and so explicit as to leave no room for evasion. Freemasons grow wrathful at it; Catholics know there must be very grave reasons for it, and would naturally be anxious to learn them. In the constitutions of Pius VII. and Leo XII. we find the following reasons alleged:—(1) the furious and satanic hatred of its members for the Vicar of Christ; (2) their league of secret murder; (3) their avowed atheism; (4) their conspiracy against all legitimate authority in the State as well as in the Church. The constitutions add that the sources of information are the most authentic. Benedict XIV. affirms that 'the union of men of every or of any sect or religious persuasion and of men indifferent to all religion—heretics, deists, atheists—is manifestly highly dangerous to Catholic faith and morals.'

Again, Leo XIII. gives his reasons for condemning Freemasonry:—(1) it is a system of pure naturalism in religion; (2) it reduces matrimony to a mere contract, revocable at will; (3) it proclaims the right to affirm that there is no God; (4) it corrupts the masses to advance the interests of the sect; (5) it labours to overturn that discipline and social order which Christianity has founded, and erect on its ruins a system after its own principles and foundations of disorder.

To give an appearance of antiquity to Freemasonry, some of its members endeavour to trace its origin to the Tower of Babel, others to the Pyramids of Egypt, others again to Solomon's Temple; while not a few astutely trace it to the ages of faith when Catholicity held sway all over Europe, and thence argue that it was once a Catholic association. Most Masonic writers of note admit, however, that the connection between Freemasonry and the above

mentioned buildings is a conventional fiction, and we shall presently see that modern Freemasonry is quite a different organization from the Freemasonry of the Middle Ages. At that time, just as in our day, it was customary for the members of the various trades to form guilds or societies for the furtherance of their craft. As it was at that period that the great cathedrals of Europe were being built, the societies of stonemasons were very numerous and influential. As necessity required, the members went from city to city, and, to insure being treated with kindness and hospitality, they invented certain secret signs and symbols whereby they might be recognised by the members of the trade. The epithet of Freemasons was originally used as an abbreviation of 'freemen masons,' men who elected to work at their trade independently of any guild. In course of time, in order to secure patrons and friends, the societies of stonemasons admitted as associates individuals totally unacquainted with architecture, and by degrees other objects besides the trade began to engage the attention of the members. As time went on the transformation continued; until, in the eighteenth century, the societies became purely social and political organizations, having no connection whatever with architecture.

Freemasonry, as at present constituted, may be defined as a secret society which professes to lay down a code of morality based on the brotherhood of mankind. It was in England that the transformation in Freemasonry just referred to took place, and all Masonic lodges throughout the world owe their origin to those of Great Britain. In Mackey's *Lexicon of Freemasonry* we find the following account of the spread of Freemasonry:—

France.—The first Grand Provincial Lodge of France was established in 1743 by a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.¹

Germany.—In 1773 the Grand Lodge of England granted a charter to eleven German Masons in Hamburg to establish a

¹ Several writers state that the first Masonic Lodge in France was established in 1725 by Lord Darwentwater.

lodge. In 1738 another lodge was established in Brunswick by a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Belgium.—In 1721 the grand lodges of England constituted the lodge of 'Perfect Union' at Mons, and in 1730 another at Ghent.

Holland.—The first lodge established in Holland was in 1731, under a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.

Denmark.—The Grand Lodge of Denmark was instituted in 1743. It derived its existence from the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Sweden.—Freemasonry arose in Sweden in 1754, under the charter of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Russia.—An English lodge was established in St. Petersburg in 1740, under warrant from the Grand Lodge of England.

Bohemia.—Freemasonry was established in this country in 1749, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Switzerland.—In 1737 the Grand Lodge of England granted a patent to Sir George Hamilton, by authority of which he instituted a provincial grand lodge.

Italy.—The first lodge in this country was established in Florence in 1733, by Lord Charles Sackville, son of the Duke of Dorset.

Asia.—Freemasonry was introduced into India in 1728, by Sir George Pomfret, who established a lodge in Calcutta.

Africa.—England has established lodges in many towns and islands in and about Africa.

Oceanica.—From 1828 England has established lodges in Sydney, Paramatta, and many other English colonies.

America.—The first account we have of Freemasonry in the United States dates from the year 1729, and it tells us of the grand mastership of the Duke of Norfolk.

Thus America, as well as Europe, Asia, and Oceanica, owes its Freemasonry to England.

Let us now examine the rites and ceremonies of Freemasonry as given in Masonic manuals. There are three principal degrees in Freemasonry—apprentice, fellow-craftsman, and master-mason. A lodge consists of a master, styled worshipful, a senior and junior warden, a senior and junior deacon, two tilers or door-keepers, both armed with swords to keep off all *cowans*, eavesdroppers, and persons unqualified to pass. When a lodge assembles, the master, thus assured, gives the order for the lodge to be clothed, and all officers put on their aprons and jewels and take their seats. The worshipful master raps with his gavel, and all

the subordinate officers stand up, and recite in turn their various duties. If there is anyone to be initiated he is taken charge of by two deacons. The junior deacon presents him as a 'poor candidate, in a state of darkness, who now comes of his own free will and accord, properly prepared, humbly soliciting to be admitted to the mysteries and privileges of Freemasonry.' Then after various interrogations and ceremonies the candidate kneels on his left knee, keeping his right foot 'in the form of a square,' with his hand upon the Bible, and repeats the following terrible oath:—

I, A.B., do hereby and hereon solemnly promise, and swear, that I will always hail, conceal, and never reveal any part or parts, point or points, of the secrets or mysteries of, or belonging to free and accepted Masons in Masonry, which may heretofore have been known to me, unless it be to a lawful brother or brothers. I further solemnly promise that I will not write these secrets, print, carve, engrave, or otherwise delineate, or cause, or suffer them to be done by others, on any thing movable or immovable, under the canopy of heaven, whereby or whereon, the least trace of a letter, character, or figure, may become legible or intelligible to myself or to anyone in the world, so that our secrets, arts, and hidden mysteries may improperly become known through my unworthiness. These several points I solemnly swear to observe, without evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation of any kind under no less penalty of the violation of any of them, than to have my throat cut across, my tongue torn out by the root, and my body buried in the sand of the sea at low-water mark, or a cable's length from the shore where the tide regularly flows twice in twenty-four hours. So help me God, and keep me steadfast in my great and solemn obligation of an entered Freemason.¹

At the initiation of the fellow-craftsmen the following oath is administered:—

I . . . will never reveal to him who is but an apprentice mason, the mysteries belonging to the second degree of the fellow-craft, no more than I would to the popular world who are not Masons. All these points I solemnly swear to obey under no less a penalty than to have my left breast cut open, my heart torn therefrom and given to the ravenous birds of the air, or the devouring beasts of the field. So help me God.²

¹ See *Perfect Ceremonies of Craft Masonry*, p. 49; also Carlile's *Manual of Freemasonry*, p. 8.

² Carlile, pp. 43 and 49.

Then follows the explanation by the Master :—

You are to supply the wants and relieve the necessities of your brethren and fellows to the utmost of your power, and to apprise them of approaching danger, and to view their interest as inseparable from your own. Such is the nature of your engagements as a craftsman.

In the ceremony of initiation of a Master Mason the tie of brotherly love is growing stronger. The oath taken is :—

I solemnly vow and declare that I will not defraud a brother Master Mason, or see him defrauded of the most trifling amount, without giving him due and timely notice thereof; that I will prefer a brother Mason in all my dealings and recommend him to others as much as lies in my power. All these points I promise to observe under no less a penalty than of having my body severed in two, my bowels torn therefrom and burned to ashes, and these ashes scattered before the four winds of heaven. So help me God.¹

Besides these three ordinary degrees there are a great number of others bearing extraordinary, high-sounding titles, that are conferred on those who are ambitious enough to aim at the zenith of Masonic virtue. The ceremonies are fantastic and ludicrous, and the oaths administered are even more awful than those already quoted. Take, for instance, what is called—

THE ROYAL ARCH DEGREE

The masters of this degree when assembled are called a chapter. They are so arranged as to form the figure of an arch. There are nine officers, Zerubbabel as prince, Haggai as prophet, Joshue as high priest, &c. In the front stands an altar on which are the initials of Solomon, King of Israel; Hiram, King of Tyre, and Hiram Abiff. When convenient, the chapter room should contain an organ. A chapter is considered as a type of the Sanhedrim of the Jews.

If a candidate is to be initiated, he is blindfolded, his knees bared, a cable tow around his waist. He is conducted around part of the room, while the high priest reads the third chapter of Exodus. The bandage is taken from the candidate's eyes, and he sees a bush on fire; then his shoes are taken off, and a rod is placed on the floor which he is

¹ Carlile, p. 69.

directed to pick up. He is then shown the Ark of the Covenant, the pot of manna, &c. After a prolonged ceremony he is given the five Royal Arch signs, invested with the apron, and the sash of purple and crimson. The oath administered is :—

I . . . of my own free will and accord, in the presence of this chapter of Royal Arch Masons, do hereby swear, in addition to my former obligations, that I will never reveal the secrets of this degree to any of an inferior degree, under the penalty of having my crown struck off, in addition to all my former penalties. So help me God.¹

DEGREE OF KNIGHT TEMPLA

The candidate for installation is dressed as a pilgrim, with sandals, mantle, staff and cross, scrip and wallet, with bread and water, a belt or cord round his waist, which is made to fall off at the sign of the cross. After a while the staff and cross are taken away, and a sword is placed in his hand; this is afterwards taken away and a skull substituted. Then he is divested of the pilgrim's dress, and invested with the Masonic apron, sash, &c. Then, with the skull in his hand, he swears :—

I will never shed the blood of a brother knight. Even when princes are engaged in war, I will never forget the duty that I owe him as a brother. If I violate this contract may my skull be sawn around with a rough saw, and my brains taken out and exposed to the scorching sun, and may the soul which inhabited this skull appear against me on the Judgment Day. So help me God.¹

Then bread and wine are given in commemoration of the Last Supper, the whole of the Sir Knights drinking from the cup of brotherly love.

ARCHITECT'S DEGREE

In the ceremony for this degree the hall is hung in black, and lighted with twenty-one lamps. A throne is elevated in the east, a table is placed in the centre, on which is a Bible, a pair of compasses, a square, and a trowel in an urn. The contents of the latter are a mixture of milk, oil, flour,

¹ Carlile, p. 116,

² Carlile's *Manual of Masonry*, p. 157.

and wine, which is supposed to be the heart of a worthy brother. When the candidate is being received he is blind-folded, and is thrown on the floor, so that his mouth covers a blazing star; then the bandage is taken off his eyes, he sees the star, and its symbolic meaning is explained to him, and after a long ceremony he takes the oath, and receives the insignia of his degree.

THE ROSICRUCIAN DEGREE

This is the highest or *ne plus ultra* degree. The lodge is decorated with a triangular altar, to which seven steps lead. Behind appears a cross and a rose planted on it, and over it the letters I.N.R.I. Broken columns are visible on the one side, and a tomb on the other on the east, and three large lights on the west. The Most Wise is seated on the third step of the altar, his head supported on his hand. The room is darkened, and the candidate is led in. Chains are rattled to intimidate him. After some ceremonies are gone through, a sideboard is prepared; it is covered with a cloth, and on it are placed as many pieces of bread as there are knights, and a goblet of wine. Every knight has a white wand in his hand. The Most Wise strikes his twice on the ground, and declares that the chapter is resumed. Then he proceeds seven times around the apartment, and is followed by all present, each stopping in front of the altar to make a sign. At the last round each partakes of the bread; then the Most Wise partakes of the goblet and passes it round, the knights give each other the grip, the Most Wise says: '*Consummatum est*,' and all depart.¹

What Catholic could read such ceremonies and oaths without a thrill of horror? The Bible, the inspired word of God, made a toy of; the holy name of God profaned by blasphemous oaths; the most sacred mysteries of religion—the Last Supper, the crucifixion of the Son of God—parodied in the most contemptuous manner! For what purpose, if not to degrade and dishonour Christianity? 'Freemasonry,'

¹ The *Encyclopædia Britannica* states that an item in the ceremonial of the Rosicrucian degree is the drinking of porter out of a human skull.

says O'Connell, 'if for nothing else, should be condemned for its irreligious use of holy things as symbols, and for its frequent and blasphemous oaths.'

Let us next examine whether Freemasonry is merely what it professes to be, a grand mutual aid society. That at one time it went beyond its philanthropic purpose is patent from the following.

In the year 1735 the States-General of Holland proscribed the Secret Masonic League, and the French Government followed the example in 1737. In 1757 the Synod of Stirling in Scotland adopted a resolution debarring all Freemasons from the ordinances of religion. The Council of Berne proscribed Freemasonry in 1748. Bavaria followed in 1799. The Regency of Milan and the Governor of Venice acted in a similar way in 1814. John VI. of Portugal prohibited Freemasonry in the strictest manner, in 1816; and in 1820 several lodges were closed in Prussia for political intrigues. In the same year Alexander VI. banished the order from the whole Russian empire. A similar occurrence took place four years later in Modena, and in Spain. But let us hear the opinions of Masons and ex-Masons as to whether Freemasonry is a mutual aid society or not. In the *Freemason*, February 23rd, and May 27th, 1884, we find the following statements. In a certain lodge a Mr. Whytehead says :—

It was once said to me by a brother well known in the craft, and who had been a successful worker in the noble cause of our charities : 'If it were not for charities Freemasonry would not be worth ten minutes of attention from any intelligent man.' Now, brethren, I venture to say, that the brother who made that observation, with all his virtues, and in spite of all his good works, had never mastered the true object of Freemasonry; he was entirely ignorant of the *raison d'être* of the craft. In opposition to the idea enunciated in his sentiments, I contend that Freemasonry is not a charitable society, except in the very highest sense of the word; and that if there is nothing else in it but the maintenance of our splendid institutions, it is not only not worth the attention of an intelligent man, but that we are a parcel of utter fools, wasting our time and a large part of our means upon childish follies. I should be very sorry that there is a semblance of truth in the remark of the brother just quoted. We need not pay fees of many guineas, or deck ourselves in gold lace in order to secure

the privilege of subscribing our means for kindly or charitable purposes. Freemasonry in its present and speculative form was constituted for the purpose of kindling and keeping alive human and divine sympathies, to preserve a solid platform whence the barriers of class jealousies should be for the time removed, to teach society that in the eye of the great Architect, and under the hand of the King of Terrors the peasant is the peer of the prince, and to keep before the view of the salt of the earth the advantage to be derived from the exercise of that charity, which, indeed, does include the giving of alms, but in itself is far superior to such detail—the charity that never faileth. Our charities were quite an afterthought.

The Rev. C. W. Arnold says :—

It is natural for us to ask the question : What is it that makes Freemasonry so attractive ? It cannot be charity alone, although we Masons maintain such magnificent institutions, that a man might well be proud of supporting them, for charity may just as well be practised without our rites and without our clothing. It cannot be morality, however beautiful the system is which is found in our Masonic charges, for all that we teach may be found in the Sacred Volume, and might easily be studied without Freemasonry. It cannot be only the pleasure of the social meetings which take place after the lodges are closed, for social intercourse of the pleasantest kind may be easily enjoyed without Masonic work. But there must be something beyond, something higher than mere brotherly love and relief, great principles though they may be, there must be something far deeper than this which recommends Freemasonry to men of intellectual culture. Freemasonry is but a casket which contains a priceless jewel, and that jewel is Truth, and all our rights and ceremonies, our signs and passwords, have been designed for the purpose of guarding this precious jewel.

It is easy enough to follow Mr. Arnold when he says that a man need not be a Freemason to enjoy a good dinner or a pleasant evening with some friends, or even to distribute a little charity ; but when he speaks of the priceless jewel of truth, enshrined in the casket of Freemasonry, and protected by squares, compasses, grips, skulls, and so forth, he gives the benighted non-mason something to think about.

Louis Blanc, in the history of his ten years' experience as a Freemason, speaks as follows :—

Thanks to its clever system of mechanism, Freemasonry found in princes and autocrats patrons rather than enemies. It

pleased certain sovereigns, the great Frederick amongst the rest, to take the trowel and gird themselves with the apron. Why not? The existence of the higher grades being carefully concealed from them, they knew of Masonry only what could be revealed without danger . . . They had no need to trouble themselves about it, kept down as they were in the lower grades, where they saw but an opportunity of amusement and banqueting. But in these matters comedy borders closely on tragedy, and princes and nobles were brought to sanction with their names, and blindly to serve with their influence, the hidden enterprises directed against themselves.

Freemasons boast :—

We wander amidst our adversaries shrouded in a threefold darkness. Their passions serve as wires whereby unknown to themselves we set them in motion, and compel them unwittingly to work in union with us. Under the very shadow of authority Masonry carries on the great work entrusted to her.¹

All governments [says the revolutionary Mason Gregoire] are our enemies, all nations our friends; either we shall be destroyed or they emancipated, and emancipated they shall be. When the axe of freedom has struck down the throne, that throne will fall upon the head of anyone who strives to gather its fragments.

To whatever government [writes Master-Mason Barruel], to whatever class of society you belong, as soon as the plans and sworn designs of Freemasonry come into operation, there is an end to your clergy, your government and your laws, your property and your authority. All your possessions, your lands and your houses, your families, your friends, and your firesides: all those from that day forward you can no longer call your own.²

The following extract from a document drawn up by one hundred and three seceding Masons at Le Roy, U.S.A., on the 4th July, 1828, will throw some further light on the inner working of Freemasonry :—

The Masonic Society has been silently growing amongst us, whose principles and operations are calculated to subvert and to destroy the great and important principles of the Commonwealth. That it is opposed to the genius and the design of this Government, the spirit and precept of our holy religion, and the welfare of society generally, will appear from the following considerations: it exercises jurisdiction over the persons and lives of the

¹ Vienna Freemason's Journal, No. i., p. 46.

² *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du Jacobinisme*, vol. i., p. 20; Hamburg, 1803.

citizens of the Republic. It arrogates to itself the right of punishing its members for offences unknown to the laws of this or any other nation. It affords opportunities for the corrupt and the designing to form plans against the government and the lives and characters of individuals. It blasphemes the name, and attempts a personification of the great Jehovah. It prostitutes the Sacred Scriptures to unholy purposes, to subserve its own secular and trifling ends. It weakens the sanction of morality and religion by the multiplication of profane oaths and immoral familiarity with religious forms and ceremonies. It substitutes the self-righteousness of the ceremonies of Masonry for the vital religion of the Gospel. It contracts the sympathies of the human heart for all the unfortunate, by confining its charities to its own members, and promotes the interest of the few at the expense of the many.

Even the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says:—

There is something in the fundamental principles [of Freemasons], the fraternity of men and their indifference to all theological belief, and also in their recent movements, which, perhaps, justifies the suspicion, and even the hatred, with which they are regarded by the Ultramontane party.

These statements would not strengthen our belief that Freemasonry is a harmless mutual aid society; still less will the following historical incidents. Barruel, an eye-witness, tells us that on the 12th of August, 1792, the day on which the unfortunate Louis XVI. was dethroned and led captive to the Temple, the Masonic brethren, thinking the time had come when they were free to publish their secret, exclaimed in the public streets:—

At last our goal is reached. From this day France will be one great lodge, and all Frenchmen Freemasons. The rest of the world will soon follow our example.

In the first days of the Revolution of 1848, three hundred Freemasons, with their masonic banner floating above them, marched to the Hotel-de-ville, and offered their banner to the provisional Government, proclaiming aloud the part they had taken in the glorious Revolution. M. de Lamartine made them the following reply, which was received with enthusiasm by the Masonic lodges:—

It is from the depths of your lodges that the ideas have emanated, first in the dark, then in the twilight, now in the full

light of day, which have laid the foundation of the Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848.

Fourteen days later, a new deputation of the Grand Orient, adorned with their masonic scarfs and jewels repaired to the Hotel-de-ville, Paris. To the members of the Government who received them, the Grand Master spoke thus :—

French Freemasonry cannot contain her universal burst of sympathy with the great social and national movement which has just been effected. The Freemasons hail with joy the triumph of their principles, and boast of being able to say that the whole country has received through you a Masonic consecration. Forty thousand Freemasons, in five hundred workshops (lodges), cheer you on with one heart and soul.

One of the Government representatives replied :—

Citizens and brothers of the Grand Orient, the provisional government accepts with pleasure your useful and complete adhesion to the Republic which exists in Freemasonry. If the Republic do as Freemasons have done, it will become the glowing pledge of union with all men, in all parts of the globe, and in all sides of the triangle.

It was the revolutionary designs of Freemasonry that induced its provincial Grand Master, the Prussian minister, Count Von Haugwitz, to leave the order. In the memorial presented by him to the Congress of Monarchs at Verona, in 1830, he bids the rulers of Europe be on their guard against Masonry :—

I feel at this moment [he writes] that the French Revolution, which had its first beginning in 1788, and broke out soon after, attended with all the horrors of regicide, existed heaven knows how long before, having been planned, and having had the way prepared for it by associations and secret oaths.

I think I have produced sufficient evidence to show that Freemasonry has not been a model mutual aid society in the past; in fact, that it has turned aside to engage itself in such occupations as the overturning of thrones and altars. I shall now show that even still it has that old failing of going outside the province of a mutual aid society.

In a circular issued by Masonic authorities early in

1890, and published in the *Gazette du Midi*, we find the following :—

1. Masonry . . . aims at the rescuing of men's minds from the slavery to which the dogmas and prescriptions of the Catholic Church reduce them.

2. To this end teaching and the education in schools should especially engage the attention of the brethren.

3. If all means suggested be carried out, they will hasten the arrival of the day when, from the ruins of religion and revelation, rationalism will entone the canticle of liberation . . . Then man and humanity . . . will no longer busy itself about anything save securing to itself here below that happiness which some dreamers promise themselves in another life. We recommend in an especial manner to the brethren never to lose sight of the orders of Freemasonry in regard—(a) to securing the cremation of bodies ; (b) civil marriages and funerals ; (c) to prevent as far as possible the baptism of infants ; (d) to disparage all that has a religious character, but particularly the Catholic press.

At the Annual Convention of the Freemasons of the Grand Orient, held at Paris, 10th September, 1888, it was proposed: 'That the Chapel of Expiation be demolished, and commemorative slabs be erected.'¹ Also proposed: 'That the state have a monopoly in the matter of education.'

At the International Congress of Masons held at Paris, 1889, it was resolved :—

To establish national holidays commemorative of the French Revolution, to strengthen fraternity among the citizens, and to make them more attached to their country and its laws.²

It was also resolved :—

That the Chapel of Expiation be demolished. It was built by a law of January, 1816, and it cannot be demolished except by another law. It belongs to Masons as citizens to present a petition for that purpose to Parliament.

At the International Congress of Masons, held at Paris in 1891, it was resolved: 'That the Masonic members of Parliament endeavour to secure a law for the abolition of the religious oath ;' also, 'that the law of 1872, whereby all religious congregations of men and women were suppressed, be put in force.'

¹ Maçonnerie, par G. Bois, Avocat. Paris, 1892.

² Bois, p. 187.

In the *Revue Maçonnique* (organe de la Franc-Maçonnerie Française et Étrangère), Paris, June, 1898, we find the following :—

In Catholic countries the Church and Freemasonry are two rivals. Protestant Churches are not hostile to Freemasonry, even their ministers become members. . . . The Catholic religion is a collection of gross superstitions.

In the December issue of the same *Revue*, we find the climax of Masonic impudence :—

Measures should be taken to organize next year a festival on the 25th December in honour of Humanity, to rival the existing one in honour of the birth of Christ.

Such, in conclusion, is Freemasonry, made in England, patented in France, patronized by royalty, and to be had everywhere. Clad in the resplendent but deceptive garb of benevolence it has for a time deceived mankind; but at length the fierce searchlight of inquiry has pierced that veil, and exhibited a monster bent on the destruction of Christianity, social law and order, and especially the Catholic religion.

It has been condemned by the Church, because it compels its members to resign their liberty into the hands of an unknown and irresponsible authority, a thing which is intrinsically wrong; because of the danger of unsound doctrine and immoral practices creeping into secret oath-bound societies which exclude the supervision of Church and state; but especially because it has proved itself to be—what the Roman Pontiffs do not hesitate to call it—an atheistic, lawless, murderous society.

Having failed to conceal its revolutionary designs, it has been proscribed by most European Governments as dangerous to the state.

At present it confines itself solely (at least on the Continent) to persecuting the Catholic Church. There it has brought about laws prohibiting any external manifestation of religion, secularizing education, legalizing divorce, compelling religious communities to give to the state portion of the alms that they receive from the people; and, more

diabolical still, compelling priests to serve in the army often in most unsuitable company, leaving their flocks to die without the help and consolations of religion.

It would appear, however, that Freemasonry has reached its zenith of success, and that it is at present on the wane. In a recent issue of the *Echo de Paris*, M. Jules le Maitre, a member of the French Academy, and by no means a friend of the Catholic Church, is reported to have made a violent attack on Freemasonry, denouncing its destructive interference with the social welfare of the Republic. Again, in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for May, 1899, it is stated that the robberies from Italian banks, to the extent of one hundred and forty million lire, have compromised the leading lights of the fraternity. The same journal adds that very many persons who ten years ago boasted of being Freemasons are anxious at the present moment to conceal the fact.

English and Irish Freemasons will, I know, repudiate the idea that Freemasonry is in these countries in any way opposed to Christianity; but so long as its members contemptuously interweave the most sacred mysteries of Christianity with an absurd galimatias about compasses, squares, and triangles, we can hardly believe that they are in earnest. They may attempt to dissociate themselves from the nefarious doings of continental Masons; but as long as they hold out the hand of fellowship to them; as long as they have representatives in foreign lodges, and foreign lodges have representatives with them; as long as there is but one system of Freemasonry, their logic will fail to convince. They may laugh at the idea that the organization is opposed to the social welfare of mankind; but as long as they swear away their liberty, and bind themselves in business and professional life to 'prefer' a Mason—no matter how competent a non-mason may be—merit is disregarded and fair play ceases; as long as they swear that they will 'apprise a brother of approaching danger,' although, for example, as detectives, sheriffs' officers, or the like, they may be officially bound not to do so, there is an end to public integrity; as long as they swear 'always

to help a brother in distress,' even though he be a prisoner in the dock, and they be judges or jurymen—bound to strict impartiality—so long will justice be trampled on, and the very existence of society imperilled.

C. M. O'BRIEN.

NOTE.—*The Masonic Token* gives an estimate 'corrected up to date as far as possible' of the Masons of the world, which may not be uninteresting to the reader:—

	Lodges.	Members.
Argentine Republic	60	3,000
Brazil	111	3,300
Belgium	20	1,550
Chili	8	240
Cuba	37	1,200
Costa Rica	7	350
Denmark	19	3,634
Dominica	15	750
Egypt	11	500
England	1,874	91,000
France	476	23,800
Germany	364	18,000
Greece	6	250
Holland	86	4,398
Hungary	40	2,781
Ireland	396	20,000
Italy	174	5,250
Japan	3	250
Luxemburg	1	61
Mexico	245	22,492
New Zealand	148	7,700
Norway	10	2,021
Peru	26	541
Porto Rico	20	1,100
Portugal	70	2,850
Roumania and Bulgaria ..	24	1,200
Sootland	540	27,000
Spain	208	6,000
Sweden	33	4,000
Switzerland	31	2,774
Turkey	5	250
Uruguay	33	1,650
Venezuela	40	2,000
Victoria	177	8,500
United States and Canada ..	11,943	783,644
Total ..	17,262	1,054,036

DR. HORTON AND THE POPE

DR. HORTON has written a pamphlet which bears the startling title of *Our Lord God the Pope*. It purports to be an answer to Mr. James Britten, who questioned an assertion made in *Romanism and Natural Decay*, that 'Rome has presented to the world men claiming to be God. For you must remember that one of the forms of address to the Pope in Roman Catholic literature is "our Lord God the Pope."' Dr. Horton has managed to find one passage in which the words, offensive to all, whether Catholic or Protestant, occur; and he seems to have found it, not by reason of any wider knowledge of 'Roman Catholic literature' than the ordinary Nonconformist minister possesses, but through the kindness of the Secretary of the Catholic Truth Society. Mr. Britten sent him Father Sydney Smith's little book, *Does the Pope claim to be God?* It is needless to say that the circumstances under which the word 'God' found its way into the passage have been explained by the Jesuit father to everyone's satisfaction, excepting, perhaps, Dr. Horton's, who, doubtless, suspects everything Catholic of being jesuitical, and any paper written by one with the letters S.J. after his name of being indescribably so.

But the writer is not content with insinuating that Catholics are seriously responsible for the words which form the title of his little tract. He will have it that the Popes claim to be God; that they have been called God by those who acknowledge their authority, and that 'the attributes and prerogatives of God were ascribed to them and admitted by them.'¹ He tells us, moreover, that the thought he had in his mind when he first made this accusation against the Popes was 'that when veneration due to the Creator is given to the creature, it is small wonder that the favour of God should be withdrawn from countries which countenance

¹ Tract, p. 9.

such an error.' Catholics have committed this enormity by giving the title God to the Supreme Pontiff.

There is another divine appellation, apparently overlooked by our writer, which, to most biblical students, if not to others, is as sublime in signification as is the word *God*. The name *Lord* is the constant and invariable translation in Greek, in Latin, and in English for the unspeakable term Jehovah. It comes nearer to the Hebrew meaning than any other word.¹ It is, moreover, the highest title we make use of in speaking of the Son of God. Whether Catholics are more to be reprehended than any other people for applying the name *God* to creatures, or not, remains to be seen; but there can be no doubt at all that England, in spite of its Protestantism, has bestowed the divine title *Lord*, as a token of honour, upon mere humanity, very much more than other countries. This land which, according to Dr. Horton, enjoys the protection of an admiring Providence, *because it has protested against the blasphemous use of words associated with the Deity*, seems to make a parade of the iniquity it condemns in others as something to be gloried in. It has a whole *House of Lords*! Some thirty Anglican bishops, too, who are supposed to be to the rest of us examples and models of true religion, bear with serene countenances, the 'blasphemous' name of *Lord*; and are so steeped in moral obliquity as to expect to be addressed as *My Lord*—the very words which the devout Englishman uses to his Saviour—and are regarded as suffering an injury if that expression is omitted! Nor does the wickedness end here. Not content with the sad spectacle of about one thousand persons calmly using, and of the whole country bestowing upon them, this solemn name *Lord*, this land, so favoured by God for its service to Him alone has without the least scruple, agreed to address each male member of its population by yet another divine title! 'You call me *Master*, and you say well, for so I am'² said Jesus Christ on one occasion. *Master* is a name ascribed to Him frequently in the Gospels; and it is most commonly used of Him, and

¹ Sir W. Martin, *Semitic Languages*, p. 67.

² John xiii. 13.

addressed to Him, at the present time. But even Mr. Horton seems to 'blasphemously' use the term without remorse. He is not in the least disturbed when employing it in speaking to others. He does not appear to be afraid lest his arm might be withered like Jeroboam's, as he puts the obnoxious word upon his letters, nor expect every morning to see the postman succumb to the fate of Gehazi because he co-operates in this nefarious business! No one needs to be reminded that Mr. is master written shortly. Yet, what an incorrigible sinner our country seems to be in the adoption and the use of this divine title! If Dr. Horton's theory is true—if national decay must ensue so soon as names and attributes used of the Creator are applied to the creature—most of us will wonder why England has not long ago found its cities utterly demolished, and the ground they stood upon turned with the ploughshare and sowed with salt. He cannot, surely, need to be told that 'whosoever shall offend in one point is guilty of all.'¹ The words *lord* and *master*, according to him should be sufficient, when used as they are in this Protestant land, to make our fate as hard as was that of Sodom and Gomorrah. Yet, strange to say, we still live and flourish.

But it is with the special word *God* that the writer of *Our Lord God the Pope* is busied. He suggests, to speak as mildly as possible, that in the four centuries before the Reformation, *God* was a common name for the Pope. 'Impartial men will form their opinion on this matter by inquiring whether in the four centuries preceding the Reformation it was common to apply the term *Deus* to the Pope. Now, beyond all question, the Pope was called God.' Three out of the four centuries are dismissed with a 'cloud of witnesses' the number of which does not appear, after all, so very enormous. They amount to exactly one. Dr. Horton resolutely locks up in his breast his vast knowledge of 'Roman Catholic literature.' The whole Christian world is, for the space of three hundred years to be charged with

¹ James ii. 10.

idolatry on the strength of one witness. And that one witness he has hired into his service from the pages of Father Smith's pamphlet, *Does the Pope Claim to be God?*¹ There Dr. Horton appears to have first fallen in with his solitary bit of Canon Law; there, too, he must have seen how utterly worthless it is as testimony against the Popes; there, at least, he must have noticed that, if the explanation was to him not convincing, yet the one quotation was now rendered so doubtful that sensible men would hardly dare to put a fly to death with only a similar weight of evidence, to say nothing of condemning a whole religion of blasphemy: Nevertheless, Dr. Horton seems to be quite happy with his one extract. It is difficult to imagine the storm of abuse and the vials of wrath which would fall and be poured upon the head of a Catholic priest were he to assert that, for three centuries, the Protestant bishops have been commonly divorced from their wives, and that the English clergy have generally put theirs up for auction. He need not rely upon a quotation of doubtful meaning as the author of *Our Lord God the Pope* is compelled to do, for *his* three hundred years. It cannot be denied that Bishop Ponet of Winchester, 'was divorced from the butcher's wife with shame enough,'² nor that the Vicar of St. Nicolas, Cole Abbey, 'sold his wife to a butcher.'³ This is Dr. Horton's way of arguing. But if a whole religion is to be condemned of blasphemy, and that for the space of three centuries, because of one extract, whose bearing upon the subject most will assert to be absolutely nothing, and all will acknowledge to be doubtful, what are we to conclude as to the state of morals among the Protestant clergy after Machyn's testimony, the truth of which is certain? No one, we suspect, will conclude anything excepting that Bishop Ponet and the Vicar of St. Nicolas, Cole Abbey, were very disreputable persons. Then why is a solitary extract, which Dr. Horton must confess to be at least very doubtful in meaning, to be used, *not* to condemn the individual who wrote it, but to charge with

¹ Tract, p. 7.

² Machyn's *Diary*, p. 8, year 1551.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 48, year 1553.

blasphemy three centuries of God-fearing and Christian people?

Nor can the author of *Our Lord God the Pope* be said to shine at a greater advantage in his references for the remaining one hundred years. The period from the year 1423, the first date he gives, until 1523, the last, was that during which the Renaissance in Italy reached its crowning point. The Renaissance, so far as letters are concerned, meant not only the writing of a more classic style of Latin, not only the study of, and a perfect acquaintance with Greek as Plato and Aristotle wrote it; it meant also the adoption of pagan forms of expressions and the use, in literature, of an almost anti-Christian terminology. The men of the new learning started from the principle that a Christian term could not be considered good classic Latin, seeing that the pagan writers, whose style they so closely imitated, were either antecedent to Christianity, or, if contemporaries with it, knew nothing of that religion. What did the word *God* mean when they used it? They would have answered that, as they found in classic Latin both a higher and a lower meaning for the term, the first for God Almighty, and the second for whomsoever they choose to address by it, they felt justified in employing the word with a similar distinction in their writings. They would have referred us to a passage in a work of their great master, Cicero, which even Dr. Horton might find it difficult to condemn:—

Hold fast to this : not thou but this body is mortal. For thou art not he whom this form declares thee to be. The mind of each one, that each one is ; not that shape which can be pointed out by the finger. *Know, therefore, that thou art a God ;* forasmuch as he is a God who lives, who feels, who remembers, who foresees, who so rules, and moderates, and moves that body over which he is placed, as does that principal God this world.¹

If each one of us, they would answer, might, in this lower sense, be called God, why should we be condemned if we use the term in the same way to princes and poets, and even Popes? Indeed, when Sigismond Malatesta could call a

¹ Cicero, *De Somnio Scipionis*.

worthless creature 'the goddess Isota,' and when Aretino, the poet, was styled 'divine,' and the 'Son of God,' we are surprised that Dr. Horton has succeeded in finding only two extracts in which, in anything like a serious manner the Pope is called a god. The remaining two in which the expression occurs are taken from poems, one of which our author finds in Addington Symonds' charming, if not altogether unbiassed book, the *Renaissance in Italy*, while the other is, apparently, borrowed from one of his Protestant friends. These two poetical quotations are placed before us with all the solemnity due to grave historical data. Dr. Horton seems to be in perfect ignorance that by means of poetry we could prove almost anything. We might prove that Milton, a Nonconformist like himself, was a pagan, because in *Lycidas* he invokes the goddesses of song; we might deny the Christianity of the most Christian Dante, because he personifies Fortune as a goddess, and gives her a kingdom, as he does also the other 'heavenly intelligences:'

Ella provvede guidica e persequa
Suo regno come il loro *gli altri Dei*.¹

We might accuse Boileau, the author of a devout poem on the love of God, as being, after all, 'blasphemous,' because he says of the King of France: 'Thou alone, without help, after the manner of the gods, sustainest everything by thyself, and seest all things with thine eyes.'² Or, what is more to our purpose, we might hold up both Charles II. and Dryden, and, according to our writer, the whole English people as examples of idolatry, because the poet wrote of the king:—

Both Indies, rivals in your bed provide
With gold or jewels to adorn your bride
This to a mighty king presents rich ore
While that with *incense does a god implore*.³

It is the spirit of the Renaissance which Dr. Horton fails so completely to understand. Even Addington Symonds

¹ *Inferno*, Canto vii., l. 87.

² *Discours au roi*.

³ Dryden's Coronation Poem, 'To His Sacred Majesty.'

is quoted by him in proof of a theory the truth of which that writer would have been the first to deny. 'As Symonds says: "When the spiritual authority of the Popes came thus to be expressed in Latin verse, it was impossible not to treat them as deities."' But the author of the *Renaissance in Italy* does not mean that the people, or even the poets themselves, regarded the Pope as a deity. He is giving his readers some examples of what he calls 'Pagan flattery of the Popes';¹ and in the passage following on immediately to the one given by Dr. Horton, he shows that the very principle from which the Renaissance men started, the principle that purely Christian expressions could not be considered scholarly Latin, made them careless about not seeming orthodox so long as they appeared, in what they said, to be scholars. For he continues:—'The temptation to apply to them (the Popes) the language of the Roman religion was too great; the double opportunity of flattering their vanity as Pontiffs and their ears as scholars, was too attractive to be missed.'² It is one thing to maintain, as Symonds does, that, when the Renaissance writers wished to express a distinctly Christian office, as the office of the Pope is, in a Pagan language, their flattery could not but 'treat him as a deity.' It is a very different matter to bring forward those same writers, as Symonds does not, to prove that they regarded the Pope as God, and that the people of their times were idolaters. It is to this very book, the *Renaissance in Italy*, we should refer had we to show that these men were the last to look upon the Pope as a deity. It is there we see, in colours sometimes all too vivid, that it was these writers of Italian history, these half Pagan, half Christian philosophers, these writers of love songs and composers of pasquinades, who blackened the reputation of some of the Popes in a very serious manner. If the Papacy favoured them, they flattered; if not, they blamed, as they alone knew how to blame. 'At one time,' says Symonds, 'he (Cellini) trembled before the awful majesty of Christ's vicar revealed in Paul III.; at another he reviled him as a

¹ Symonds' *Renaissance, Revival of Learning*, p. 362.

² *Ibidem*, p. 360.

man who neither believed in God, nor in any other article of religion.' Platina could call Paul II. divine so long as he cherished hopes of propitiating that Pontiff. He was deceived in his hope, with the result that he has given to posterity a Life of Paul which is the very opposite of divine. The men of the 'Renaissance' were not acceptable to Adrian VI., and in consequence he was called by Berni the dunce who could not comprehend his age, and, when he died, his doctor's door was ornamented with this inscription:—'The Roman Senate and people is grateful to the deliverer of the country.'¹ What is the value of evidence brought from the writings of such men in the matter of either praise or blame? To say nothing of more sincere, and we may add, more religious persons, not even the writers themselves could be proved upon such testimony to have *thought* that the Popes were gods. They flattered the popes as they flattered anyone to whom they looked for patronage or gain. No doubt, Dr. Horton has himself been treated to this kind of unreliable praise in his time. But it is sincerely to be hoped, for his own peace of mind, that he does not infer from the flattering sentiments expressed concerning himself, as he does from those addressed to Leo X. or to Julius III., that, therefore, he is, and thinks himself to be, and is regarded by the flatterer and by everyone else as being as perfect as those sentiments represent him.

A moment's reflection ought to have been sufficient to have convinced our writer that this precious argument of his must end in making our own country appear as blasphemous and idolatrous as he thinks it does the countries inhabited by Catholics. Indeed, nothing could have well been less fortunate for him than his assertion that our progress is the effect of our great care in giving divine titles and attributes to God alone. Says Lightfoot: 'Come hither stranger, and stand by me while I am sacrificing; and, when you hear me relating my own story, help my prayers with yours; assist me in this holy office, and

¹ Symonds' *Renaissance Age of the Despots*. p. 347.

worship the same *deities* with me.' This famous Protestant clergyman tells us that his two deities are God and the king; and about the latter he continues: 'To the altar, therefore, of his mercy I humbly fly, in a lowly supplication begging and entreating him to consider my case.'

According to Dr. Horton, we must accuse this great biblical scholar of idolatry and, at the same time, of denying the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, the unity of the Divine Nature! The historian Camden, also a Protestant, addressed Queen Elizabeth as a goddess. He is dedicating his book upon Britain, 'To the most Serene and most Powerful Queen Elizabeth;' and, after the opening sentences he continues: 'For to whom ought it rather, or could it better, be offered and consecrated than to thee, most Serene Elizabeth, the goddess, the lady, and the most indulgent mother of Britain.'¹ Dr. Horton is shocked by an extract he gives purporting to come from a Croatian nobleman and spoken to Pope Adrian VI. The strongest portion of that extract is the following sentence:—'Suppliant and prostrate, I venerate and adore the immediate presence of God.' Perhaps the following from the above-mentioned preface of Camden to Elizabeth will appear at least equally shocking:—'Just as those who say their prayers to God moderate their voice, their words, and their countenance by a certain reverence, so ought I in consecrating this book at the altar of so great a goddess to adore rather with my mind than to praise with an oration.'² Everything which Ranke, the non-Catholic historian of the Popes, says, concerning Adrian VI., whom the author of *Our Lord God the Pope* accuses of claiming to be God, leads us to suppose that he was the very last to love any kind of flattery. He was the humblest of men. But, we are not at all sure that 'Good Queen Bess' did not thoroughly relish the 'pretty conceit' with which, in addition to the foregoing passages the historian embellished his preface to her. He says:—'All do acknowledge that to be most true which Eumenius formerly exclaimed to Constantine

¹ Lightfoot, *Horae. Heb. et Tul.*, p. 369, vol. xi.

² Camden's *Britannia*, Latin Ed., 1600.

³ *Ibidem*.

the Great concerning this thy kingdom. Ye good gods! what is this that from the very ends of the earth new gods come down to be worshipped by the whole world!'¹

After this, it is with mingled feelings of surprise and amusement that we read in the tract: 'Our English Reformers like Jewell were profoundly impressed by what seemed to them names of blasphemy, attributed to a man.' Was it really 'the repudiation of this blasphemy,' as our writer puts it, 'which launched modern England upon her career of progress?' The term 'Vicar of God' is one of the blasphemies which devout England, according to him, repudiated. But Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, one of the leaders of the Reformation in England, used the very term to King Edward VI. 'Consider also,' he says, 'the presence of the king's majesty *God's high vicar in earth*, having a respect to his personage ye ought to have reverence to it.'² And Curio another Reformer, called the same unhappy lad, 'a king of clearly *divine* hope,' 'a divine boy.'³ Nor does Blackstone find any difficulty in approving Bracton's assertion about the king of England in general. 'The king is the vicar and minister of God on earth.'⁴ Again, the words 'most sacred and most blessed,' are objected to as being attributes and prerogatives of God. Did Protestant England repudiate these too? But the king is called 'Most High' and 'Most Sacred' in the ecclesiastical constitutions, 'treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, &c., in the year 1640. And the same canons inform us that if we 'only resist' the king by bearing 'defensive' arms we receive to ourselves damnation! While the Members of Parliament addressed King Charles I. as 'Sir, you are the breath of our nostrils, and the light of our eyes, and the religion we profess hath taught us whose image you are.'⁵ We wonder very much if the following extract, written by a Protestant to Thomas Cromwell, would commend itself to Dr. Horton as a repudiation. 'Most gracious lord and

¹ Camden, *ibidem*.

² Latimer's Sermons before King Edward VI.

³ Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii., p. 298. 9th. Ed. 1816.

⁴ Blackstone's, *Commentary*, vol. i., bk. i., c. 7, *The Rights of Persons*.

⁵ Rapin, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. x., p. 144. Ed. 1730.

most worthiest visitor that ever came amongst us, make me your servant, handmaid, and bedesman, *and save my soul, which should be lost if you help it not*; the which you may save with one word speaking, and make me, which am nought, come unto grace and goodness.'² These sentiments are certainly not less extraordinary than those expressed in a quotation given in the tract we are considering, in which the Pope is said as the Lamb of God to take away the sins of the world, and for which the writer gives no reference, excepting that Elliott, a Protestant like himself, says, that he has met with it! Or again, what are we to think of this: 'Such is the mercy and kindness of thy godhead,' writes a Protestant clergyman to 'my most Serene Lord. Lord Charles II.'—'Such is the mercy and kindness of thy godhead, that thy most holy and divine majesty will not despise this little literary work;'² and he continues: 'Nor do I think that this fact ought to be passed over in silence by me that, bound by a sense of worship as thy servant, and of thy kindness to me thy vassal, I lie at thy most sacred feet.' And he finishes by informing this most immoral monarch that he holds the place of God on earth—another blasphemy in Dr. Horton's eyes! And all of this we are gravely told, we as a nation repudiated! The truth is that Protestantism no more 'repudiated' these extraordinary expressions than did Catholicism embrace them. In both religions they are the words of an individual here and there, and as such, were those individuals to be taken seriously, cannot be brought forward to condemn a whole faith or an entire people. And no one does take them seriously, excepting the author of *Our Lord God the Pope*. He is so terribly in earnest himself as not to be able to comprehend how even Christians, of whose extreme goodness no one could doubt, have found no difficulty, on one occasion in their lives, in giving titles generally associated with the Supreme Being to a fellow-creature. Dr. Horton has much to learn. He has yet to learn that God and Christ Himself

¹ Maskell's *Ritualia Aug.*, vol. i, p. clxxxii.

² Preface to Dr. Littleton's *Latin Dictionary*.

fell into the error which he so sharply criticizes;¹ that St. John assures us we are 'the sons of God,'² and St. Peter that we are 'partakers of the divine nature.'³ He may yet read the Epistle of Diognetus of the second century, and ponder upon the assertion of that writer, that he who gives to the needy 'becomes a *god* to those who receive his alms.' He might yet derive some instruction from St. Gregory Nazianzen, who, although he addressed our Lord in the following beautiful lines:—

What can I, Lord, in this my evil hour,
Save look to Thee, despising things of earth;
Life of my life, Breath of my soul, my Power,
My guiding Light! O Saviour what thy worth!*

nevertheless feared no misconstruction with regard to his words concerning his friend, St. Basil:—

Dispenser of the mysteries of God, man of the desires of the Spirit. I do call thee the God of Pharoah, that is of all the Egyptain power now opposing us. I call thee the column and strength of the Church, the Will of the Lord, the Bearer of Light in the world, the Holder of the word of Life, the Sustainer of the Faith, and the temple of the Spirit.⁴

Dr. Horton's ignorance will, we feel sure, appear to himself very great when he considers, that the blasphemy, as he calls it, of giving the honour due to the 'One God to another' has really been committed less often by Catholics with regard to the Pope, than by Christians who lived when, as we are always being told, there were no Papists, with regard to persons who were not the Pope. For St. Jerome called the Apostles Gods, and St. Gregory I. reminds the Emperor Mauritius that priests are called Gods in Sacred Writ. And he will wonder very much, doubtless, how it came about that he should not have known that modern Protestantism, of which he is so militant a member, is really as great a blasphemer as ever was early Christianity, or the more remote reformed writers to whom we have alluded. It is Symonds who assures us that, the sculptor by his art 'has

¹ St. John x. 34, 35.

² 1 John iii. 2.

³ 2 Peter i. 4.

⁴ St. Gregory, *De Vita Sua Carmen*.

⁵ St. Gregory, *Oratio* 19.

won for himself our worship.'¹ It is Ruskin who says, that some phases of nature 'cannot be heard without affection, nor contemplated without worship.'² It is Tennyson who ascribes to the departed a certain supernatural knowledge and mercy:—

Be near us when we climb or fall :
Ye watch like God the rolling hours,
With larger other eyes than ours,
To make allowance for us all.

It is a non-Catholic writer on education who says, that 'the teacher creates man a second time; but he who creates man is God, and therefore the teacher is God.'³ It is the marriage service in which most Englishmen promise to 'worship' their wives; and it is Carlyle who informs us, that they really do so, and that she is a 'divine presence.' 'Thy own amber locked, snow and rose bloom maiden—whom thou lovest, *worshippest as a* divine presence, which, indeed, symbolically taken, she is.'⁴ Perhaps those words 'symbolically taken' may help to explain to the writer of *Our Lord God the Pope* in what manner extravagant language is to be understood. Perhaps he may, some day, be converted to the sentiment which most thinking men and women have long ago held, that 'words like nature half reveal, and half conceal the soul within.' Or, at least, if he *cannot* learn the lesson that it is possible for a word to have two meanings, he will hesitate to charge Catholics with a blasphemy which their whole soul abominates by means of proofs which would condemn the All Holy Himself, the best of Christians, and his own Protestant 'progressive' country.

There are other parts of the tract which we pass by, content with simply mentioning them. There are four quotations with no reference save that they are to be found in the works of three Protestants as hostile to us as is Dr. Horton. They are particularly offensive. Until he can bring us better proofs than the unauthenticated assertions of our

¹ Symond's *Renaissance Fine Arts*, p. 120.

² *Modern Painters*, vol. ii., cap. xii.

³ *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, Sept. 1896, p. 257.

⁴ *Sartor Resartus* 23.

enemies, our writer must not be surprised to hear that he is considered wantonly to have outraged the feelings of people as religious, at least, as he is. He suggests that Catholics regard the Pope so highly, that to accuse him is to commit the sin against the Holy Ghost, and is therefore unpardonable; and that they have not hesitated to assert that, 'with his indulgence, as the Lamb of God, he, the Pope, took away the sins of the world.'¹ We are sorry that Dr. Horton thinks it so small a matter to wilfully hurt the religious sentiments of persons whose idea of the Supreme Godhead of the Lamb of God has not been surpassed by his own, and whose love for the Son of God, and gratitude to Him for His redemption, are much greater than he can lay claim to possessing. The Popes have been, and ever will be, very dear to us. We revere them as those to whom, through St. Peter, the divine words were said, 'To thee do I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,' and, 'whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven;' but the history of the Church is our witness, that never yet have Catholics placed him or the saints, much higher than he, before that Lord and God, who to them has ever been so precious. The successor of Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the Pastor of our Lord's flock, all these and many other titles do we give to the Pope; but Dr. Horton will have undertaken a thankless task if he endeavour to find one member of the Catholic Church, whose head on earth the Pope is, who does not also regard him as a man 'taken from among men and compassed with infirmity.'

JOHN FREELAND.

¹ *Tract*, pp. 10-12.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE: 'THE VOICE OF THE IRISH'

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

IT may be advisable to begin by giving the following short bibliography of the controversy:—

1. 'The Birthplace of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.' By the Bishop of Ossory (now Cardinal Moran). *Dublin Review*, April, 1880.

2. 'Where St. Patrick was born.' By the Rev. Colin Grant (afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen). *Dublin Review*, April, 1887. I put these two articles first, because they are written so systematically. They begin by clearly setting forth in chronological sequence the authorities appealed to. The texts and translations there given have now been before the world for many years, yet they have never been challenged as inaccurate. The renderings of Cardinal Moran and of Bishop Grant are, accordingly, those of which I shall make use in the following article.

3. 'St. Martin and St. Patrick.' By the Rev. W. B. Morris. *Dublin Review*, January, 1883. Cf. the same writer's *Life of St. Patrick*. Burns and Oates, 1888. Also his (unsigned) article in the *Dublin Review*, July, 1880: 'The Apostle of Ireland and his Modern Critics.'¹

4. 'Where was St. Patrick born?' By Very Rev. Sylvester Malone, M.R.I.A., &c., *Dublin Review*, October,

¹ Father Morris is not always quite serious in his discussion of St. Patrick's birthplace; and his ill-timed and sneering pleasantry is sometimes misleading. Thus, in the *Dublin Review*, January, 1883, p. 14, note, he makes merry over certain details which he is pleased to ascribe to the Kilpatrick tradition, although no responsible writer ever seriously thinks of urging them. It is easy to retort: one might make merry over Father Morris and his 'blackthorn,' (*loc. cit.*, p. 20.)

Then, what shall I say of his unscientific etymology?—a fault common to him with too many Irish writers, who are otherwise men of ability and learning. He derives *pecora* from the Greek 'to shear'! Only the dignity of the subject before me prevents me from characterising this as 'sheer nonsense'; one might as well say that the Greeks spoke of a sheep as *πρόβατον*, *probaton*, because it was *probatum*, and found good!

1886. Another article with the same title,¹ and by the same writer, appeared in the *Dublin Review*, October, 1887. Cf. also his *Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick* Dublin: Gill and Son, 1892.

5. 'Where St. Patrick was born: A Last Reply.' By Rev. Colin C. Grant. *Dublin Review*, January, 1888.

6. 'The Birthplace of St. Patrick.' By Rev. Albert Barry, C.S.S.R. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, December, 1893.

7. 'The Birthplace of St. Patrick.' By Very Rev. Edward O'Brien, P.P., V.G. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June-July, 1899.

8. *The Birthplace of St. Patrick*. By the Rev. Duncan Macnab. Dublin: James Duffy, 1866. In this work the original authorities will be found cited in the appendix. The learning and ability of the writer are remarkable, especially when we consider the time at which he wrote.

For the intelligent discussion of the subject, an acquaintance with the *Celtic Scotland* of Dr. W. F. Skene, late Historiographer-Royal for Scotland, is indispensable. His other works may also be consulted with advantage; and the same remark applies to the Scottish writers who have given an account of the Roman remains in Scotland. These remains are well described and illustrated in Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*. Of course, local histories of the Alclyde district must not be neglected. I may specially refer to the recent work of Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A. Scot., *History of the Parish of West or Old Kilpatrick*, where a good deal of information and many suggestive references may be found.²

¹ But not with the same view.

² I cannot here undertake to give a complete list of all the works which I have consulted; I content myself with mentioning a few writers, in whose pages the literature of the subject will be found copiously quoted and referred to. A great deal has, of course, been done since Stuart, or even since Skene wrote; and I have derived much information from recent monographs, lectures, and reports, such as, e.g., *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. I speak, also, to some extent, from personal knowledge and observation. When about eight years ago excavations and sections were made along the line of the Antonine Wall, I was enabled to see and examine part of them. This may suffice for the present; if any of my statements are challenged, I shall know how to reply. Meantime, perhaps enough has been said to caution the reader against the assertions and views of dogmatic theorists, who know as much concerning

In spite of all that has been written on the subject of St. Patrick's birthplace, I trust that I may be permitted to offer a contribution to the discussion. As a member of the Irish race, I am bound to feel a profound interest in all that concerns the apostle of our country ; as one dwelling within easy reach of the saint's traditional birthplace, I cannot ignore the claims of Kilpatrick, and cannot but wish that they should be kept before the minds of my countrymen.¹ Let us, therefore, inquire as to the character of these claims, and endeavour to ascertain how far they are supported by the most ancient traditions of those who were presumably best acquainted with the facts of the case. All must agree that the sources of information which have the best right to be considered as authentic are : (1) the people to whom St. Patrick preached the faith ; (2) the fellow-countrymen of the saint. With regard to this latter source of information, however, it is obvious that we cannot consult the saint's (presumed) countrymen until we have previously determined, at least with a certain degree of probability, his birthplace or nationality. Let us, then, first question the voice of Irish tradition. After that we may proceed to question—whom? Well, let us not indulge in rash anticipations : the result of our first inquiry must determine the character and form of the second.

the district of Alostye as I may know concerning the possible bodies that revolve round Sirius or Algol.

¹ St. Peter's College, the seminary of the archdiocese of Glasgow, stands about six miles from the centre of the city, and five miles from Kilpatrick, whose very name—seeing that no serious rival is known to exist—should constitute a claim to an impartial consideration of the right to indicate St. Patrick's birthplace. As one looks from the College windows he can perceive, about a quarter of a mile away, the line of the Antonine Wall, a work which was constructed A.D. 139, as the frontier of the Roman dominions, and traces of which can still be distinctly seen in the neighbourhood. Here, too, Roman remains of unquestioned authenticity have again and again been discovered. About a mile beyond the College grounds, on the main road to Kilpatrick and Dumbarton, there rises a remarkable eminence known as the 'Castle Hill.' This is the site of one of the *Castella*, or forts which defended the frontier wall. The hill still shows traces of Roman fortification ; a Roman altar discovered there bears an inscription containing the name of the 'Fourth Cohort of the Gauls.'

The very ground on which the College is built originally formed part of the old Catholic Parish of Kilpatrick ; and the neighbouring modern village, about a mile on the Glasgow side of the College gates, is named New Kilpatrick, to distinguish it from the more ancient town, six miles to the west,

I. THE VOICE OF IRISH TRADITION

In the course of this article I purpose to 'take for granted' as little as possible; and whatever assumptions I may make will, I trust, be of such a character that no reasonable person will be likely to dispute them. My first assumption is that the generations of Irishmen to whom St. Patrick actually preached must have been acquainted with the saint's birthplace. When the apostle of Ireland was, for the first time, brought face to face with the inhabitants of the different districts of the country, perhaps the first question that must have been asked of him was: 'Who are you, and whence do you come?' As he journeyed through the length and breadth of the land, this question, dictated both by prudence and by curiosity, must have been put innumerable times and in innumerable forms. And if frequently put, it must surely have been frequently and fully answered. Or are we to suppose that the saint continually refused to give a direct and clear answer to the direct and searching questions of those whom he was so anxious to conciliate?

And even if we choose to imagine that he observed, when dealing with the chiefs and with the mass of the people, some extraordinary and meaningless reticence on the subject of his birthplace, can we believe that he never revealed the 'dead secret' of his birth and nationality even to his closest and dearest friends, to such favourite disciples, for example, as the loving and lovable Benignus? Or did he only speak of his natal spot under some solemn promise that the awful secret should never be revealed to others? We know from the character of St. Patrick's own writings that he was a man of deep and warm feelings, and that his mind and heart turned naturally and lovingly to the recollection of home and kindred. He must, one would think, have had frequent occasion, in the course of his long apostolate, to refer naturally and movingly to the subjects which, humanly speaking, were nearest to his heart.

Again, even if we ignore what has just been urged, is there not another important consideration which we must take into our reckoning? Surely the men who took our

saint captive knew something of his antecedents. He was their property, and they would deem it their business and their right to know. They knew, at least, the place whence they had taken him; they could probably guess something more; they were certainly in a position to extort what information their coarse curiosity demanded. And when St. Patrick passed from the hands of his captors to the power of his masters, were no questions asked and answered? It is not thus that we find slaves being bought and sold, either in ancient or in more recent times. A slave's antecedents are always a subject of inquiry, and a new and untried slave's antecedents could hardly include more than his birth and nationality, and must have almost inevitably included these. And during all the time of his captivity, whilst he served various masters, and was brought into contact with various people did no one ever ask him about home and kindred, or did all who might ask fail to obtain a reply? And though we should suppose such failure on the part of the men of Erin, what about its women? There is no reason to think that they have ever shown themselves inferior to their foreign sisters in the qualities of kindness and compassion; and it might be rash to assume that they are notably deficient in feminine curiosity: Did no womanly Irish heart ever feel touched by even a transient sentiment of pity for the lonely young captive? Were no gentle words, or kindly inquiries ever addressed to him, such as might win the poor slave to speak of parents and country, and so move him to relieve his own sorrow, while he gratified the natural and not uncharitable curiosity of another? St. Vincent de Paul after his capture by the Barbary Corsairs, was in a situation very similar to that of St. Patrick: the story of St. Vincent and the infidel wife of his Mohammedan master may suggest an answer to the above questions. Only let us remember the difference of age; for Patrick was hardly more than a child at the time of which we speak.

Lastly, let us think of St. Patrick returning as a missionary and a bishop to the country, and even to the very scenes of his former slavery. Imagine the interest that must

have been excited by his reappearance ; consider the interchange of pieces of information and the comparing of notes that must have ensued. Numbers of those who had known him as a captive were still alive ; possibly some of his captors, and certainly some who were related to them, would still be surviving to answer questions about him. Was there no such thing as *gossip* in Ireland, or did it refuse to follow him wherever he went ? ‘ *Haud semper errat fama,*’ says the historian ; and we know that, while it cannot always err, it *travels* far and wide.

If in spite of all these things, and in spite of human nature itself, St. Patrick’s birthplace still remained a secret, then I can only say, in Kinglake’s phrase, that our forefathers must have been ‘a heap of originals.’ Now, as we can hardly accept such a conclusion, we must assume that St. Patrick’s birthplace could not have remained a secret to his contemporaries. During the long years of his ministry he and others must have had occasion often enough to say ‘where St. Patrick was born ;’ and every such mention of the place must have tended to originate an independent line of local tradition. As time went on, these various lines of tradition must have crossed and interlaced, mutually confirming and strengthening one another, until at last they formed a network of conviction in the Irish mind such as no hostile criticism can successfully assail, and none but the most arbitrary theorizing can ignore.

A matter once so well and widely known could never have been forgotten, so long as Irish learning preserved its continuity of life. See how Father Morris himself speaks of ‘the unbroken tradition concerning St. Patrick which was handed down from generation to generation in the Irish monasteries.’¹ How is it, then, that in regard to the saint’s birthplace, and in regard to that alone, the tradition is no longer ‘unbroken,’ but becomes fairly pulverized beneath the blows of hostile criticism ?

But, perhaps, the Irish were indifferent about the matter, and lost the recollection of what failed to interest them ?

¹ *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 49.

One of our critics actually asserts this; but the assertion is not only rash, it is opposed to all the evidence that we possess. Our earliest records show a lively interest in the subject, and the writers give us a multitude of names and indications by which the place might be identified. 'Emthur' (or Nemthur), 'Ailcluade,' 'Campus Taburne' (or Campus Tabern), 'the district of Strathclyde,' 'the valley of the Clyde,' 'Dun-Breton' (*i.e.*, the Rock of the Britons), 'the Strathclyde Britons,' 'the Strathclyde river'—these, and such as these, are the indications which our ancient writers afford. These authorities speak as men who took a *particular interest* in the question; and anyone who will turn to the *Dublin Review*, April, 1880, and April, 1887, will see that they also speak as men who profess to *know what they were talking about*. What arrant humbugs they must have been, if they did not know! And we must remember that their evidence reaches back certainly to the eighth, probably to the seventh century.¹

But does not another objector sneer at the indications referred to, and refuse to accept as evidence 'names which nobody ever heard of'? Unfortunately for the critic, these names and indications are too abundant to be all rejected as unknown quantities. Our ancient writers are simply and literally 'too many for him' in this matter. If anyone

¹ Father Sylvester Malone, in his *Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick*, p. 49, says:—'The chief and sole (*sic*!) argument in favour of Scotland being the birthplace of St. Patrick is founded on a gloss at the close of the tenth century.' On the very next page the date of the gloss is moved forward a little to 'about the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century.' Of course, Father Malone does all that he can to make the gloss as late as possible, and he may be left to enjoy his own view. But when he talks of the gloss as 'the sole argument,' he calmly ignores all other concurrent evidence, whether derived from ancient records or from tradition; and that is a proceeding which I will leave to the judicious reader to characterise by appropriate epithets, but which certainly calls for energetic protest.

And here an important observation suggests itself. All who have any acquaintance with textual criticism know that, when we assign a certain writing to a particular date, we by no means suppose that the evidence afforded by the writing *originated* at the date in question. On the contrary, unless the reading presented by the MSS. can be shown to be a manifest corruption of some earlier document, we are bound to regard such a piece of evidence as proof of a *pre-existing tradition*. This observation must be carefully borne in mind, if we would rightly estimate the significance of the proofs derived from ancient records; yet it seems to be generally ignored by our 'Patrician' theorists.

can seriously say that he never heard of Dumbarton, of Strathclyde, or even of Alclyde, I am sorry for the objector. His want of knowledge is deplorable; but his want of discretion in thus publishing his want of knowledge is absolutely inexcusable. A name like *Campus Tabern* is sometimes objected to, on the ground that it is a 'general designation,' and not an individual appellation. But, if it is a general designation, then it cannot be opposed to the particular names with which we are furnished over and above; and even as a general designation it suits the topography and history of the locality to which it is applied. Again, are not all works on local etymology written on the supposition that local names were originally appellatives, and, therefore, of a more or less 'general' nature. Let our critics consult Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, or Johnston's *Place-names of Scotland*. But, then, what about Emthur—a name whose very form varies, and whose explanation is difficult, because more than one etymology has been suggested? As to the variations of form, we are told that St. Jerome, an older contemporary of St. Patrick, was born at Strido, or Strigo. You see the form varies here again, yet no one doubts that one or other of the forms implies an underlying reality. As to the difficulty of etymological explanation, we do not know the precise meaning of Strido (or is it Strigo?). All etymologists seem to be in doubt as to the derivation of the familiar names, Clyde and Glasgow. Are we, therefore, to blot such names from our maps and histories?

But there is another 'difficulty.' Father Malone and other critics invoke distance to lend enchantment to their hostile views. They insist that different places are set down as St. Patrick's birthplace: he is said to have been born at Dumbarton, and again, at Old Kilpatrick. It is hard to believe that such objectors are sincere. The *Aberdeen Breviary* mentions Old Kilpatrick, because the work was compiled for natives of Scotland; the ancient Irish authorities give Alclyde, or Dumbarton, because they were not writing for Scotchmen, but for Irishmen. The latter would probably know something of the important British city and fortress, whose name was applied to the surrounding district, and

even to the Strathclyde kingdom, the capital of which was Alclyde ; they might know nothing of particular local names like Kilpatrick. Indeed, to tell a person that 'Patrick was born at Patrick's Church,' would not seem to convey much information; it would be more like tautology than definition. We commonly say that 'St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome'; for the statement is intended to convey something like an intelligible idea to people who are mostly ignorant of Roman topography. The majority of men and women would be mystified, instead of being instructed, if you told them that St. Paul was martyred at *S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane*, even if you put the information into English. In Rome, however, the *Tre Fontane* would naturally be mentioned as the name of the place, because it is the name familiar to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Yet the *Tre Fontane* is about four miles from the nearest gate of the City, and that is just the distance from the Chapel Hill to the rock of Dumbarton.

The mention of the Chapel Hill at the western extremity of Kilpatrick once more reminds us of Emthur. If the proper form be *Nemthur*, and the meaning *Turris Cœlestis*, the modern name of Chapel Hill suggests a strange and significant coincidence. Whether the name arose from the local devotion to St. Patrick in early days, or points to some pre-existing pagan *Sacellum* (possibly converted into a Christian Oratory by the Christians among whom St. Patrick was born), is quite a secondary matter. If, on the other hand, the proper form of the name be *Emthur*, or even the single element *Thur*, indicating a prominent or remarkable 'Tower,' such a designation would be singularly appropriate to the important fortress on the Chapel Hill, where stood the terminal fort of the great Antonine Wall. Again, the name may refer to the Dumbarton Rock itself. The whole question is not of any vital importance to those who believe in the testimony of ancient records and of ancient tradition; for neither records nor tradition enter into minute topographical particulars such as we could recognise at the present day. 'In Emthur' (or *Nemthur*), 'in Alclyde' (a district as well as a town), 'in Kilpatrick'—such is the

testimony of former ages : quarrel with these phrases as you will, they can never imply any greater opposition, or involve any greater difficulty than can be shown to exist in the phrases, 'At Rome,' 'At the Tre Fontane.' There are points about Emthur, and about one or two other names associated in ancient writers with St. Patrick's birthplace, concerning which we may not be quite certain ; but most of the testimony which exists on the subject is clear and decisive. We may acquiesce in the limitations of our knowledge ; for, in such matters, *inter virtutes habetur aliquid nescire*. Or we may attempt to explain what is obscure, but, while doing so, we must go on the principle that the *unknown* is to be elucidated in conformity with the *known*. To act on the opposite plan, or to explain away the certain, in order to accommodate the requirements of the uncertain and conjectural, would be to proclaim ourselves devoid of the powers of reason.

To sum up the case in favour of Irish tradition. A knowledge of human nature and a consideration of the circumstances of St. Patrick's life in Ireland indicate that the saint's birthplace could not have remained unknown to his contemporaries. Not he alone, but others besides, must have been led to give information upon the subject. Two classes of people there are, indeed, whose life can have no secret, and whose birth can be no mystery ; these are, the highest and the lowest, the despised slave and the honoured leader and inspirer of a nation's life. St. Patrick occupied both of these extreme positions ; he was the slave of Irish masters, and he was the Apostle of the Irish race.

And the knowledge once acquired was not likely to be lost by our ancestors. The terms originally employed by the saint himself or by other informants were certainly intelligible to those who heard them ; for, if not intelligible in themselves, they must have been rendered so by further explanation. And such terms would be faithfully transmitted from age to age, so long as they continued to be understood ; and once they tended to become obscure, they would be faithfully and accurately glossed and explained, or rendered

into more modern and more familiar equivalents.¹ We must therefore, believe that the ancient Irish knew and remembered where their national apostle was born; let us now see how that cherished knowledge and recollection was expressed.

II. EXPRESS TESTIMONY OF IRISH TRADITION

1. The Gloss on St. Fiacc's Hymn (before A.D. 700).

I put this first, because it is well known, and also because it calls for special notice, seeing that its true character and real importance are often systematically ignored or misrepresented.

St. Fiacc, who is represented as Bishop of Sletty, and one of the immediate disciples of St. Patrick, must have written before the year A.D. 540. His Hymn, which appeals to pre-existing records, tells us: 'Patrick was born in Nemthur; it is this that has been declared in histories.' An ancient gloss adds the information: 'Nemthur is a city in North Britain, namely, Ailcluade.'²

With regard to the above, the following points must be noted. (1) Date of the Gloss. Cardinal Moran says:—

His [St. Fiacc's] poem is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, or ancient collection of *Hymns of the Early Irish Church*, which probably was compiled by Adamnan towards the close of the seventh century.³

Again, pp. 294-295, he says:—

The two MSS. of the Book of Hymns also dating from the tenth century, were copied from independent sources, as is manifest from the different hymns which they contain and the different texts which they present. Nevertheless, several of the glosses like that which we have cited are the same in both manuscripts, and are adjudged by the best Celtic scholars to belong to a very early age, dating probably from the first compilation of the hymns in the seventh century.³

¹ To realise the value and trustworthiness of ancient Irish glosses the reader has only to remember how largely Zeus's immortal work, the *Grammatica Celtica* is founded upon the annotations of Irish scribes.

² For proof of these statements and of those which follow, the reader is referred to Cardinal Moran's article in the *Dublin Review*. The article of Bishop Grant may also be consulted.

³ *L. c.*, p. 294.

(2) Authority of the Gloss. Cardinal Moran reminds us that, 'the authority of such glosses is very great,' and this applies with especial [force to the one now under consideration. Father Morris, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 45, referring to the compilation of the *Book of Armagh* 'in the middle of the seventh century,' remarks:—'From that date to the death of St. Patrick leaves only a hundred and fifty years to be accounted for; a period which might have been bridged over by the memories of two generations.' Following this method of computation, we might say that the period, from the time when St. Patrick was still living down to the time of the first writing of the gloss, might be spanned by the memory of three generations. But, as already said, I wish to be cautious in making assumptions. Let us, therefore, assume six or seven generations to be necessary in the latter case. We then observe that a gloss, which does not depend for support upon one solitary MS., which, on the contrary, must have been *copied and recopied* by various hands, at various times, and in various places, which is witnessed to by *different but absolutely consentient lines of MS. transmission*, still presents the same unvarying testimony to the fact that St. Patrick was born at Ailcluade, i. e., at Dumbarton.¹ And all this, not only without opposition from any rival testimony, but without our being furnished with the very slightest hint that any rival opinion existed during the early centuries that composed the interval in question.

Could such a thing be possible, unless the gloss represented the universal belief of the Irish people? Or are we to suppose that the real belief of Erin on the subject of St. Patrick's birthplace was swept into oblivion by the

¹ Will the reader please observe the true character of the evidence here presented? Father Malone delights to speak of the annotation as a 'tenth century gloss.' Such an expression is most misleading. The MS. which contains the gloss may be of the tenth century; but the gloss itself, from the considerations above advanced, as well as from those mentioned by Cardinal Moran, is obviously earlier by a very considerable interval of time. The oldest MS. of our Greek Gospels belong to the fourth century; but not even the most reckless rationalist would dare to deny that the evidence afforded by these MSS. would alone prove our Gospels to be of an earlier date. Any writer who ignores this consideration shows himself to be utterly incompetent to discuss critical and textual questions.

blundering or fraudulent action of any 'nameless scribe'?'¹ Must we believe that, in a country whose inhabitants have always been ready enough to express divergent views upon all subjects which conveniently admit of difference of opinion, no voice capable of securing a permanent hearing was raised against the presumed blunderer or forger; no pen fitted to attract lasting attention was found to advocate the cause of truth against the assumed error? Whoever can believe all this, and all else that is involved in the rejection of ancient testimony, may be left to enjoy his own opinion; for he is beyond the reach of argument; but we may well wonder how he can possibly find a basis on which to erect his own theory. If he rejects the venerable and clear statements of our existing records, what else has he upon which he can rely? He must fall back upon arbitrary theorizing; and his theory, however ingenious, can pretend to nothing like tangible proof. On the other hand, it must always have this against it, that its acceptance involves the discrediting, not only of Irish scribes and of Irish tradition, but of the Irish nation itself; for the people of Ireland are implicitly charged with want of the most ordinary intelligence and with an unaccountable lack of interest in the life of their greatest benefactor. To the proposer of any such theory, every right-minded Irishman will reply: *Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi*. 'I will not purchase, or adopt your vain speculations at the expense of national honour.'

(3) Language of the Gloss.—Competent judges pronounce the language of the gloss to be of an archaic type, such as fully justifies its attribution to the remote period to which it has been assigned. But the name Ailcluade is worthy of special notice. Dr. Skene tells us:—

The capital of the kingdom (of the Strathclyde Britons) was the strongly fortified positions on the rock on the right bank of the Clyde, termed by the Britons Aleluith, and by the Gadhelic people Dunbreatan, or the fort of the Britons, now Dumbarton.²

Even without the authority of Dr. Skene, it is obvious that the Britons would naturally speak of their capital

¹ This is Father Malone's own epithet for the annotator.

² *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 236.

under the descriptive name derived from their own language, *i.e.*, Alcluith, rather than under the name of Dunbreatham, *i.e.*, the fort of the *Britons*; but this latter name would be the one most naturally employed by men of a different nationality. Similarly, *Mr. Smith* will naturally speak of his residence as 'Mount Pleasant': he will hardly call it *Smith's*; but this latter expression will be freely used by Brown, Jones, or Robinson. Now, the fact that the writer of the gloss speaks of Ailcluade, and not Dunbreathan, leads us to think that the tradition from which he derived his information must be ultimately traced to the mouth of one who was himself a Briton of Strathclyde. In answer to the question as to 'where St. Patrick was born,' the saint, or one of his companions who had learned the facts from him, would naturally reply, 'in Ailcluade;' while a person of Gadhelic race, whether belonging to the Irish or Scotch branch, would as naturally answer 'in Dunbreathan.' If the name Ailcluade were thus introduced either by St. Patrick, or by some other informant in reference to the saint, it would become consecrated by association, and would be handed down by tradition, otherwise its occurrence in the present instance is not so easy of explanation. We thus seem to have in the very wording of the gloss a new proof of the trustworthiness of Irish tradition; we see how the Irish scribes faithfully transmitted, not merely the substance of the information which they had derived from faithful witnesses, but even the very 'form of words' in which that substance was embodied.

If the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn stood alone and unsupported, it would still be sufficient to establish the fact that St. Patrick was born near Dumbarton. The more closely this testimony is examined the more clearly does its value appear; and the evidence thus presented to us cannot be rejected without involving us in suppositions and forcing upon us alternatives which are entirely arbitrary, utterly unreasonable, and degradingly dishonourable to the Irish race. But the gloss does *not* stand alone and unsupported: there is other evidence which I now proceed to consider, and which it will be found equally hard to reject.

2. The *Tripartite Life* (embodying early materials of 500 to 700).

If the *Tripartite* be really in the main the work of St. Evin, to whom it is ascribed, it is from the pen of one concerning whom O'Curry says,¹ that this St. Eimhin was probably living in the year 504, 'so that he had very probably seen and conversed with St. Patrick, who had died only eleven years before this time, or in 493.' At all events, it is certain that the *Tripartite* embodies very early materials, as appears from the character of the idiom employed. The only objection admitted by O'Curry against the view that the work is of the sixth century, is drawn from the fact that certain seventh century compilers are mentioned in it, although our great Celtic scholar inclines to consider such passages as interpolations. But, even as a seventh century witness—nay, even as a witness of the succeeding centuries, it is surely entitled to considerable respect; its testimony is, at least, of incomparably greater value than the subjective statement of modern theorists, whose expressions of opinion are avowedly their own invention, and are certainly of much more recent date. Now, here is what the *Tripartite* tells us: I give the words of Hennessy's translation:—

Patrick, then, was of the Britons of Alcluaid by origin . . . In Nemtur (Emtur) moreover, the man, St. Patrick was born . . . A church was founded, moreover, over this well in which Patrick was baptized; and the well is at the altar, and it has the form of a cross, as the learned report.

The *Tripartite* adds that St. Patrick was taken captive in 'Amoric Letha.' With regard to this, it is beside the present purpose to enter into any discussion. The *Tripartite* distinctly confirms the evidence of the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn, both authorities declare that St. Patrick's origin must be sought among the Britons of Strathclyde. As to where the saint was taken captive, 'das ist ganz was anders,' as the German fabulist has it, 'tis quite another story.' St. Vincent de Paul was born near Dax in the south-west of France, not fifty miles from the shores of the *Bay of*

¹ *MS. Materia's*, p. 251.

² *Life of St. Patrick*, by Cusack, pp. 374-373.

Bisoy, but he was captured by the Barbary Corsairs in the *Mediterranean*, while on a voyage from Marseilles to Narbonne. Julius Cæsar was captured by pirates in the neighbourhood of Miletus; but no one supposes that the great dictator was a Milesian.

3. The *Vita Quarta* (before A.D. 774).

Cardinal Moran informs us that the *Vita Quarta* 'is proved by intrinsic data to have been written before the year 774.' He thus translates:¹ 'Some affirm that St. Patrick was of Jewish descent.' (The reasoning of those who held this fanciful view is then given, and it is certainly worthy of some of our modern theorists. Those early anticipators of Lanigan and his imitators first pointed out that the saint says: 'We have been scattered unto the extremities of the earth for our sins;' they then remarked that the Jews, 'upon the fall of Jerusalem, 'were scattered over the whole world'! The compiler of the *Vita Quarta*, however, was not misled by such misapplied ingenuity, for he thus continues):—

But it is more true and correct that he (St. Patrick) here speaks of that dispersion which the Britons suffered at the hands of the Romans, when some of them settled in the district known as Armorica, near the Tyrrhene sea. In that dispersion, therefore, his parents proceeded to the district of Strathelyde, in which territory Patrick was conceived and born . . . The inhabitants of the place erected a church over the fountain in which he was baptized, and those acquainted with the place say that the fountain, which is beside the altar, is in the form of a cross.

The above passage not only distinctly confirms the tradition that St. Patrick was born in Alclyde, but it is highly instructive in another way. It shows that even in the eighth century there were a few subjective critics, who endeavoured to base their fanciful speculations on the wording of the saint's own writings; but it also shows that such vain speculations did not affect the Irish nation as a body, and could not obscure the Irish tradition on the one important point, the question of St. Patrick's birthplace.

As to the mention of 'Armorica near the Tyrrhene sea,'

¹ *Dublin Review*, 1. c., p. 296.

all must admit that the phrase is obscure, too obscure, indeed, to afford a basis for anything but mere conjecture ; but if it really refers to Armorica, as ordinarily understood. the statement presents no difficulty in the Scottish view. We know that there were Gauls in the neighbourhood of the modern site of Kilpartick centuries before St. Patrick's time ;¹ and a certain amount of passing and repassing between the Gaulish settlers in the Dumbarton district and their kindred who remained in Gaul is natural enough. Impartially considered, the phrase in question may be taken as an 'undesigned coincidence' in favour of the traditional view, as it would help to explain the well-known assertion that St. Patrick was connected with St. Martin.

4. The *Vita Sexta* (written by Jocelyn before A.D. 1200).

Jocelyn, towards the close of the twelfth century, compiled a Life of St. Patrick, based upon pre-existing works. I believe that the only real objection ever urged against the testimony of Jocelyn is that he was 'uncritical' in the use of his authorities, *i.e.*, that he too faithfully reproduced the testimony of earlier writers upon whose works his own narrative is founded. Now, Jocelyn tells us :—

There was a certain man, Calphurnius by name, son of Potitus a priest, a Briton by birth, (or nation), dwelling . . . near the town, Empthor, bordering on the Irish sea . . . The place is famous, situated in the valley of the Clyde, and called in the language of that country Dunbreaton, *i.e.*, the Rock of the Britons.

So clear a testimony calls for little remark. It presents no difficulty, except to those who doggedly set themselves to raise difficulties against the traditional view, although they have no substitute for the latter except suppositions which involve, not merely difficulties, but absurdities. Captious exception has been taken to the statement that St. Patrick's birthplace is 'bordering on the Irish Sea.' Bishop Grant has well answered this objection, such as it is. But, surely, in any case, Jocelyn is a better witness than any modern objector, when it comes to a question as to how

¹ Cf. the mention of the 'fourth Cohort of the Gauls,' p. 341.

far the term 'Irish Sea' was extended by early Irish writers. Even if any doubt remained, we must here, as in similar cases, explain the uncertain in conformity with the requirements of the certain.¹ And here we are supplied with the clear and definite information that St. Patrick was born at a place that was 'famous, situated in the valley of the Clyde, and called in the language of that country Dunbreaton,' i.e., the present Dumbarton.

Such, then, is the 'Voice of the Irish' and the testimony of Irish tradition as to the birthplace of St. Patrick; and this tradition has all the marks of trustworthiness: it is ancient, it is consistent, it is clear. No one is justified in questioning the fact that in this matter the voice of the Irish is the voice of truth.

It now remains that we should discover from what quarter an answering voice is heard, reinforcing and confirming the testimony of Erin. The consideration of this subject, as well as of some other interesting points, must be reserved for future discussion.

GERALD STACK.

¹ As a matter of fact, no doubt can remain in any reasonable and well-informed mind. Even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, Roderic O'Flaherty wrote as follows: 'A very great bay of the *Irish* Western Ocean runs up the British country at a great distance from the west, which formerly divided the Eritons from the Picts, and which was appointed as the ulterior Roman limits by Agricola. The celebrated fortress of Dunbriton stands on a very high and craggy cliff, and commands a prospect of this bay, &c.'—*Ogygia*, Hely's translation, quoted by Cardinal Moran, *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, p. 132.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

USE OF THE SHORT FORM OF BAPTISM

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the admission of heretics into the Church is the express permission of the bishop required for the use of the *short form*?

THEOLOGUS.

According to the common law of the Church the use of the long form is obligatory in the baptism of adults. The Irish bishops however, can, in virtue of special powers granted to them by the Holy See, use the short form; they can also delegate this faculty to their priests—*sacerdotibus sibi subditis*. The faculty was not granted to the priests directly, but only through the bishops, nor is it lawful for a priest to use *merely presumed* delegation.

CAN A PRIEST WHO IS NOT FASTING CELEBRATE MASS IN ORDER TO PROCURE THE VIATICUM?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Is it lawful for a priest who is not fasting to celebrate Mass in order to procure the Viaticum for a dying person? The case is not a mere speculative one, and I am anxious to have a clear answer on the point.

HAESITANS.

The point raised has—as, no doubt, our correspondent is fully aware—given rise to a good deal of controversy. We think, however, that a priest would be fully justified in celebrating Mass in the circumstances named. St. Alphonsus looked upon the opinion permitting the celebration of Mass in these circumstances as *probable*. Lehmkuhl, Haine, and other modern theologians following Suarez, Laymann, Lacroix, Lugo, are of the same opinion. There cannot, then, remain for us any doubt as to the probability of an opinion supported by such a weight of

authority. Nor is there any intrinsic reason why the ecclesiastical law binding priests to celebrate fasting should prevail over the divine law obliging the dying person to receive the Viaticum. In our opinion, then, the following assertions may be safely made:—

1. If, as Haine remarks—though the case is not very practical—the priest (not fasting) were himself in danger of death, he certainly could in case of necessity celebrate in order to partake of the Viaticum.

2. A priest who is not fasting is not bound, in any ordinary case,¹ to celebrate in order to procure the Viaticum for a dying person; it is a *probable* and safe opinion, however, that he may lawfully celebrate, provided that there is no other way of procuring the Viaticum, and that scandal can be avoided.

D. MANNIX.

¹ Lehmkühl writes: 'Addam, si—quod practice vix juvabit notasse—ægroto hujus sacramenti solius satis certo capax sit, eo quod S. oleum defecerit neque haberi tam cito possit, celebrare *debere* [sacerdos] etiam post meridiem.'

CORRESPONDENCE

ON HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You kindly published in a recent number of the I. E. RECORD a few remarks from me in reference to the substitution of eleven o'clock Mass on Sundays and holidays, for the already generally condemned hour of twelve o'clock.

Another important matter let me submit for the consideration of your readers. In England and other countries there are houses or institutions for aged and infirm priests. Many an old priest who is unfit for missionary duty would gladly retire to such an institution if such were established. How sad sometimes to hear of some old dignitary housed up for months, sometimes even for years, without one to visit him, without one to breathe to him a word of spiritual consolation! There he is, spending his last years, his last months, holding, if you will, the usual revenue of his parish; but alas! what good is revenue then to him? Better far if some home were established to which he could retire, and there receive those spiritual helps which priest as well as layman requires.

The same applies to the infirm or sick priest. There is no home for him. The charitably disposed have provided homes for the poor amongst them; but for the priest who is infirm no home is provided. He must retire to some farm-yard, perhaps in some remote part of the country; to some abode of some relative, where he in his illness cannot be attended to. But has he not his 'sick priests' fund' to maintain him? Yes, he has, a fund in some dioceses that would not maintain a school boy, some £40 or £50 a year. But what is to be done? I certainly say, and say boldly, that such neglect of the priesthood of Ireland is a shame and a disgrace. What, I ask again, is to be done? Are our Catholic people so devoid of charity, that they would neglect the aged, or invalid priest in the days of his sorrow? They helped him when he ministered to them; they assisted the priest whenever they knew he was in want; so too would they in the days of need.

Let them be informed that the aged and infirm priest wants a home to which he may peacefully retire when he is unfit for

missionary duty, and I greatly misunderstand the Irish people, if the need be not at once supplied. Inform them that the funds for the sustenance of infirm priests are very low, and I doubt not but that the secretaries of these funds in the dioceses that require it will receive many charitable bequests. It is hard to blame the people when these ecclesiastical matters are not brought before them. In the absence of a clerical organ, it may be done by one or two resolutions; it may be done by a few words in a Lenten Pastoral; it may be done at a general meeting of the bishops; it may be done at a synod of the clergy; it may be done, again, in the synod of 1900. At all events, some means ought to be devised by which it may be done. A few homes in each province would be sufficient; a few homes may easily be provided if our respected and revered bishops took the matter in hands. If their Lordships only hinted that such were needed, they would have scarcely spoken when these institutions would spring into existence. I wish that some more capable hand had written on these matters. I have again to thank you, Very Rev. Sir, for your kindness in opening your columns to matters of such vital importance to the Irish priesthood. I shall for the present subscribe myself

AN OLD READER.

DOCUMENTS

STATUTES OF THE SODALITY OF REPARATION

EX S. CONGREG. INDULGENTIARUM

STATUTA PII SODALITII SUB TITULO AB ADORATIONE REPARATRICE
GENTIUM CATHOLICARUM

I. Pium Sodalitium universale, quod ab Adoratione SSñi Sacramenti Reparatrice gentium catholicarum titulum obtinet, iam canonice erectum, in Ecclesia Sancto Ioachimo in Urbe dicata, tanquam in sede principe, constitutum est.

II. Sicut administratio et rectio supradictae Ecclesiae, ita et pii Sodalitii ab Adoratione Reparatrice directio, cura atque procuratio commissae omnino sunt Sodalibus Congregationis a SSño Redemptore, qui eximium catholicae Ecclesiae Doctorem Sanctum Alphonsum Mariam de Ligorio institutorem habent et patrem.

III. Sacerdos Congregationis a SSño Redemptore, electus pro tempore a suo Superiore Generali ad regendam Ioachimianam Aedem in Urbe, fungetur etiam munere Directoris generalis pii Sodalitii ab Adoratione, cum iuribus et officiis adnexis, salva tamen in his omnibus subiectione ipsius Directoris Superioribus Congregationis suae, iuxta istius leges et statuta.

IV. Superior Generalis laudatae Congregationis deputare poterit, ad beneplacitum suum, duos Sacerdotes e Sodalibus sibi subditis, qui Directorem generalem adiuvent, eiusque vices gerant, in expediendis negotiis et in obeundis actibus pii Sodalitii ab Adoratione.

V. Ad Directorem generalem iure proprio pertinet constituere Directores dioecesanos, vel quasi-dioecesanos pii Sodalitii in totius Orbis Dioecesibus, et in terris Missionum: ipse electionis diplomata subscribit. Poterit autem ob iustas causas hoc subscribendi munus suis duobus coadiutoribus committere.

VI. Directores dioecesani vel quasi-dioecesani agunt cum Directore generali de negotiis quae utilitatem, incrementum rectamque procedendi rationem pii Sodalitii respiciunt. Mittent etiam ad eundem pias oblationes, quas tum Sodales tum alii Christifideles sponte conferre voluerint pro Ecclesia S. Ioachimi,

Sodalitii sede principe, ut in hac divini cultus, et praesertim Adorationis Reparatricis, actus congruenti decore persolvantur.

VII. Pio Sodalitio ab Adoratione Reparatrice nomen dare cupientes cum Directore generali agant, si Romae sunt; cum ipso vel cum Directore dioecesano, sive quasi-dioecesano, si extra Romam morantur.

VIII. In Ecclesia S. Ioachimi Romae, opus Adorationis Reparatricis universalis hac piarum exercitationum serie explicabitur :

1. Omnibus per annum diebus Dominicis et Festis de praecepto :—Mane, hora circiter octava, celebratio Missae cum expositione SSⁿⁱ Sacramenti ; post Missam, litaniae lauretanae, *Tantum ergo*, etc. ; benedictio cum SS^{no} Sacramento. Vespere, expositio SSⁿⁱ Sacramenti tamdiu, dum recitatur tertia pars Rosarii et canuntur litaniae lauretanae, *Tantum ergo*, etc. ; deinde benedictio cum SS^{no}.

2. Omnibus per annum feriis quintis, excepta maiori hebdomada :—Mane, celebratio Missae cum expositione SSⁿⁱ Sacramenti et cum cantu Psalmi 50 *Miserere mei Deus* ; benedictio cum SS^{no}. Vespere, expositio SSⁿⁱ Sacramenti per tres horas ante occasum solis, tertia pars Rosarii, *Tantum ergo*, etc., et benedictio cum SS^{no}.

3. In omnibus aliis feriis per annum, exceptis quatuor ultimis diebus maioris hebdomadae : Vespere, expositio SSⁿⁱ Sacramenti hora opportuna, preces expiationis, tertia pars Rosarii, litaniae lauretanae *Tantum ergo*, etc., benedictio cum SS^{no}.

4. Tribus diebus ante feriam IV cinerum : Mane, Missa cum expositione SSⁿⁱ. Vespere, omnia ut in feriis quintis per annum. Expositio autem SSⁿⁱ fiat hora congruenti iuxta iudicium Superioris.

5. In prima feria sexta cuiusque mensis :—Mane, Missa cum expositione SSⁿⁱ Sacramenti et recitatio Coronulae SSⁿⁱ Cordis Iesu.

6. In singulis sextis feriis Quadragesimae : pium exercitium Viae Crucis.

7. In festo Corporis Christi, mane canitur Missa ; vespere, ut in aliis feriis quintis per annum.

8. In Dominica infra octavam Corporis Christi, fit Processio.

9. Epiphania Domini habetur ut festum speciale pro Adoratione Reparatrice. Mane, canitur Missa. Vespere, ut in aliis festis per annum de praecepto.

10. In festo S. Ioachim titularis Ecclesiae. Mane canitur Missa. Vespere ut in aliis festis per annum diebus.

11. In festis solemnioribus, quae propria sunt Congregationis SSñi Redemptoris, omnia disponantur de iudicio et ad praescriptum Superioris ipsius Congregationis.

12. Si aliquando, datis per annum diebus, ob rerum peculiarium adiuncta, aliquid immutandum videbitur circa Adorationis Reparatricis actus supra enumeratos, Director generalis singulis vicibus providebit, de consensu tamen Superioris sui.

IX. Ordo dierum, diversis nationibus assignatorum pro Adoratione Reparatrice, in posterum statuitur ut infra :

Dies Dominica. Pro Italia, Gallia, Hispania, Portugallia, Belgio.

Feria secunda. Pro omnibus aliis regionibus Europae continentalis et insularis.

Feria tertia. Pro Asia.

Feria quarta. Pro Africa.

Feria quinta. Pro America septentrionali et centrali.

Feria sexta. Pro America meridionali.

Sabbato. Pro Oceania.

X. Qui pio Sodalitio nomen dant, ex quacumque gente, per dimidiam circiter horam orationi vacant coram SSño semel in hebdomada, in die suae cuiusque nationi assignata, ut in numero praecedenti : vel alio hebdomadae die, si legitime impediti fuerint. Adscripti, in Urbe degentes, dimidiam horam, ut supra, in oratione insumunt in Ecclesia, in qua SSñum expositum est in forma Quadraginta Horarum ; qui extra Romam degunt, in qualibet Ecclesia in qua SSñum Sacramentum asservatur.

XI. SSñus Dñus Noster Leo PP. XIII. rata esse voluit quae iam decrevit, per litteras in forma Brevis datas die 6 Martii anni 1883, sacrarum Indulgentiarum munera iis omnibus qui ordini Sodalium ab Adoratione Reparatrice dederint nomen. Praeterea nonnullas alias, motu proprio, largitus est sub die 6 mensis Septembris anni 1898.

XII. Praedictarum omnium Indulgentiarum summarium hoc est :

1. Omnibus et singulis pio Sodalitio adscriptis extra Urbem degentibus, qui, iuxta ipsius Sodalitii instituta, in sua quisque regione, quamlibet Ecclesiam devote visitaverint, in qua Sacramentum Augustum asservatur, et coram Ipso per mediam

circiter horam oraverint, dummodo reliqua pietatis iniuncta opera praestiterint, consequuntur quotidie omnes et singulas Indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones et poenitentiarum relaxationes, quas consequerentur si adessent Orationi Quadraginta Horarum iisdem diebus in Ecclesiis Urbis (Breve 6 Martii, 1883), idest : *Indulgentiam plenariam*, si vere poenitentes, confessi ac sacra communione refecti per dimidiam circiter horam, ut supra, coram SSmo Sacramento oraverint; *Indulgentiam decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum*, quotiescumque vere poenitentes, cum firmo proposito confitendi, aliquam Ecclesiam visitaverint et per aliquod tempus coram SSmo Sacramento pias preces effuderint (Breve ut supra).

2. Adscriptis pio Sodalitio in Urbe existentibus, qui vere poenitentes, confessi atque Sacra Communione refecti, qualibet hebdomada, die per praesentia Statuta ipsis designato, vel etiam alio die, quatenus legitime impediti fuerint, per dimidiam circiter horam SSmum Sacramentum adoraverint in Urbis Ecclesiis, in quibus fit Quadraginta Horarum oratio, praeter Indulgentias Quadraginta Horarum, conceditur :

Indulgentia plenaria semel in singulis per annum mensibus, uno die cuiusque eorum arbitrio sibi eligendo (Breve 6 Martii, 1883).

Iisdem adscriptis pio Sodalitio Romae existentibus, qui singulis hebdomadis, statuta die, vel alia, quatenus impediti ut supra, dimidiam circiter horam adorationis peregerint in Ecclesia S. Ioachimi in Urbe coram SSmo exposito, SSmus Dñus Noster Leo Papa XIII, motu proprio, sub die 6 mensis Septembris anni 1898, concessit omnes et singulas Indulgentias, quae consequerentur, si id praestarent in Ecclesiis Urbis, in quibus fit oratio Quadraginta Horarum.

3. Praeterea, sub eadem die 6 Septembris 1898, Sanctitas Sua concessit *Indulgentiam septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum* omnibus Christifidelibus quotiescumque devote adstiterint in eadem Ecclesia S. Ioachimi cuilibet ex piis actibus in num. VIII praesentium Statutorum expressis. Concessit denique idem SSmus Dñus Noster Leo Papa XIII in perpetuum *Indulgentiam Plenariam* omnibus Christifidelibus in die festo S. Ioachimi, dummodo poenitentes, confessi et sacra Communione refecti, visitent ecclesiam S. Ioachimi in Urbe, ibique orent pro Ecclesiae catholicae exaltatione et ad mentem Summi Pontificis (6 Septembris 1898).

Omnes et singulae supramemoratae Indulgentiae sunt defunctis applicabiles.

SSm̃us Dñus Noster Leo PP. XIII, qui in suo Motu Proprio sub die 21 Iulii huius decurrentis anni iam edixerat se opportune perlaturum leges, ad quarum normam regeretur pium Sodalitium sub titulo ab adoratione Reparatrice Gentium Catholicarum, in Ecclesia S. Ioachimi de Urbe canonice erectum, in Audientia habita die 6 Septembris 1898 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, audita relatione de Statutis pro memorata pio Sodalitio, ex iussu eiusdem Sanctitatis Suae elaboratis, mandavit, ut per Rescriptum praefatae S. Congregationis memorata Statuta approbarentur, una cum eisdem adnexo Summario omnium Indulgentiarum, quibus idem pium Sodalitium ab eadem Sanctitate Sua huc usque ditatum fuit. Quapropter eadem S. Congregatio, mandato SSmi obtemperans, per praesens Rescriptum Statuta dicti Sodalitii, uti prostant in superiore schemate, approbat et servanda praecipit ab universis eidem Sodalitio adscriptis et in posterum adscribendis: item et praedictum Summarium, nunc primum ex documentis excerptum, uti authenticum recognoscit simulque typis mandari permittit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 19 Septembris 1898.

FR. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ ANTONIUS ARCHIEP. ANTINOEN, *Secretarius*.

IOSEPHUS M^a. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

BLESSING OF THE BAPTISMAL FONT BY THE CHAPTER

DUBIUM QUOAD CONSUETUDINEM BENEDICENDI FONTEM BAPTISMALEM A CAPITULO

Rñus Dñus Iosephus Maria Rancés et Villanueva Episcopus Gaditanus, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi, ea quae sequuntur pro opportuna declaratione reverenter exposuit, nimirum: Per antiqua est in civitate Gaditana Ecclesia, cui titulus Sanctae Crucis, quae dimidio decimitertii saeculi a catholico sapientissimoque rege Alphonso X, fundata, ad annum usque millesimum octingentesimum trigesimum octavum Cathedralis simul et

parochialis fuit, quo quidem tempore ad hodiernum et munificentissimum templum praedicto anno consecratum Capitulum translatum est, hoc tamen modo ut, licet antiquum templum septuaginta circiter passibus a novo distet, tamen ex tunc temporis tanquam huius Sacrarium habitum fuerit, ad quod idem Capitulum quotannis processionaliter convenire consuevit, tum in Sabbato Sancto tum in Vigilia Pentecostes, impertiendi ergo benedictionem fonti baptismali. Anno autem millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo sexto Antistes Gaditanus Fr. Felix de Arriete et Slano, utriusque Ecclesiae bono valde interesse iudicans illas omnino disgregare, reapse eas seiunxit, variasque, quas maxime existimavit opportunas, tum Capitulo tum paracho conditiones imponens, praedictam consuetudinem fontem benedicendi baptismalem in Sabbato Sancto et Vigilia Pentecostes a Capitulo non modo non improbavit, quin potius tanquam laudabilem proseguendam statuit, prout usque nunc reipsa factum est.

Hinc Rñus Orator postulat :

‘Utrum, attentis circumstantiis supra expositis, talis consuetudo benedicendi fontem baptismalem a Capitulo servari possit?’

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, omnibus in casu expensis, respondendum censuit: *Affirmative*, dummodo utriusque Ecclesiae unicus sit fons baptismalis.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 8 Iunii 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

**DECISION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS
AND REGULARS REGARDING CONVENT SCHOOLS IN
FRANCE**

EX S. CONGREG. EPISC. ET REG.

AVENIONEN

SCHOLAE NORMALIS

Die 17 Martii, 1899.

Postremis hisce temporibus magna disceptatio exoriri coepit inter Galliae Praesules nec non in Congregationibus Mulierum religiosarum instructioni et educationi puellarum inservientium,

circa institutionem scholae vel scholarum normalium pro sororibus quae licentiam seu diploma ad docendum in cursibus superioribus consequi cuperent. Contentionis occasio fuit liber quidam, cui titulus *Religiosae docentes et Necessitas Apostolatus* in lucem editus a Sorore Maria S. Cordis e Congregatione Filiarum Nostrae Dominae; quo in libro plura referuntur circa inferioritatem scholarum virginum Deo sacrarum, sub duplici aspectu Instructionis et Pedagogiae prae scholis status; ad quod malum evitandum proponitur et propugnatur nova methodus et ratio studiorum per scholae normalis foundationem, quae ex una parte dum respondet desideriis familiarum tradentium sororibus puellas pro institutione, ex altera ponit religiosas docentes in conditione aemulandi scholas laicas. Ut in re tanti momenti quaedam certa norma haberi posset Archiepiscopus Avenionensis, sub finem elapsi anni per appositas literas censuit Apostolicam Sedem consulere. Sacra vero Congregatio Episcoporum et Regularium, ad quam etiam aliae reclamaciones circa eandem rem devenerant, de mandato SSmi. sequentes literas circulares dedit ad omnes Galliae Episcopos.

‘De mandato SSmi Dni Nostri Leonis Riv. Prov. PP. XIII precor Amplitudinem (pro Cardinali Eminentiam) Tuam, ut velit breviter significare huic S. Congregationi EE. et RR. quid ipsa Amplitudo Tua in Dno sentiat de quaestione nuper in Galliis excitata a quadam Sorore cognomento “Mariae de Sacré Cœur de la Congregation de Notre Dame” circa institutionem scholae, ut aiunt, Normalis ad altius erudiendas Virgines Deo sacras, quae ad magisterii munus in variis feminei sexus Institus destinantur. Mens siquidem est Sanctitatis Suae, perspecta prius super huiusmodi quaestione Sacrorum Antistitum sententia, diiudicare utrum et quomodo annuendum sit quorundam votis qui expetunt rem Auctoritate Apostolica dirimi ac definiri. Interea tamen nihil profecto magis optandum quam ut silentiam hac de re fiat.’

‘Haec communicanda erant Amplitudini Tuae, cui fausta omnia a Dno adprecor (pro Cardinali, Eminentiae T. cuius manus humillime deosculor).’

Episcopi vero in suis literis responsivis ad S. Congregationem varii varia senserunt. Nonnulli etenim autumant revera methodum docendi, quam sequuntur sorores in Gallia, aliquantisper deficere, et hinc propositum factum a Sorore Maria a S. Corde sub aliquo respectu amplectendum esse, sed semper cum depen-

dentia a S. Sede. Alii e contra rentur rationem studiorum a Sororibus instauratam sufficientem esse et fini suo respondere, adeoque relatum librum esse reiiciendum. Ob prudentia leges et ob vetitum S. Congregationis ulteriora non referuntur.

Hisce acceptis literis et aliis de ritu peractis tam gravis quaestio proposita fuit solutioni in plenario Eñorum Patrum auditorio diei 17 Martii, 1899, qui, omnibus mature perpensis, decisionem emiserunt prout ex sequentibus literis ad Galliae Episcopus.

ILLUSTRISSE AC REVERENDISSEIME DOMINE

In plenario Conventu Eminentissimorum Patrum huius Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, habito in Aedibus Vaticanis die 17 Martii 1899, proposita fuit Causa Avenionen. Scholae Normalis, sub hisce quae sequuntur dubiorum formulis :

I. 'Se convenga approvare, il disegno della creazione di una grande Scuola normale per le Religiose insegnanti, quale è proposto nel libro di Suor Maria del Sacro Cuore.'

Et quatenus negative :

II. 'Se convenga adottare qualche misura per migliorare l'insegnamento femminile negli Istituti Religiosi.'

Universa rei ratione mature perpensa, Eñi Patres respondendum censuerunt.

Ad primum : negative et librum esse reprehensione dignum.

Ad secundum : non esse locum ordinationi generali : providetur, quatenus opus fuerit, in casibus particularibus : interim vero per Galliarum Episcopos notum fiat Religiosis Mulierum Congregationibus, quibus ex apostolica approbatione munus commissum est erudiendi in pietate et scientia adolescentulas, sese bene admodum meruisse de christiana et civili puellarum institutione ; ac propterea Sacra haec Congregatio, dum debitas eis rependit laudes, spem firmam fovet eas etiam in posterum muneri suo non defuturas, atque, dirigentibus, ut par est, et coadiuvantibus Episcopis, media idonea adhibituras, quibus valeant iustis christianarum familiarum desideriis cumulate respondere et alumnas sibi concreditae ad eam provehere culturam quae mulierem christianam deceat.

Et facta de praemissis relatione SSmo D. N. Leoni Papae XIII in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 24 Martii. Sanctitas Sua Eminentissimorum Patrum sententiam in omnibus ratam habere et confirmare dignata est.

Haec Sacrae Congregationis nomine significanda habui Amplitudini Tuae Revmæ, cui in testimonium observantiæ meae fausta omnia a Deo adprecor.

Romæ ex Secretaria S. C. Epp. et RR. die 27 Martii 1899.

RELIGIOUS LIFE OUTSIDE THE CLOISTER

EX S. C. SUPER DISCIPLINA REGULARI

LITTERÆ EMINENTISSIMI PRAEFECTI QUOAD RELIGIOSOS QUI

DEGERE CUPIUNT EXTRA CLAUSTRA

N. N. EPISCOPO N.

ILLME AC REVME DOMINE UTI FRATER,

Difficili Regularium hodiernæ conditione occurrere satagens, S. Congregatio super Disciplina Regulari, pro illis Religiosis, qui gratia vocationis destituti, vel de alia rationabili causa muniti, extra claustra degere voluerunt, et tractu temporis vellent, auditis Superioribus generalibus Ordinis maturo consilio, statuit atque decrevit: 'ut ipsis facultas tribueretur manendi extra claustra habitu regulari dimisso, ad annum: quo tempore S. Patrimonium sibi constituerent; Episcopum benevolum receptorem invenirent; atque deinde, pro saecularizatione perpetua, iterum recurrerent, et interim Sacra facientes, verbum Domini praedicantes, fidelibus populis pia conversatione prodesse valerent.'

Quibus autem dispositionibus iurisdictio Episcopalis nulli subest detrimento: namque Ordinarius invitus non cogitur illos in suum Clerum cooptare, neque Beneficiis ecclesiasticis proponere: sed perdurante gratia concessionis, eiusdemque a Sede Apostolica consecuta prorogatione, ad sacra obeunda ministeria, pro lubitu in sua dioecesi habitare potest, si velit. Neque ullam huic agendi rationi dubitationem infert Decretum *Auctis admodum* 1892, quia hoc per regulam generalem afficit Instituta recentia votorum simplicium; ac tantum per exceptionem respicit Ordines proprie dictos, in quibus vota solemnia Religiosi nuncupant. Quae tamen exceptio, si fieri contigerit, in singulari decreto adamussim notatur, ita ut speciale Rescriptum eiusque condiciones legem pro individuo constituunt: et solummodo ab eo Ordinarius sui agendi rationem quaerere debeat.

Iam vero litteris, quas die 4 Iulii currentis anni Amplitudo Tua ad hanc S. Congregationem mittere existimavit, relate ad

PP . . . Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis, et pro quibus, ut ait : 'quin onera Episcopi benevoli receptoris in se suscipiat, aliquod levamen ipsis offerre desiderat; ideoque licentiam exposcit, ut Ordinem exercere valeant ad suum beneplacitum etc.'

Hic S. Ordo respondit : 'Religiosos huiusmodi esse saecularizatos ad annum et interim etc. (ut supra), pertinere ad Ordines votorum solemnium; proinde nisi sint aliqua speciali censura irretiti" nulla ipsi indigent nova facultate, ut Sacris ministeriis Episcopo auctorante, in respectiva dioecesi possint vacare.

Et haec dicta sint, ut ius et regula agendi in re Tibi proponatur, cui a Deo Optimo Maximo cuncta felicia adprecamur.

Amplitudinis Tuae uti Frater Addictissimus.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

FACULTIES GRANTED TO THE MASTER-GENERAL OF THE DOMINICANS

DECRETUM, QUO INDULGETUR MAGISTRO ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM DISPENSARE CERTUM NUMERUM CONVERSORUM UT INTRA CLAUSURAM RECIPIANTUR, QUANDO INCOEPERINT ANNUM DECIMUM OCTAVUM

BEATISSIME PATER,

Fr. Hyacinthus Maria Cormier, Procurator Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter provolutus, exponit quod decretum fel. record. Clementis X, 16 maii 1675, prohibentis Conversos habitu donari, imo intra clausuram admitti, antequam vigesimum aetatis suae annum compleverint, non levibus hodie obnoxium esse inconvenientibus. Nam iuvenes qui, afflante divina gratia, sacra claustra ingredi expetebant ad salutem aeternam tutius consequendam, has sanctas dispositiones crescentibus annis, saeculi fallacis decepti, saepe nimis amittunt, et, quando vigesimum annum attingunt, iam passionum illecebris falsaeque amore libertatis inveniuntur illaqueati. Quod si adhuc de sectanda religiosa perfectione familiae pulsant, audientes se debere sex menses postulatus peragere, posteaque per tres annos in qualitate Tertiariorum Religioni inservire, ut deinde ad novitiatum admittantur, post annum novitiatu vota simplicia et demum post tres alios annos vota solemnia andem emissuri, tot inducias formidantes haud raro recedunt. Inde necessitas servos saecu-

lares in Conventibus adhibendi cum dispendio non levi tam paupertatis quam vitae regularis. His perpensis et approbante Reverendissimo Ordinis Magistro P. Fr. Andrea Frühwirth, dictus Procurator suppliciter a Sanctitate Vestra petit, ut Ordinis Magister pro tempore certum numerum Postulantium Conversorum a Sanctitate Vestra determinandum, possit, quando annum decimum et octavum incoeperunt, intra clausuram recipere ut ibi seriem probationum prudentur in Ordine stabilitarum percurrant, suoque tempore ad professionem admittantur.

Sacra Congregatio super Disciplina Regulari, attentis expositis, benigne annuit pro petita facultate, sed per quindecim tantum Postulantes. Conversi saltem decimum octavum annum expleverint; et si aliquando ad formalem probationem fuerint admittendi, non prius admittantur nisi expleta aetate a Constitutionibus Apostolicis et Ordinis praefinita et in loco pro Novitiatu designato: servatis ceteris conditionibus, quae in decreto diei 10 iunii 1880 reperiuntur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romane, diei 23 Augusti, 1898.

S. Card. VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

A. TROMBETTA, *Secret.*

WATER USED IN BAPTISM

UTINEN. DUBIA QUOAD AQUAM BAPTISMALEM

Rifus Dominus Aegyptianus Canonicus Prugnetti Provicarius Generalis Archidioeceseos Utinensis a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentium dubiorum solutionem humillime postulavit, nimirum:

I. Utrum aqua baptismalis, Sabbato Sancto et Vigilia Pentecostes, benedicenda sit in ecclesiis tantum parochialibus, vel etiam in filialibus quae sacrum fontem legitime habent?

II. Et quatenus affirmative ad secundum partem, utrum sufficiat aquam benedicere, usque ad Ss. Oleorum infusionem exclusive in parochiali ecclesia, et inde aqua ad alias ecclesias delata, in singulis ecclesiis Ss. Oleorum infusionem peragere, vel debeat integra in singulis ecclesiis fieri benedictio?

III. Utrum deficiente clero in ecclesiis filialibus, vel eodem impedito mane Sabbati Sancti ob functiones parochiales, et

vespere ob domorum benedictionem, liceat renovationem fontis ad alium diem differre?

IV. Utrum Parochus in cuius paroecia plures sunt ecclesiae cum fonte baptismali, quique ius habet conficiendi in singulis renovationem sacri fontis, quam per se nequit perficere, debeat alium Sacerdotem delegare ad eam Sabbato Sancto et Vigilia Pentecostes peragendam?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque expensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. et II. *Negative* ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundum, iuxta Rubricas et Decreta.

Ad III. *Negative*, et in casu adhibeatur *Memoriale Rituum pro Ecclesiis minoribus* iussu Benedicti XIII. editum.

Ad IV. *Affirmative*.

Atque ita rescripsit. die 13 Ianuarii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

RULES OF THE SODALITY OF REPARATION

BEATISSIME PATER,

Aloisius Palliola Cong. SSmi Redemptoris Rector Ecclesiae S. Joachim de Urbe et Director Generalis Pii Sodalitii Universalis ab Adoratione Reparatrice Sacratissimi Sacramenti Nationum Catholicarum ad pedes S. V. provolutus sequentia humillime exponit.

S. V. per decr. S. Conc. Indulg. et SS. Relig. d. d. 19 Septembris 1898 dignata est statuta de mandato suo composita praescribere pro moderatione praefati pii sodalitii et specialia quidem pro ipsa Ecclesia S. Joachim ubi sedes est primaria.

Iam vero plures directores dioecesani ad Directorem Generalem supplicantes ut quae sacritas vestra praescripsit statuta specialia pro Ecclesia S. Joachim de Urbe extendantur (mutatis mutandis pro arbitrio ordinariorum iusta adiuncta locorum) ad illas Ecclesias ubi Pium Sodalitium involuit. Quapropter orator instantor supplicat S. V. ut ad majus incrementum ac firmitatem necnon ad uberiores fructuum segetem Pii Sodalitii iuxta mentem S. V. huius operis auctoris praecibus praefatorum directorum benigne ammere dignetur Pro gratia.

SSmus Dominus Noster Leo Pp. XIII. benigne annuit in omnibus iuxta praeceps ad praeterea extendit ad omnes Ecclesias de quibus in ipsis praecibus indulgentiam septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum quam concessit die 6 Septembris, 1898, pro Ecclesia S. Joachim Romae. Praesentibus in perpetuum volituris absque ulla brevis expeditione contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secria S. Congnis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 18 Augusti, 1899.

Fr. HYERONIMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

A. SABBATUCCI, Archiepus. ANTINOEN, *Secretarius*.

TRANSLATION OF CANDLEMAS

CIRCA TRANSLATIONEM BENEDICTIONIS SOLEMNIS CANDELARUM

Rmus Episcopus Aginnensis in Galliis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi humiliter exposuit quod in sua dioecesi praesertim ruricolae degunt et difficile ad Cereorum Benedictionem, die II Februarii ecclesiam frequentant ob festi Purificationis suppressionem.

Quapropter expostulavit ut in eadem Dioecesi benedictio solemnibus Candelarum quae fit iuxta Rituum die 2^a Februarii, in dominicam sequentem transferretur.

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito etiam voto commissionis Liturgicae rescribendum censuit: 'Servetur Decretum in una *Rhemen*. 7 Februarii, 1874.' Atque ita rescripsit. Die 27 Ianuarii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

SOLUTION OF DOUBTS REGARDING THE DIVINE OFFICE

TRIA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Rmus Dnus Paulus Bruchesi Archiepiscopus Marianopolitanus, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi, sequentia dubia, pro opportuna solutione humiliter subiecit, nimirum:

I. Utrum preces quae flexis genibus, ad omnes horas in feriis poenitentialibus dicuntur, pariter in fine Matutini, quando separatur a Laudibus, sunt addendae?

II. Utrum antiphonae 'Ne reminiscaris' et 'Trium puerorum' quae privatim a Sacerdote recitantur ante et post Missam, duplicandae sunt vel non, iuxta ritum officii ab ipso recitati, vel iuxta ritum Missae quam celebrat?

III. An satisfacit obligationi suae clericus in ordinibus sacris constitutus, qui sponte vel invitatus se adiungit clero officium ab officio ipsius clerici diversum canenti vel recitanti?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio referente subscripto Secretario, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, re mature perpensa, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. Ad libitum in casu iuxta ritum Officii vel Missae.

Ad III. Negative, seculso privilegio.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 27 Ianuarii, 1899.

C. Card. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

IDYLS OF KILLOWEN. A Soggarth's Secular Verses. By the Rev. Mathew Russell, S.J. London: Bowden, 1899.

THIS fresh volume of verses was laid on our library table during the summer holidays. Nearly two months ago we saw it reviewed in several English journals. The critics have said their word about it; the public have formed their judgment as to its merits. It is, therefore, rather late for us to come along and express our opinion. Fortunately, our readers need no spur to their admiration for Father Russell's work. They know the line he has chosen and the excellence he has attained. The verses before us, however, are secular, though not profane; and where they touch on sacred things they do so from a more or less secular point of view. They are uneven in merit. The exigencies of rhyme have sometimes forced the author's hand; although it is impossible not to admire the ingenuity of device by which even a forced rhyme is sometimes achieved. What, for instance, could be more brave than this?—

'Twere better if in graceful round
My thoughts could move—but, arrah!
What can a poet do who's bound
To close each verse with Yarra.

'Glenaveena' is a still greater triumph—rhyming as it does with Terracina, Bohernabreena, concertina, Wilhelmina, and scarlatina.

For a combination of the grave and gay, it is long since we have met anything to equal these verses. The poems are anything but worldly, dealing as most of them do with very solemn themes; but there is a vein of sly humour running through them that is really captivating. Take, for instance, 'The Irish Farmer's Sunday Morning.' Part of this poem would recall the ode of Pope Leo XIII. on 'Frugal Living,' or Ovid's description of the simplicity of the golden age. The Sunday breakfast and the Sunday preparation of the family for Mass are most happily touched off. The boys are first out with their father; for they like to talk and to look around them before Mass begins. The girls take longer to prepare, and can only do so

comfortably when they have seen the boys depart. Then 'herself' is ready :

At length the mother issues forth arrayed
 In all her splendour—for the sun shines bright—
 Grumbling benignly that she is delayed
 By her two youngest, not yet wholly 'right.'
 But now they beam before her, and delight,
 The mother's heart with prettiness sedate.
 Off hand in hand they set, a touching sight ;
 While she, half angry, cries, as clinks the gate,
 Mind, 'tis the curate's day. I'll lay my life, you're late.

There is also a sly thrust at certain weighty 'councils' in the following :—

The reverend patriarchs, throned on yonder wall,
 With ardour keen their last debate renew
 Upon the great world's politics, and all
 The current wars and markets ; though 'tis true
 Their facts are stale, apocryphal and few,
 Their judgment wrong, predictions false, no doubt ;
 And like to councils of more weight, which you
 And I could name, they'd make more modest rout
 Knew they a little more of what they talk about.

The 'In Memoriam' verses on Dr. Russell and Father Burke, O.P., and the 'Learics,' on various literary celebrities, have a personal interest for a very wide circle. We heartily recommend this handsome little volume ; and though our recommendation comes late, we trust it will not prove less effective for its purpose than many of the earlier ones.

RELIGION OF SHAKESPEARE. Chiefly from the Writings of the late Mr. Richard Simpson, M.A. By Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London : Burns and Oates. New York : Benziger, Bros. Price 7s. 6d.

WE undertook the reviewing of the above work with prejudices decidedly in its disfavour. We had always regarded the writings of the great dramatist as a vast world wherein every religion, every philosophy, and every intellectual movement of the past or of the present found with more or less clearness its forecast or its reflection ; and we had therefore, believed, to use his own words, that there was no 'fatal error but some sober brow would bless it, and approve it with a text'—a text from his own plays of poems. We must confess, however, that when we had laid Father Bowden's work aside, we found that our prejudices were in great part unwarranted, and found, moreover, that the light of

careful criticism had fallen on more than one passage hitherto dark to us.

When one takes up a work such as this, one naturally seeks to discover the precise terms of the proposition which the work is intended to prove. In the first chapter, page 55, we find the words: 'The greatest of English poets is not the product of the Tudor age, nor of any past mediæval system, but of that Catholicism revealed and divine which is in all time.' This statement, which is not free from vagueness, must evidently be read side by side with another put forward in page 122: 'We have neither regarded nor represented Shakespeare as a bold and fearless champion of the faith, but rather as one who, whatever his convictions, was desirous, as far as possible of avoiding any suspicion of recusancy.' The author's thesis, therefore, is—that Shakespeare was as much a Catholic as one dared be in those days without danger to one's personal safety. The task of proving more than this would be utterly hopeless, except, perhaps, to the discoverer of 'cryptograms. The very position of a dramatist, strongly Catholic in his plays would in those days have been impossible. After the appearance of his first Catholic play, his fate would have been the fate of Campion. Further, although it is possible that Shakespeare could have been a good Catholic at heart without having been obviously Catholic in his dramas, it has to be remembered that he suffered his daughters to be reared Protestants, and besides left no reliable evidence of practical faith.

One of the principal arguments for the author's proposition lies in the use which Shakespeare makes of older plays. These plays came in some instances from the pens of rabid Reformers who never missed an opportunity of scurrilous attack on Catholicity. It is, therefore, more than significant that Shakespeare in his adaptations of the works of others carefully purges them of all that would be offensive to the Catholic. This is conspicuously so in *King John*. The original, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, was expressly composed to glorify Protestantism and vilify the ancient faith. It is full of virulent bigotry and ribald stories of nuns and friars, all which Shakespeare had but to leave untouched to secure popularity. And yet all is as rigourously excluded as though he were some censor appointed by ecclesiastical authority. Possibly, there is one small point of the proof to which Father Bowden might have

attended. He ought, we think, to have shown by a word or two that Shakespeare was not impelled to these excisions by dramatic necessity.

The second class of proof which the author adduces is based on the Catholic tone of the dramas. He gives us instances without number in which Shakespeare reflects with perfect accuracy the teachings of the Catholic divines, the tenets of the schoolmen, and the directions of rubricists. Such subjects as divine love, obligation of an oath, theory of knowledge, service for the dying, and countless others attest the accuracy of Shakespeare's knowledge of all things Catholic; and the frequency with which they are introduced, shows his fondness for the old religion. We cannot praise sufficiently the clearness with which these reflections of Catholicity are brought under our notice. Not alone do the extracts form a delightful revision of the entire Shakespeare, but the brief explanations, theological and philosophical, which accompany them must enhance the value of the book in the eyes of the priest or the student. We must, however, in fairness say that Father Bowden appears in one or two instances to be guilty of special pleading; for instance, in his attempt to explain how a Catholic could, as in *Hamlet*, represent a blessed spirit inciting to revenge.

And, again, in his attempt to show, or rather in his suggestion that the compliment to Elizabeth, the 'imperial votaress,' who passes 'in maiden meditation, fancy free,' may be read in quite an opposite sense by omitting the comma after 'meditation.' Further, we must confess to a great distrust for any proofs drawn from the 'sonnets,' which may, indeed, be made to furnish many a telling quotation, but which examined as wholes, remain the mysteries they have always been. In addition, this is a very small matter; we think that in the side-reference to Boetius, Father Bowden should not have described him as a saint and martyr without adding a brief note to explain his reasons for departing from the common opinion that he was a pagan. But, enough of fault-finding. Father Bowden's book has effectually laid to rest the pretensions of Dowden, Kreysig, Knight, and others who have sought to prove that Shakespeare was a fatalist, a pantheist, an agnostic, a Protestant, or a Calvinist. That he has discovered the secret of his vitality we do not believe. He thinks Shakespeare was great because he was so Catholic; we think he was great because he was so human; and we believe that had he

been a pagan, he would scarcely have been less great. Difference of view, however, is not to be interpreted as condemnation of a work which we have found absorbing in its interest. Father Bowden tells us that with the exception of three chapters, the work is really that of Mr. Simpson ; but it is only fair to him to say, that these chapters are in every way fit companions for the rest. Also, the language throughout is evidently his own—language, terse and pointed, strong with the strength of his great master.

THE CATHOLIC VISITOR'S GUIDE TO ROME. By Rev. Wilfred Dallow. London : R. T. W. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row. Paper, 6d. ; cloth, 1s. 1899.

VISITORS to Rome will heartily thank Father Dallow for this most useful and convenient guide. Even those who by way of preparation for a visit to the Eternal City have perused the elaborate works of Eustace, Donovan, and Hare, will find this little work simply invaluable. The best preparation for a visit to Rome is, no doubt, a careful and systematic study of Roman history, both ancient and modern ; but when one is on the spot, and has only a limited time to visit the various places of interest, some such guide as Father Dallow has given us, is an absolute necessity. This one is less cumbersome than the ordinary guides and sufficiently full for practical purposes. It opens with some very useful hints to the traveller and to priests in particular. It gives a few paragraphs to each of the principal resting-places *en route*—Paris, Turin, Genoa, Pisa. It explains certain peculiarities regarding hotels, railway-porters, cabs, guides, and local customs, which it is the interest of the traveller to know. It takes the visitor by the hand and accompanies him for twelve days to all the hallowed spots in and around the city. It shows how time can be economized, and how the most may be made of it. It classifies and combines the objects of interest with skill and success. Finally, it leads the traveller home again through Orvieto, Florence, Bologna, Loretto, Venice, Milan, the St. Gothard, and lands him safely on British soil, after a most interesting and enjoyable excursion.

We heartily recommend this guide to Catholics who intend visiting Rome, and have but a short time to spend there. When such a cheap and excellent guide can be had there is no reason why Catholics should spend their money on guides that are full

of impudent and ignorant comments on things Catholic. It is really too much to expect Catholics to pay for such rubbish. It is high time for them to resent in the most practical way in their power the insults that are offered them at almost every page of the so-called 'popular' guides. There is nothing to oblige us to help non-Catholics to make a fortune by insulting what they have not the grace to understand nor the manners to respect.

THE SACRED CEREMONIES OF LOW MASS, ACCORDING TO THE ROMAN RITE. Edited by the Rev. M. O'Callaghan, C.M. 5th Edition. Sixth thousand. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1899.

It is quite unnecessary to recommend Father O'Callaghan's *Ceremonies of Low Mass* to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. Most of them have seen one or other of the earlier editions, and the present edition does nothing more than present us with the changes demanded by recent legislation. These changes are, however, radical, in some instances, so that a copy of this new edition would be useful to most priests. Father O'Callaghan makes a statement on page 118 with regard to Private Requiem Masses which we are not prepared to adopt. He says that in certain circumstances *private* Requiem Masses may be celebrated on doubles of the *second class*, within the Octave of Christmas, the Epiphany, and Corpus Christi, and on the Vigil of the Epiphany. The decrees of June, 1896, and January, 1897, which the learned author appeals to in support of this statement, hardly bears it out. As a matter of fact, the recent decrees of the Congregation of Rites regarding Requiem Masses has raised a number of doubts which we should be glad to see discussed by competent writers. Needless to say, no one in Ireland is better qualified to discuss this subject than the distinguished author of the *Ceremonies of Low Mass*.

D. O'L.

MISSA XVI. IN HONOREM S. ANTONII DE PADUA, ad III. Voces Aequales. (Soprano, Mezzosoprano, Alto), organo comitante. Auctore Michaelae Haller, Op. 62°. Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath.

THIS is the third arrangement of a Mass first composed for two mixed voices, and then arranged for four mixed voices and organ. In this last arrangement, the author states in a prefatory

note, considerable liberty has been taken with the original in order to produce the best possible effects with three-part writing. The author also states that the accompaniment can, if necessary, be played without the use of the pedals, a possibility which will be appreciated where only a harmonium is available. Altogether this Mass can be well recommended. It may be described as fairly easy, like most of Haller's compositions, and, with the proper declamatory style of rendering, will prove effective. We would suggest to take the first Kyrie considerably quicker than indicated by the author. Being altogether in *Alla breve* movement, and almost completely without any figuration, it must, we are afraid, sound rather tedious at the pace marked. $\text{♩} = 52$ we should consider a suitable rate. The *Christe*, then, might be taken more slowly, so that the second *Kyrie*, at the pace marked, could appear accelerated, as intended.

H. B.

MISSA DE SS. VIRGINIBUS quam ad duas Voces Aequales concinente Organo vel Harmonio composuit Ign. Mitterer. Op. 79. Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath.

A SIMPLE Mass for two equal voices and organ and harmonium, distinguished by free flow of melody and great rhythmical life. The musical setting of the words must almost of necessity bring about a dramatic declamation, and the accompaniment with the phrasing carefully indicated in many places, does its part to throw the rhythmical divisions into relief. In a few places the harmonies are not in accordance with our ideal of Church music. But, on the whole, the Mass can unreservedly be recommended. There is nothing morbid about it, and though we sometimes feel a slight breath of sentimentality, still the expression always remains healthy.

H. B.

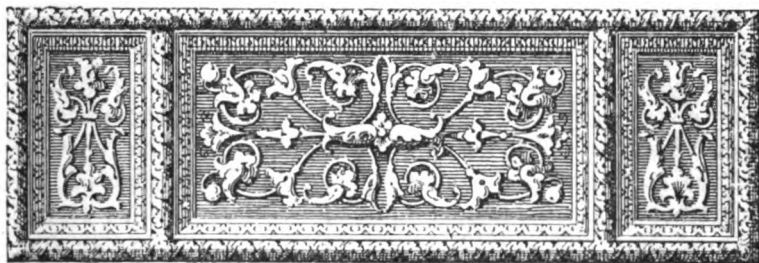
COMMENTARIJ DE DEO TRINO, DE VERBO INCARNATO, DE DEO CONSUMMATORE. Auctore Joanne MacGuinness, C.M., in Collegio Hibernorum Parisiensi Professore. Dublinii: Apud M. H. Gill & Son, O'Connell-street. 1889.

It has been our pleasing duty to say a few words on two previous volumes of theology, by Father MacGuinness. Now

the third volume has appeared. It contains the tracts:—*De Trinitate*, *De Incarnatione*, *De Novissimis*, and *De Cultu Sanctorum*. In this volume some of the most difficult mysteries of our faith are discussed. How well the learned author has done his work the reader can easily discover. As to the doctrines laid down we need say little. The necessary truths of our faith are explained and proved with unerring strength. Free doctrines are treated with that spirit of liberty which our Holy Church approves: yet no opinion is held without arguments of serious import. As to the manner of treatment, fewer words still are necessary. There is a clearness of expression joined with brevity which must ever be a welcome attribute of a work intended for weary students whose hours are full of labour.

Finally, it is our duty to say that Father MacGuinness possesses the inestimable gift of progress in such a degree that the marked improvement of successive volumes makes us hope that the present scholastic year will see a volume on *De Vera Religione* and *De Ecclesia* given to the world by the energetic author.

J. M. H.



SACRAMENTAL CAUSALITY.

I.

CARDINAL MANNING, in the *Eternal Priesthood*, gives expression to some very striking thoughts on the connection which exists between the priestly character and grace. He considers that the priest, by reason of his ordination, has acquired a perennial source of divine grace. That source is the character by which his soul has been adorned. This doctrine, as the Cardinal points out, is the teaching of St. Thomas. In the present paper we mean to explain the theological aspect of this view. The question does not belong specially to the sacerdotal character, nor indeed to the characteristic sacraments. It has an intimate bearing on all the sacraments of the New Law. The question, taken in its general aspect, resolves itself into this: What place must be given in sacramental theology to the 'res simul et sacramentum'? We cannot give a satisfactory reply unless we first explain the meaning of the phrase: 'res simul et sacramentum,' and point out what it is in the particular sacraments of the New Law.

A sacrament is a practical sign of grace. Hence, a sacrament signifies, and, signifying, causes grace. In this sacramental signification and operation three things, distinct from one another, are known to exist, the 'sacramentum tantum,' the 'res simul et sacramentum,' and the

'res tantum.'¹ The first has often been called the 'external sacrament,' whilst the second has been styled the 'internal sacrament.' We shall henceforth use these titles though they do not carry with them the full force of the Latin phrases usually employed. The external sacrament is that portion of the sacramental action, which, while it is a sign of the sacramental effects, is not signified by any previous sacramental sign. Thus in baptism the ablution by water and the sacramental form are the external sacrament, for they signify the character and the sanctifying grace given by the sacrament; but, being the first portions of the sacramental action, they have no preceding sacramental sign. The internal sacrament is that part of the sacramental operation which is signified by something previous, and signifies some ulterior effect of the sacraments. Thus in baptism the internal sacrament is the character which is signified by the external sacrament, and signifies sanctifying grace. The 'res tantum' of a sacrament is the term of all the sacramental signification; for, while it is signified by the external and internal sacraments, it does not signify any further sacramental effect. Sanctifying grace is that term in all the sacraments of the New Law, for towards it all their agencies tend, and beyond it no new sacramental effect is wrought.

This general explanation of the three sacramental phrases will be made more clear by an examination of the individual sacraments of the New Law. As our purpose is principally concerned with the internal sacrament, a few words will suffice about the external sacrament and the 'res tantum.' The rule we must adopt in distinguishing these three things in particular sacraments is abundantly clear from what we have said. The internal sacrament is something that, in its signification, comes between the external sacrament and sanctifying grace, which is the 'res tantum' of the sacraments, so that the external sacrament immediately signifies the internal sacrament, which, in turn, signifies sanctifying grace.

¹ S. T., 3, q. 66, a. 1,

The 'res tantum' of all the sacraments of the New Law is sanctifying grace, as we have already indicated. It is well to remember, however, that sanctifying grace is the 'res tantum' of different sacraments under different aspects. Each sacrament has an end which is proper to itself. For the purpose of gaining this end actual graces are required from time to time. These actual graces are given by God because of a right which each sacrament gives, and which is attached to sanctifying grace. This sanctifying grace, with this special claim, is called sacramental grace. Under this aspect sanctifying grace is the 'res tantum' of the sacraments; consequently, as sacramental grace is different for different sacraments, so also is sanctifying grace, under different aspects, the 'res tantum' of different sacraments of the New Law.

The external sacrament is the sensible rite, composed of matter and form. To this rite, by divine institution, a sacramental signification is given. This signification extends to all the effects of the sacrament. Moreover, it is the first action to which divine institution has attached any sacramental signification; consequently, it can have no previous sign. Hence it has the qualifications, positive and negative, which indicate the external sacrament. What that external rite is in the individual sacraments is easily seen. In Baptism it is the ablution by water, and the form 'Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.' In the Blessed Eucharist it is the species of bread and wine, with the forms 'Hoc est enim corpus meum,' and 'Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei.'

The internal sacrament, according to the majority of the older theologians, is some physical quality. In the characteristic sacraments it is the character. In the other sacraments it is some physical quality, which differs from the character at least in this, that the character has an indelible nature, while this 'ornatus' is transient, as in the Blessed Eucharist and Penance; or partially permanent, as in Extreme Unction and Matrimony. Since the doctrine of the non-physical causality of the sacraments has come into vogue a corresponding change is noticeable in indicating

the nature of the internal sacrament; so that now a moral entity is recognised, in some cases, as the internal sacrament. We do not intend to directly discuss this question. We shall, at most, indirectly do so by indicating what seems the most probable opinion about individual internal sacraments. All theologians agree that in the characteristic sacraments it is the character. The truth of this doctrine is evident in Confirmation and Holy Orders. Their external rites undoubtedly signify immediately the transferring of a power. The character is that power. Hence these sacraments immediately signify the character. The character, on its part, signifies sanctifying grace, without which it cannot worthily perform its sacramental operations. Consequently, the character is intermediate in signification between the external rite and sanctifying grace, and is, therefore, the internal sacrament. There is greater difficulty in explaining how the character holds that intermediate place in the Sacrament of Baptism, because the external ablution, made in the name of the Holy Trinity, seems to signify immediately the internal ablution from sin by sanctifying grace. Still a little consideration will show that sanctifying grace cannot be immediately signified by the external rite of Baptism. A sacrament, when valid, must have its immediate, and consequently essential, signification verified. Now, Baptism, though valid, does not always confer sanctifying grace. Hence it cannot be its immediate and essential signification. What, then, is? Clearly, it is the other effect of Baptism, which infallibly follows the external rite, viz., the character. But how is the meaning of 'I baptize thee,' verified in this? The character is the internal sacrament of ablution, and when the minister says 'I baptize thee,' he means, 'I give thee the internal sacrament of ablution,' just as the minister of penance, by 'I absolve thee,' means, 'I give thee the internal sacrament of absolution.' Hence the external rite signifies immediately the character. It, too, signifies the sanctifying grace which washes away original sin. Hence the baptismal character is intermediate in signification between the external rite and sanctifying grace, and is, in consequence, the internal Sacrament of Baptism.

Theologians also agree that in the Blessed Eucharist the internal sacrament is the Body and Blood of our Lord present under the sacred species. The species indefinitely signify that Real Presence, while the form 'Hoc est enim corpus meum' and 'Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei' more definitely is a sign of it. This Real Presence, on the other hand, is an indication of sanctifying grace. It, therefore, is signified and signifies, and is, consequently, the internal sacrament. There does not seem to be much difficulty either in finding out the internal Sacrament of Matrimony. It is the indissoluble bond which is immediately operated by the external contract, and so is signified by it. That bond, being, according to Rom. VI., a sign of the union between Christ and His Church, is also a sign of that union of sanctifying grace which exists between Christ and the souls of those members of the Church who have received the Sacrament of Matrimony.

It is not so easy to discover the internal Sacrament of Penance and Extreme Unction. Lugo¹ thinks that in penance it is the ease of conscience which usually follows the sacramental absolution, and which is a sign of reconciliation with God. St. Thomas² holds that it is the internal penance of the recipient, because this is signified by the external acts of the penitent which are an essential portion of the external rite, and signifies conciliation with God. Father Billot³ is of opinion that it is the right to freedom from sin which the priestly absolution gives. It is immediately signified by the external rite because the absolution of the priest follows the nature of every judicial sentence of freedom. But in ordinary mundane matters the sentence of a judge does not immediately signify actual freedom, but rather a right to freedom which follows if no obstacle intervene. Hence in the sacramental trial the absolution immediately signifies a right to freedom from sin, not actual freedom. This right, on its part, signifies sanctifying grace as is evident. So the internal Sacrament

¹ *De Sacr. in gen.*, Disp. ii., sect. viii.

² 3, q. 84, a. 1 ad 3.

³ *De Sacr.*, Th. vi.

of Penance is that right. Fr. Billot, however, subsequently¹ explains his view in such a way that it can be easily reconciled with the opinion of St. Thomas. He says that he regards that right as the official stamp of freedom impressed on the interior acts of the penitent. These acts thus judicially recognised are the internal sacrament. So also St. Thomas² explains that these acts as judicially received by the priestly judge and stamped by the seal of his reconciling authority are the internal Sacrament of Penance. Clearly these apparently different views are in reality only one. This view, which holds that the internal sacrament is the union of the internal dispositions and the right given by the sacramental absolution, seems to be the most probable opinion. Everything in the sacramental operation which is immediately signified by the external rite, and signifies grace is the internal sacrament. Now the external rite of penance immediately signifies not simply the internal dispositions of the recipient, nor merely the sacramental right given by absolution, but both united; because the external rite of penance consists of the externated dispositions of the recipient united with the form of absolution. The externated dispositions are a sign of internal dispositions, and the form indicates the right to freedom from sin. Hence the union of these is immediately signified by the external rite. In this union, of course, the right holds the determining place, and so to it is to be principally attributed the efficacy of the internal sacrament. This union, as is clear, signifies grace; so it holds the intermediate place required for the internal sacrament. It must not be objected that the internal dispositions of the penitent cannot, under any aspect, be the internal sacrament, inasmuch as they are not an effect of the external rite, but rather the cause of it. The reply is, that the dispositions under the aspect which we have indicated are an effect of the external rite; for the external rite causes that union between these

¹ *De Pœn.*, Th. iv

² P 4 Sent., D. 22, Q. 2, a. 1, q. 2.

dispositions and the sacramental right to freedom from sin, which, in our opinion, is the internal Sacrament of Penance.

In Extreme Unction there is great difficulty also in determining the internal sacrament. According to many it is the health of body which is caused by the anointing and the form of Extreme Unction, and which signifies the spiritual health which sanctifying grace gives to the soul. The opinion of Father Billot seems more probable. He points out that the form of Extreme Unction is deprecatory. It is a prayer, not the prayer of the individual, but of Christ expressed in the form: '*Per istam Sanctam Unctionem et Suam piissimam misericordiam indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid per visum redeliquisti.*' The anointing and that form have for their immediate signification a prayerful handing over of the sick person to the mercy of God, in order that his sins may be forgiven. There is not a word in the form which indicates immediately the bodily health of the patient. But there is an immediate indication of that deprecatory consecration to God's mercy by the prayer of Christ. That consecration too gives the subject a claim to indulgence, and so it signifies the remission of sin. Hence, that sacramental consecration to God's mercy in signification intervenes between the external rite and grace. It is, consequently, the internal Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

II.

Having seen what, in general, is meant by the internal sacrament, and what it is in particular sacraments, we naturally ask the question: Is there any utility in discussing this subject? If we hold, with many modern theologians, that there is no utility, or, at least, very little utility, in raising this question, we have spent our time in vain; but then we condemn the collected wisdom of centuries which gave birth to the consecrated phrase: '*res simul et sacramentum*;' and having produced it, passed it on from one generation of theologians to another. If this phrase be without utility, those generations of theologians must have acted in a very imprudent manner. We think, however,

that underlying it there is a doctrine which is of the utmost importance in sacramental theology. What, then, is its importance? What is its utility in the sacraments? It can be easily explained. Not only in signification, but also in operation does the internal sacrament intervene between the external rite and sanctifying grace. The external rite of a sacrament is a true cause of grace, whether physical or moral we do not mean to discuss here. The external rite in its causality may reach sanctifying grace immediately, or it may reach it only mediately, immediately producing the internal sacrament, which in turn causes grace. The doctrine that we wish to hold is that only mediately does the external rite operate grace. It immediately produces the internal sacrament. This is a disposition for grace. It is not a disposition in the sense that it removes obstacles to the infusion of grace, nor simply in the sense that it fits the subject for the reception of sanctification, but in the sense that it exacts grace from God. It is a supernatural disposition of such a nature that violence will be done to it by God if He does not give sanctifying grace when it is present. No doubt there may be obstacles to grace in the subject of the sacrament, which will prevent God from actually giving grace; but this defect is not to be attributed to God, who is ever ready to correspond with the exacting demands of the internal sacrament, but rather to the free will of man who has placed the obstacles, or, having placed, does not remove them. Our purpose, then, is to show that the sacraments of the New Law cause grace through the intervening causality of the internal sacrament. For this teaching there are arguments that may be taken from theological reason and from authority—arguments that refer to all the sacraments, to groups of sacraments, and to individual sacraments. It will be useful to first indicate some arguments that apply to individual sacraments; then to indicate some that apply to all or groups of sacraments; finally, to give an argument from the authority of St. Thomas, the great master of sacramental theology.

This teaching seems clear in reference to the Blessed

Eucharist. What in the Blessed Eucharist is the immediate cause of grace? Is it the external sacrament, the species of bread and wine determined by the sacramental form? Or is it rather the Body and Blood of our Lord which are really present under the species by the efficacy of the sacramental form? Not only reason, but also the Word of God seems to indicate that it is the Real Presence which is the immediate cause of grace. Reason says that when the author of all grace is Himself present, He gives to the soul to which He is united the nuptial dress of grace. St. John says: 'Then Jesus said to them: Amen, amen, I say unto you: Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you.' He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, hath everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day.'¹ We are here told negatively and positively that it is the flesh and blood of our Lord which give the life of grace which is a pledge of the life of glory to be enjoyed for ever in heaven. Consequently, it is not the external rite of the Blessed Eucharist, but its internal effect, the Real Presence, which is the immediate cause of grace.

If we examine the Sacrament of Penance, we cannot fail to see the same truth. Its internal sacrament is the right to grace which the priestly absolution has attached to the internal dispositions of the penitent. Is it this right to freedom, or the external sacramental sign of sorrow and absolution, that immediately causes grace? If we follow the analogy of all trials in which freedom is given to a prisoner by the sentence of a court, our course is clear. It is not that sentence which immediately liberates the prisoner; it gives a right to freedom because of which actual liberty is afterwards given if no obstacle intervene to prevent it. Another charge on which the judge has yet given no decision would be such an obstacle. Precisely the same happens in the supernatural trial which takes place in the Sacrament of Penance. The sentence of the judge does not give freedom from sin. There is immediately given a right to freedom from sin, because of which grace is infused into

¹ vi. 54, 55.

the soul for the remission of sin. Accordingly, the internal Sacrament of Penance interposes its operation between the external rite and sanctifying grace.

Lest us turn for a moment to Extreme Unction, and the same teaching is evidently true. In Extreme Unction the internal sacrament is the deprecatory consecration of the sick man to God's mercy. Is it this consecration or the external rite which is the immediate principle of grace? Evidently, it is that consecration, for through it the claim to grace is given, and, consequently, through it grace flows from the sacramental fount. Hence, in Extreme Unction, as in the Blessed Eucharist and Penance, the sacrament produces grace through its internal sacrament.

Matrimony too affords us an argument in favour of our teaching. Without it we cannot explain how the already existing matrimonial bond of newly-baptized infidels becomes sacramental. According to Pius IX. every valid matrimonial contract of baptized persons is a sacrament. Hence we are bound to hold that when two married infidels are baptized, their marriage becomes a sacrament, and causes grace. But where is this causality of grace? Is it possessed by the external contract formerly placed? But that was only potentially sacramental when entered into, and now remains only in its effect, the matrimonial bond. Is it by a new consent which the parties now elicit? But no new consent is necessary; for *eo ipso* that both parties are baptized, the marriage becomes a sacrament. It remains for us to hold that grace is caused by the matrimonial bond which has been elevated into a sacramental sign. This bond is the internal Sacrament of Matrimony. Hence, matrimony causes grace through its internal sacrament. A difficulty of importance which presents itself in connection with this argument is derived from the dispensation known as 'sanatio in radice.' By its means a matrimonial consent, formerly elicited, but ineffective, owing to an ecclesiastical diriment impediment, now, at the removal of this impediment, without any renewal of consent, becomes a valid matrimonial contract. In this case an external consent, which was sacramental

only potentially when elicited, is quite sufficient to now cause the sacramental matrimonial bond. A similar contract of infidels, which was only potentially sacramental, ought be sufficient, at their baptism, to directly cause sacramental grace. For the present we waive a great disparity between the matrimonial bond and grace, which consists in this, that the external consent signifies directly only the internal matrimonial bond, and consequently though its virtue may remain to cause that matrimonial bond, it does not follow that it remains too for the purpose of directly giving grace. This argument we shall meet again. At present we reply, that in the case of a matrimonial consent given for the purpose of entering into marriage, that consent will virtually persevere, unless it be explicitly or implicitly withdrawn, until the marriage is contracted. If, however, the marriage be already validly contracted, the consent remains not in any suspended virtue as in the previous case, but in its effect, the matrimonial bond, which was caused by that consent. Hence in the case of the 'sanatio in radice,' the consent virtually remains 'ad matrimonium contrahendum,' but in the case of the baptized infidels the consent remains only in its effect, the matrimonial bond. Hence, just as in the former case that suspended virtue causes the matrimonial bond, so in the latter case the matrimonial bond, the internal sacrament, causes grace.

We now turn our attention to some arguments that are more general in their nature. We have already, in the last argument, slightly touched on one of these. The sacraments of the New Law are practical signs of grace, and as such, signify and, signifying, cause grace. This principle is laid down by St. Thomas, and seems to follow from the very nature of a sacrament of the Christian dispensation. St. Thomas says: 'Sacramentum secundum propriam formam significat vel natum est significare effectum illum ad quem divinitus ordinatur, et secundum hoc est conveniens instrumentum, quia sacramenta significando causant.'¹ Hence the sacraments of the New Law have a causality which is commensurate with their signification. But the sacraments,

¹ De Veritate, q. 27, a. 4, ad. 13.

as we have already seen, do not immediately signify grace; they signify it only through the internal sacrament which is the immediate term of their signification. Consequently, they produce grace not immediately, but mediately, through that same internal sacrament.

Again, it is the universal teaching of theologians that some sacraments can be valid without being fruitful, owing to an obstacle to grace in the recipient. Unless the internal sacrament intervene in its operation as well as in its signification between the external rite and sanctifying grace, this cannot be. Why? Because the operation of any sacrament must always reach the essential and immediate effect of that sacrament, else there will be no sacramental operation at all. Hence in the case we contemplate the essential and immediate effect of the sacramental operation is produced. But grace is not always produced. Consequently, grace is not the essential and immediate effect of the sacramental operation. What, then, is? That which is always present when the sacrament is valid, viz., the character in characteristic sacraments, and the corresponding quality in the others which generally is called the internal sacrament. It may be said, however, that though the internal sacrament be the immediate and essential effect of the sacrament, it does not follow that the sacrament produces grace through it, for grace may be produced by the rite immediately, concomitantly with the internal sacrament. We reply that in the sacramental external rite generally there is no indication of any other immediate causality than the one indicated. Take the Blessed Eucharist, as an example. The eucharistic form, 'Hoc est enim corpus meum,' indicates solely the causality by which the Real Presence is placed under the sacred species. There is not a word in the form which immediately indicates causality of grace. The same is true of matrimony. In the form there is an immediate indication of the matrimonial bond, but not a word to directly point out any simultaneous effect of grace. In truth, if it were there it is hard to see why it would not be infallible as well as immediate for any word that belongs to the form by the institution of Christ

must produce its effect infallibly, else the rite will not operate as the work of Christ. This argument is confirmed by what we shall now say about the revival of some sacraments.

It is the teaching of theologians that the sacraments of the New Law revive with one exception, viz., the Blessed Eucharist. By this they mean that, owing to an obstacle to grace in the recipient, a sacrament though valid does not produce grace. Yet afterwards, at the removal of the obstacle, such a sacrament sometimes gives sacramental grace. This causality is true sacramental causality. So when the sacrament revives it then just as truly causes grace as it would have caused it were it not unfruitful when received. Now, according to the doctrine of theologians the Blessed Eucharist does not revive in this way. Extreme Unction revives as long as the same illness lasts. Matrimony revives while the matrimonial bond remains unbroken. The other sacraments revive whenever the obstacle is removed. How can we explain this revival of some sacraments consistently with the non-revival or only partial revival of other sacraments? Were the external rite formerly placed the immediate cause of revival, the difference would arise from it. But, clearly, the difference cannot arise from the external rite, simply, for grace is demanded by one external rite as much as by another. If there be any difference at all in this it is against the teaching of theologians, for the Blessed Eucharist, being the most worthy of all the sacraments, ought to have a greater efficacy than the others, and, consequently, ought to be the first to revive. Consequently, the revival does not come from the external rite. If, then, the revival does not come from the external rite, from what does it come? Perchance, from the will of God alone, and not from any real causality on the part of the sacrament? This is directly opposed to the universal tradition of the Church, for that tradition tells us that it is the sacrament which revives and causes grace. Moreover, God has instituted the sacraments for giving grace. He uses them as instruments in His hands for pouring out on the souls He loves the abundance of His sanctification. Are we, then, to say, that in some cases in the sacramental operation, without

any instrumentality on the part of these sacraments, God gives grace? This would seem to be opposed to the will of God manifested in the institution of these sacraments. We cannot, accordingly, admit it as a possible explanation of the problem. Only one other way remains by which a satisfactory explanation can be given. That is the way of the internal sacrament. The Blessed Eucharist does not revive at all, because when the species are corrupted, the Real Presence, which is the internal sacrament, passes away too. There, consequently, now ceases irrevocably the immediate source of grace, and therefore there is no more hope that grace will be caused by any revival of the sacrament. In Extreme Unction there may be a revival of the sacrament, so long as the person anointed remains in the same sickness, because so long there remains the deprecatory consecration to God's mercy, which, being the internal sacrament, is the immediate fount of grace. The matrimonial bond, which is the internal sacrament of matrimony, remains until the death of one of the married parties, or a dispensation given by lawful authority in the case of marriage that is 'ratum sed non consummatum' dissolves it. Hence, so long the sacrament can revive, through this immediate source of grace. In the other sacraments the internal sacrament is absolutely permanent, as in the characteristic sacraments, or hypothetically permanent, as in the case of Penance. So in these there is no limit of time, at this side of the grave, to their revival. This doctrine, then, of the intermediate causality of the internal sacrament clearly explains the doctrine of reviviscence.

There is another doctrine, common in the schools, which can also be easily explained by this teaching. We know that when sanctifying grace is lost, the right to actual graces, necessary to obtain the special ends of the sacraments, is lost with it. When, however, sanctifying grace is regained the lost right is restored. What causes this revival? Being a sacramental right it does not revive without sacramental action. Hence the mere will of God will not explain it. Where, then, is the sacramental action which causes the revival? It is not necessary to appeal to the external rite, for there remains the internal sacrament which was immediately

caused by that past rite. Hence to this internal sacrament we ought attribute the revival of the lost right to grace.

The opinion which we have endeavoured to set before our readers receives a high degree of probability from the teaching of St. Thomas the great master of sacramental theology. That this was his opinion there can be no reasonable doubt. He expressed his view in words than which no clearer can be found. He says:—

Dicendum est ergo, quod principale agens respectu justificationis Deus est, nec indiget ad hoc aliquibus instrumentis ex parte sua; sed propter congruitatem ex parte hominis justificandi ut supra dictum est, utitur sacramentis quasi quibusdam instrumentis justificationis. Hujusmodi autem materialibus instrumentis competit aliqua actio ex natura propria, sicut aquae abluere, et oleo facere nitidum corpus; sed ulterius inquantum sunt instrumenta divinae misericordiae justificantis *pertingunt instrumentaliter ad aliquem effectum in ipsa anima, quod primo correspondet sacramentis, sicut est character, vel aliquid hujusmodi. Ad ultimum autem effectum, quod est gratia, non pertingunt etiam instrumentaliter, nisi dispositivè, inquantum hoc ad quod instrumentaliter effective pertingunt est dispositio, quae est necessitas, quantum in se est, ad gratiae susceptionem.*¹

We fail to see how the opinion we advocate could be more clearly expressed. Not in this place alone does St. Thomas teach this doctrine. He frequently recurs to it. In 4 sent. D. 22, q. 2, a. 1, q. 2, he expressly states that the internal sacrament of Penance causes grace. Also in 4 sent., D. 4, a. 2, q. 3, he teaches that it is by the character Baptism revives. His words are:—

*Ad tertiam quaestionem dicendum quod in baptismo imprimitur character qui est immediata causa disponens ad gratiam; et ideo cum fictio non auferat characterem, recedente fictione quae effectum characteris impediebat, character qui est praesens in anima, incipit habere effectum suum, et ita baptismus, recedente fictione, effectum suum consequitur.*²

But perhaps in after life when he wrote his *Summa Theologica* he changed his views on this matter? When he expressly discusses in 3, q. 62, art. 1, the power of the sacraments to cause grace, he does not mention this

¹ 4 Sent. d. 1, q. 1, a. 4, q. 5.

² See also De Veritate, q. 27, a. 7, and q. 27, a. 4, ad. 3; also De Potentia, q. 3, a. 4, ad 8.

intermediate efficacy of the internal sacrament; perhaps this is a withdrawal of his earlier view? By no means. In that article he wished simply to teach the Catholic doctrine that the sacraments of the New Law cause grace, without going into the manner of that production. That this is the case is evident from a perusal of the article itself, and from the fact that he afterwards in 3 q. 69, art. 10, expressly repeats his former view. His words are without equivocation:—

Respondeo dicendum, quod, sicut supra (q. 66, art. 9) dictum est baptismus est quaedam spiritualis regeneratio: cum autem aliquid generatur, simul cum forma recipit effectum formæ, nisi sit aliquid impediens, quo remoto, forma rei generatæ perficit suum effectum; sicut simul cum corpus grave generatur, movetur deorsum, nisi sit aliquid prohibens, quo remoto, statim incipit moveri deorsum. *Et similiter quando aliquis baptizatur accipit characterem, quasi formam, et consequitur proprium effectum, qui est gratia remittens omnia peccata; impeditur autem quandoque per fictionem; unde oportet, quod remota ea per poenitentiam, baptismus statim consequitur suum effectum.*

These quotations are sufficient to convince any unprejudiced reader that the unchanging opinion of St. Thomas was that the internal sacrament intervenes between the external rite and sanctifying grace, not only in signification, but also in causality.

In fine, we venture to express the hope that the revival, if we can call it a revival, of Thomistic Theology and Philosophy, which our present venerable Pontiff Leo XIII. has done so much to bring about, will lead to a revival of this particular opinion of St. Thomas. Indeed it is surprising that already it is not more widely taught in the schools. No doubt some theologians have not failed to see its importance. Amongst these we may mention Father Billot, S.J., the famous Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Gregorian College, Rome. His influence will, we hope, urge theologians throughout the world to devote deep consideration to his view. Such a kindly reception of the doctrine would carry its own reward, for this teaching would free its followers from many difficulties of sacramental theology which, without it, must ever remain to disturb their equanimity.

JOHN M. HARTY.

THE EXISTENCE OF EVIL

PART II.—MORAL EVIL

'Nihil in tota rerum natura, totoque universo fieri potest, quod Deus antea in luce infinita sapientiae suae exactissime non consideraverit, et quasi deliberarit, an conveniat illud velle ut fiat, aut saltem velle permittere, seu non impedire.'

'Etsi propter peccatum et arbitrii libertatem multam in rebus, praesertim humanis, videatur permittere *atariam*; nihil tamen permittit nisi summa ratione, et quasi praevia deliberatione.'—*De Nominibus Dei*, lib. ii., p. 163—L. Lessii.

WE dwelt at some length in a recent article,¹ on the existence of physical and material evil, and we there attempted to demonstrate the folly of those who make its presence an excuse for censuring and condemning God. In the present article we shall address ourselves to a yet more difficult task, and endeavour to show the wisdom and goodness of God in permitting not only physical evil, but what is in itself an immeasurably worse thing, namely, moral evil, or, in plain English—sin. Observe, we do not say 'in *causing* sin,' for that is inconceivable, and incompatible with infinite holiness, but 'in *permitting* sin.'

We will begin by calling attention to the undeniable fact that God, being infinite goodness, desires that man, 'made to His own image and likeness,'² should likewise exercise goodness, practise virtue, and fulfil all justice. He clearly signifies this desire in the well-known words: 'Be ye perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect.'³ A desire of which the inspired Apostle is careful to remind the Thessalonians, with even increased emphasis, when he writes: 'This is the will of God, your sanctification.'⁴

Now, to anyone who gives the matter a thought, it must be perfectly clear that, in order to exercise even the minimum of virtue, the agent must necessarily enjoy the privilege of liberty. That a person may merit, the first and most

¹ *Vide* I. E. RECORD, October, 1899.

² Genesis i. 26.

³ Matt. v. 43. See also Gen. xviii. 1; Deut. xviii. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 17, &c.

⁴ 1 Thess. iv. 3.

essential condition is, that he should be free. Should even the best disposed person act in a certain way, for the sole reason that he cannot by any possibility act in any other, no one would say that he is practising virtue, or that he is doing anything meritorious, any more than if he were a mere machine. Here is, let us suppose, a chronometer. It keeps excellent time. Well. We may, of course, speaking figuratively, proclaim it to be 'an exceedingly good watch.' But, in spite of the expression, it never would occur to us to credit it with genuine virtuousness, any more than it would occur to us to accuse a ten-and-sixpenny Waterberry of gross immorality and wickedness, because it habitually refuses to indicate the precise hour, and behaves altogether in a most arbitrary and provoking manner. Why? Because we all know that in either case a watch simply goes as it is made. It is but a machine, an automaton. It exercises no free-will, and is in no sense responsible for its successes or for its failures.

So again, to take a somewhat different instance. We may extol the industry and ingenuity of the bee. We may be lost in admiration at the mathematical exactness of the wonderful hexagonal cells that it constructs; and at the sagacity and prudence with which it first collects, and then stores up the honey, and so forth. But no one, unless he be a very foolish person, indeed, would say that the bee is possessed of any moral worth. Or that, indeed, he is in the least degree more virtuous than that careless vagabond, the butterfly, although the butterfly spends the whole of its brief life idling and pirouetting among the flowers. Why? Because neither the one nor the other possesses free-will. Because each acts according to the laws impressed upon it by its Creator. Free-will is a necessary condition for the existence even of the least degree of sin, as also for the existence of the least degree of virtue—so obviously necessary, indeed, that even the common laws of the country will hold no man either guilty of blame or deserving of praise for any act whatsoever in which his free-will has played no part.

A few months ago, a youth sat playing with a loaded gun. By some mischance the trigger was pressed, and the

gun went off. The whole charge entered the body of a young woman seated just opposite, and killed her on the spot. The act was not intentional. The careless fellow had no desire to murder, or even to wound, anyone. The act was not an act of his free-will at all. Indeed, quite the reverse. Consequently, he was not held responsible, nor judged guilty even by the civil law, and certainly not by the divine. Or, instead of a deplorable action, such as this, we may take a praiseworthy action, and the same principle will apply. Thus: to bestow alms upon the destitute is a commendable practice; but to be meritorious, it must be an act of the free-will, and be done intentionally. If a rich man, sauntering down some poor quarter of Liverpool or London, allows a quantity of loose silver to slip through a hole in his trousers pocket, the poor may, indeed, reap the benefit of it; but no one, I presume, would go into ecstasies over the rich man's extraordinary generosity. No. In order that an act may be really, and in the strictest sense, virtuous and meritorious before God, it must be performed freely and intentionally.

No one deserves to be rewarded for doing what he simply cannot help doing. If a person deserves a reward for doing a good deed which he cannot help doing, then it would follow, that he would deserve punishment for a bad deed which he cannot help doing, which is absurd.

In plain truth, it is precisely because a man might have done wrong, that we think him deserving of praise for having done right. This is explicitly laid down in Holy Writ. Referring to a wealthy, yet upright and honest man, the inspired writer declares that: 'He shall have glory everlasting.' Then he goes on to assign the reason; because, 'he could have transgressed and did not transgress; he could have done evil things, and hath not done them.'¹

Thus it is abundantly clear from reason, from common sense, and from the Bible itself, that there can be no true virtue unless there be true free-will.

But observe, another consequence also follows. So soon

¹ Eccles. xxxi. 10.

as ever we introduce the idea of free-will, we, *volentes volentes*, introduce the idea of sin. If the will be truly free, then man may choose. He may follow the path of inclination rather than the path of duty. There is always, at least, the bare possibility of making a bad, instead of a good use of one's liberty. So soon as a man is put in possession of the marvellous gift of free-will, one cannot absolutely hinder him from committing sin. For, the instant you coerce or force him, the same instant he ceases to be free, and the same instant he ceases to be virtuous—or for the matter of that—vicious: since the consequences, of course, cut both ways.

This is a brief statement of the case: hence—if we may be allowed, with all reverence, to put [the matter in a human way—God, having determined to create man, had still to choose between two courses. For sake of greater clearness, we may suppose that the Creator mused within Himself, saying:—I will create man. I will endow him with intelligence and reason and the capacity of knowing Me, his Maker. But shall I make him a mere piece of mechanism: a machine, an automaton, moved only as the brute beasts are moved, by internal and external stimuli; and necessarily obedient to the strongest impulses? or shall I, on the contrary, make him free? I will weigh the matter, and compare the advantages and the disadvantages. If I decide to withhold the gift of free-will, there will be no sin. True: man will be as innocent as the fishes that swim in the waters, and as immaculate as the flowers that glisten by the road side. Just imagine, we should then contemplate a world unstained by any moral guilt, a world without sin!

Unquestionably. But if this would give us a world without sin, it would give us also a world without virtue, a world void of all moral excellence. Man would have no more sin than a rock or a stone; but then he would have no more goodness, no more holiness, no more sanctity, than a rock or a stone either.

On the whole, then, it seemed better to extend to man the opportunities of practising virtue, even though such

opportunities carry with them the risk of sin. God saw the advantages of granting man free-will, so He resolved to grant it. Among the considerations which determined Him in His decision, perhaps we may venture to suggest the following five as among the most important.

First consideration.—If man were not endowed with free will, then the entire race must for ever remain wholly incapable of the least act of virtue.

Second consideration.—If free-will was not to be the prerogative, even of man, then God would not be *freely* served by any of His visible creatures. Sun, moon, and stars, together with the earth, and all the earth contains, serve God, and obey Him. Truly; but it is not a voluntary service. They obey because they cannot do otherwise. But God wishes to be served, at least by His rational creatures, with a spontaneous and a voluntary service: with the homage of the heart and of the affections. And even though all might not employ their free-will aright, yet God foresaw that many would.

Third consideration.—We may suppose that God was the more ready to grant the favour, because whosoever abused His free-will and committed crime, would not only be punished for his transgression, which would restore the balance of justice, but would be obliged to acknowledge that he had none but himself to blame. He would realize that if he ran counter to the divine commands, and received condign punishment, it would be wholly and entirely his own doing, and in no way imputable to God.

Fourth consideration.—Another reason moving God to give man free-will was, that such a system opens out to God a vastly wider and grander scope for the exercise and the manifestation of His divine attributes, especially of His power, and His justice, in punishing those who deliberately scoff and set His will at defiance, and still more of His infinite love and generosity in rewarding those who voluntarily and lovingly serve Him, and who exercise their freedom merely to honour and glorify His name. Further it would also enable Him the more easily to show forth His boundless mercy and compassion, in pardoning and

washing out sin, and in receiving even the greatest and basest rebel—if only repentant—back into His grace and favour.

Fifth consideration.—And there is yet another consideration that must have strongly influenced God to grant man free-will, even in spite of the enormous sins and appalling crimes that He foresaw would sometimes be the consequences of this dangerous gift. I mean the consideration that He, the Omnipotent and the Omniscient, is able to bring good out of evil—not only out of physical evil, but what is immeasurably more divine and marvellous, out of moral evil; out of positive and heinous crime; out of hatred, jealousies, vindictiveness, and bloodthirstiness. Yes, in giving man free-will, God knew that sin, and great sin, would result; but He also knew that He was and is powerful enough to turn even the very sinfulness of sinners to the ultimate advantage of the just, and to the increase of His own eternal honour and glory.

Thus, although the condition of this or that particular individual may be worse by reason of his possessing free-will, yet we must bear two facts in mind: the one is, that not even so much as one individual need suffer, except through his own fault; and the other is, that whatever amount of suffering free-will might bring to the individual who makes an evil use of it, it will, nevertheless, always be to the advantage of the Church in general, and of the race as a whole; in some measure, even here upon earth, but above all, in its effects upon the more permanent state of the blessed in heaven.

After a due consideration of this point, it is impossible not to see that the permission of moral evil affords one of the proofs—not, indeed, of God's want of goodness—but rather of the limitless extent of His goodness, and of His extraordinary solicitude for the development of the higher and more heroic forms of virtue in His subjects.

We will now cite an instance or two illustrating the manner in which God draws virtue out of vice, and in which He makes sin itself the occasion of greater and yet greater holiness, over-ruling the crimes and iniquities of the most infamous characters in all history, in order to compel them

to subserve His noblest designs, and to second His sublimest purposes. Again and again does it happen in the history of the world, that cruel tyrants rage and rebel against the Church, and that 'princes meet together against the Lord, and against His Christ.'¹ But 'He that dwelleth in heaven' allows them thus to abuse and misuse their free-will, and to dabble their hands in blood, because He is fully able, by His all-wise providence, to use them (even when they flatter themselves that they are doing infinite mischief) as the instruments—the unconscious, the unwilling, and the wicked instruments—still the real instruments, of great and everlasting good. 'Miri modo fit,' says St. Gregory, 'ut quod sine voluntate Dei agitur, voluntati Dei contrarium non sit, quia ejus consilio militant etiam quae ejus consilio repugnant.'²

An example will make clear what we mean. Pass, then, in spirit to the early ages of the Church. We are in Rome, the capital and centre of pagan influence and power. The air is astir with the sounds of many voices and the shouts and cries of moving multitudes. Some are in chariots, some on horseback, some are borne by slaves on litters; but the vast majority are elbowing and pushing their way along on foot. Whither is this great, tumultuous stream of human beings flowing and eddying? Ah! towards the gigantic amphitheatre, the famous Coliseum, the very ruins of which are one of the greatest marvels of modern and Christian Rome. Full soon the thousands and thousands of seats, arranged tier above tier to the number of ninety thousand, are filled up by eager and excited spectators. The roar of the wild beasts rises above the murmurs and the vociferations of the crowd. Not a cloud is to be seen in the sky, and the strong Italian sun, beating down upon the immense concourse of men and women, glistens and glitters upon the burnished helmets and armour of the Imperial Guard, and lights up the gaudy splendour of the Emperor and his numerous attendants.

We ask, 'What is going on?' and 'What all this

¹ Ps. ii. 2.

² Lib. vi. Moral.

commotion may mean?' But we have not long to wait. The mystery is soon made clear, for, hark! a cry, a shout, and now another, yet louder and shriller than before, rings through the air: '*Christianos ad leones!*' 'To the lions with the Christians!' 'Away with them to the arena!' A great sea of voices takes up the refrain, till the pagan mob grows hoarse and husky with shouting.

Yes, Imperial Rome had resolved to destroy and uproot this new sect (as it called the infant Church), and to put to death the followers of the Crucified; and God deliberately permits the attempt. The prophecy of our Lord is being fulfilled: 'I send you forth as sheep among wolves,'¹ to be rent, and torn asunder, and devoured. 'You shall be hated of all men for My name's sake.'² 'The servant is not above his Master. If they have persecuted Me, they will persecute you.'³ 'Yea, the hour cometh in which whomsoever killeth you will think that he doeth a service to God.'⁴

Yet here, too, God is with His chosen ones, to comfort and strengthen them in a conflict so honourable and so advantageous to themselves;⁵ while the world, in its pride, and arrogance, and material strength, stands by, and marvels to see Christ revealed again in the person of His followers. Yes, old men of over fourscore, like St. Ignatius; warriors in the Emperor's own army, like St. Sebastian; delicate and sensitive girls and mere children, like St. Felicitas, and St. Agnes, and St. Perpetua, stand forth unabashed before that immense multitude of witnesses to bear public testimony to their faith, and to seal that testimony with their heart's blood. Truly, God knows how to draw the pure gold of virtue out of the seething cauldron of vice and sin. Yes, God's providence has led the martyr and the confessor there for the purpose of exhibiting to a pagan

¹ Matt. x. 16.

² Mark xiii. 13.

³ John xvi. 18, 20.

⁴ John xvi. 2.

⁵ 'Constantier Deo crede, eique te totum committe quantum potes; nihil enim tibi erenire pernitit, nisi quod tibi prosit etiam si necias.' Soliloq. cap. xv. St. Aug.

world the irresistible power of divine grace, and the indomitable courage and superhuman love of the children of the Church for the spiritual mother who bore them. Oh, what a sublime scene was this!—a spectacle to rejoice the hearts of God and of man.

The youngest and the most fragile grows strong in the strength of God. Children scarcely out of their teens, stand up unfaltering and firm before the threats and menaces of the greatest and mightiest institution the world has ever known. Their faith grows till it becomes almost vision. Their hope and trust expand until they attain heroic proportions; their love and their loyalty to their crucified Lord and Saviour fill them not merely with submission and resignation under their awful sufferings, but with a holy impatience to pour out the ruddy stream of their life for His sake, and to be ground to powder by the teeth of savage beasts.¹

What a glorious picture! What a sublime record of victory! What a triumph of virtue over vice; of gentleness over cruelty; of weakness over strength; of love over hate; and of moral power over brute force! Where, outside the pale of the Catholic Church, shall we find such heroes? *Non sunt inventi similes illis*: their equals do not exist! Who, indeed, will measure the height and the depth of their burning charity? Who will estimate the honour and glory given to God by the 'white-robed army of martyrs'? Not in twos and threes, but in tens of thousands, and in hundreds of thousands they came forth with joy in their hearts, and smiles on their faces, to cruel imprisonment, torture, and death, as though it were to a banquet or a nuptial feast. It is calculated that over three millions of martyrs laid down their lives in testimony of the Roman and apostolic faith during the ten great persecutions. So that it is really to sin and injustice—*i.e.*, the sin and injustice of wicked tyrants—or, what is the same thing, to the *permission of moral evil*, that we owe the glory of the martyrs.

¹ St. Ignatius wrote in A.D. 107:—'I am the wheat of God, and I long to be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ,' &c.

Look, gentle reader, look in spirit up into heaven. Contemplate the ravishing beauty and glory of these conquerors. Gaze upon the crowns of entrancing splendour that deck their brows. Call to mind the joy and happiness, and peace and delight, that is theirs; and say: does not their very presence seem to brighten up the heavenly court as with a new effulgence, and to fill everyone of the blessed with an altogether special joy? Who would wish to see heaven shorn of all this glory?

Who? Well; he who is foolish enough to blame God for permitting the existence of moral evil. Such a man would deliberately rob heaven of one of its greatest accidental joys, and God Himself of untold honour and praise. For observe if wicked men were not permitted to follow their free-will and to indulge their passions, and commit crime, then there would be no persecutors, no tyrants, no fierce and blood-thirsty emperors and kings to torment, and imprison, and put to death the holy ones of God. The martyrs would be a class unknown and non-existent. Their heroism and sterling virtue a thing undreamed and unimagined.

Our conclusion, then, is, that God permits moral evil for the same reason that He permits physical evil, viz., because He can draw good out of it, and through its agency add immeasurably to the sanctity, to the glory, and to the everlasting beatitude of the saints.

We have selected the example of the martyrs, because it appears to us to be the most striking and the most readily grasped. But the selfsame Providence is ever at work, all the world over,¹ converting evil into good, and calling forth the fairest flowers of virtue from the most hopeless and stubborn soil of vice. If the Church is attacked, if the pride and malice of men denounce and malign her, it redoubles the fervour of her children; it arouses her bishops and priests to greater zeal; it causes her doctrines to be more fully studied, and more accurately and more persuasively stated and explained, and the beauty and divinity

¹ *Deus unumquemque nostram tanquam solum curat, et sic omnes, tanquam singulos.* St. Aug., l. 3, Conf. cap. ii.

of her whole constitution to be more easily recognised and more universally known.

The union ever subsisting between God and His Church, and the wholly supernatural character of the Church's life, could never have been so striking—could never have been the argument it now is—had storms and dangers, and hostile attempts not marked every stage of her career, and proved on a hundred different occasions, that an Omnipotent arm was sustaining her, and a Divine Power defending her. 'Behold I am with you all days,' receives its most striking interpretation and confirmation in the annals of her miraculous history.

Even in our own individual cases we must, surely, often have realized how the faults and imperfections of others have again and again offered us opportunities of exercising virtue; and how, perhaps, on the other hand, our own sins have created occasions for others to display a charity, good temper and forbearance, of which we scarcely deemed them capable.

It would take too much space to pursue this subject along the innumerable paths over which it would lead us, but let each one think out the problem for himself, and he will assuredly arise from his task, blessing and praising the wisdom and goodness of God, who suffers moral evil to continue in this world during the course of man's probation, and who uses it as a mighty engine for the accomplishment of His own divine and admirable purposes.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

IDEALISM AND REALISM IN ART

HAVING criticized at some length the school of idealistic art, and sided generally with its main contentions, I come now to treat of the school of realism, and of the movement in which it took its rise. The realistic movement was started originally as a protest against the lethargy and repose that hung over art in the eighteenth century. Very few names connected with that period have come down to our day with any degree of familiarity. It was an age that laid no claim to originality, and in the domain of art moved along without demur in the narrow groove allowed it by the classical idea. It was not until the nineteenth century opened that artists began to turn to nature to draw thence, if possible, a little of the life, the freshness, the freedom they saw in her, and forthwith craved for. They found that freedom pervading nature like a living spirit, and they could not but contrast it with the narrowness and poverty of their own cramped methods. Mountains arose and rivers flowed over the surface of nature, wherever the Creator wished them to appear. But artists had to revere traditions and measure and balance, and reason out places for everything they painted, spreading out scenes in nice gradations, and balancing them upon appointed centres.

Then came the reaction I am going to treat of. In a quarter of a century most of these strictures were entirely removed, and art sprang up, and flourished, and grew strong, and showed its strength in the number and variety of its enterprises and accomplishments. The movement to which all this is due is known generally as the realistic reaction. It had a varied history too chequered and disordered to be considered here; but I shall do my best to draw out its principles, and explain the number of forms it took, as its aims grew wider and more pretentious.

The realistic movement was a movement towards closer communion with nature, towards fresh sources of inspiration;

a movement away from traditional ideas, from disabilities and restrictions. The disabilities under which art laboured in the eighteenth century, I think I may safely reduce to three; and these I shall indicate in the three following paragraphs.

1. Properly speaking, art had a right to the fullest freedom in the selection of its subjects; a right, therefore, to range through the noblest and the simplest tracts in nature wherever a fitting subject appeared. But the mind of the eighteenth century critic was exceedingly narrow. It was so in poetry, and it was so in art; and for that whole century art was practically bound down to the imitation of the classic model, plying its labours amongst plaster gods in dusty studios, instead of being let into every cranny of the earth's surface, if it only wished to get its subject there. The first disability was on the subject-matter of art.

2. That wide chasm, fostered particularly by the later idealism, between art and nature, between art and truth, was growing and growing, and should be closed. Nature is truth, and standard of the true in art. In the eighteenth century, art was content to outline well, caring little about minor details, on the plea that if it adhered to them it could not possibly design nobly. This meant that art was nine-tenths false—at least nine-tenths. The second disability was on a question of truth.

3. The third disability arose from the fact that the domain of painting—or rather, I should say, the proper object of painting—was not quite understood in the eighteenth century. The proper object of painting and the field of vision are one and the same. What the eye sees the painter paints. The difficulty is to determine how much in our perceptive acts is revealed through sight. Other impressions from other faculties associate with the pure visual impression, to produce a fuller and more complex image of the external world. Thus touch and judgment are always working along with sight, filling in, completing, shaping, defining its scanty presentations. It is for science to analyze this complex image, and to pick out carefully the single factor in which art is interested, viz., the visual

impression. That is a matter for penetrating vigorous refined research, and presupposes an intimate knowledge of the determinants of perception and of the laws of nature. The eighteenth century was not scientific; it was not penetrating, it was not vigorous; and its art, in consequence, was in great measure spurious. This I shall make clearer further on. But take the *genuine* field of *vision*, disassociated from all other elements; how great, how varied, how deep it is; how penetratingly that art must sift it and sound its depths that would deal with it adequately! The eighteenth century did not half understand it. If we only look steadily there is no missing what falls on the retina in great broad masses; but besides these masses, there is, in nature, an infinite wealth of colour-delicacies that can be missed, hanging about objects, that are too light to awaken a sense of themselves, and may escape observation, and that still can tell on the sensitiveness of vision, with the effect of enriching or softening, or illuminating, as the case may be, the masses they hang on. It was just these delicacies the eighteenth century was not able to discover. Even still with our riper fuller opportunities they are growing on us. The third disability was one of inadequacy.

These were the three prevalent disabilities in the sphere of painting during the eighteenth century; and they naturally issued in three distinct reactionary movements: the first in romanticism, the second in realism (the central phase of the larger realistic movement), the third in impressionism.

(1) Romanticism aimed at enlarging the traditional compass of art. The rules of classicism had cut off from art the whole range of history, ancient and modern; and limited it to the Christian tradition and pagan mythology. The romanticists proposed to bring art into touch with the whole range of history, ancient and modern, real and imaginary, and to interest art in every feature and phase of nature, in history, landscape, portraiture, &c. It is due to them that art has stooped to ordinary nature, and found in fields and barns, and ricks of hay, and ploughmen and reapers,

inspiration for a new and original style more interesting than anything achieved in the Renaissance; certainly more attractive. As long as art was kept within doors, amongst plaster gods, what could it know of the things to which it was subsequently awakened—of cottages, cottiers, sunlight, fresh fields, or the common clay? It missed the brighter half of nature, or had long ceased to know that any such existed. The history of romanticism is the most interesting phase in the modern revolution. But I cannot dwell on it, for I wish to run on to the two other movements of which I have many things to say in criticism.

(2) On realism—the second of these three great movements—I must dwell now at length. In it the whole realistic movement appears to have been centred; and, therefore, it is known as realism proper. The reaction of the realists was much more thorough than that of the romanticists. Romanticism expanded the compass of art. But realism broke from the traditionary rules of composition and design, and created two artistic principles in which to formulate its new philosophy. These principles were—first, that art, being only the reflex of nature, should fill in the details it found in nature with as much care as it sketched outlines. The second ran—nature has nothing to say to *ideals*, but is built up of facts and physical laws, according to which it works itself out into definite effects. As idealization is not known in nature, so neither ought it be known in art. How can art improve on nature, change her, recast her, if it claims, at the same time, to be nothing more than her reflex and expression? The first was the principle of artistic truth; the second the principle of artistic beauty. All permanent truth is grounded in nature. All the beauty that art requires it can find in nature. Beauty is truth, and nature is truth. All other beauty is false and transient, a thing of taste, a passing prejudice, a conventionality.

That is the æsthetic philosophy of realism. Its natural issue was the well-known rule formulated, I think, by the pre-Raphaelite Brethren, that all art is portraiture of one kind or other. In this principle of portraiture the philosophy of realism is fully expressed; and it is to that principle we shall direct our criticism.

The rule of the pre-Raphaelities, to paint from nothing but the living model, is not so ridiculous as might at first sight appear. How, one asks, is the past to be made live again—past battles, past romances, past faces, &c.? But the pre-Raphaelites made them live again, by staging history, and spreading out tableaux in all kinds of surroundings, at dinner tables, in ball-rooms, in woods, and by river sides. How could a competent artist go wrong—this was their point—who had only to paint the scene before him, with plenty of opportunities to observe and measure, and plenty of leisure to dwell on difficulties? Yet that is exactly where portraiture failed. It made them go wrong; wrong in everything it was worth going right in. Portraiture by proxy may get profiles right; but how will it provide for subtle indications of character, feeling, momentary temperament—for everything, in fact, in which separate personalities find distinct expression? An actor may work up in his own features the feelings of another, and become for the moment the likeness of another, the model of a history. But the artist it is who will judge of the likeness, and he judges an idea already in his possession. The idea is painted: the model is discarded, except for the rougher plainer work of profiles, lines, proportions, &c. Portraiture, as a principle of historical painting, of imaginative painting, is false on the face of it; and the principle of portraiture, ‘justice without mercy,’ will set us wrong as sure as we work on it. Its incompetency increases as we rise to the loftier characters in history. A man is great because his deeds and life are such as will not be repeated in others. His bearing is his own; look is his own; he is great because his character is great, and his character is his own, and no other countenance will be found like his. I am speaking generally. It was a false principle, a destructive principle, that set Holman Hunt searching among the carpenters of Jerusalem for a model of Christ. The Christ in Millais’ ‘Workshop of Nazareth,’ surprises everybody, disappoints everybody. He is an ordinary boy, without pretensions to intellect or sanctity, or thoughtfulness or greatness, or any other trait, in which his character and thought must have found some utterance.

Now, I am not speaking of genuine portraiture, but of portraiture by proxy. I have nothing to say to genuine portraiture on the particular score that has been before us. But I do contend, though on another score, that genuine, that is, first-hand portraiture, as a principle of art, is not necessarily true. Portraiture emphasizes small details, and gives them their full objective value. Every line in a stone, every vein in a leaf, is as accurately drawn, as the prominent masses. The rocks in Millais' portrait of Ruskin are done as carefully as the woodcuts of a modern geological treatise. I am waiving altogether the question of utility, though I believe that such pains are lost on art, and lost on the spectator. But, at present, I am on another point, on a question of truth. Is detailed delineation a true principle of art? The answer is easy—it is, if details stand out in the genuine field of vision, as they do in the picture; it is not, if the eye is not able to catch them, or will not catch them, as it skims along the outlines of a landscape, or dwells on its parts. Now, I know that the eye can discover anything, if we set it to work as we plant a microscope on a single object, to pick out atoms, or to tax, and try, and hurt the sensibility of a delicate organ. But the field of vision which art interprets is the bold sweep which the eye embraces, when nature leads it across her surface for the beauties that are in her, and the pleasure she gives. In that wide survey, the sense is dead to tiresome detail, to the veins of stones, and the nerves of plants; but it catches the broader richer masses, the bold outline, the strong lights, and the deep shadows, the telling obstacles, the strong large framework that scenes are set in. Details are true, as true as outlines; but if sight must miss them, or must needs investigate before it finds them, we are not to paint them, on the very same principle that we adopt perspective, and make streets that are parallel converge on a canvas. That is the way they appear to us, and that is the form in which art receives them. We paint as we see.

Have I nothing to say in favour of realism, now that I have said so much against it? I have only to mention the pre-Raphaelite Brethren, and the pre-Raphaelite school to

recall the many achievements of realism, in a department that shall in future mark the kind and the degree of the high artistic attainments of this century. That department is landscape. The high attainments of modern art in the field of landscape are due altogether to the school of realism, and, in particular, to a little band of artists, all Englishmen, I think, whose names are household words wherever art is cultivated. Early in this century three young and enthusiastic lovers of art, Holman Hunt, Millais, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, happening to meet at Pisa, became possessed there of a scrap-book, with drawings in it and designs for the walls of the Campo Santo in that city. The simplicity and truthfulness of the whole series, their freshness and grace, their candid unaffected style, were a revelation to the three young artists. Here was living, breathing nature appealing forcibly to every faculty and to every sentiment, disclosing too with telling persuasiveness the untried possibilities of realistic art. And these three young men made covenant with one another, that they would vindicate for nature her naturally appointed and accredited function, as the source and standard of artistic merit. They called themselves the pre-Raphaelite Brethren, because their aims were those of Leonardo Da Vinci and of the others that led the Renaissance movement, before Raphael's time. Their aims were these, to paint no face but from the living model; no action from memory or from mere imagination, but from the living group; no moonbeams except the moon was shining, no sunbeams outside the broad noonday. Night after night, from sunset to sunrise Holman Hunt was labouring at the open window on a moon and sky for his 'Light of the World.' Week after week, from sunrise to sunset, he sat at his easel watching the glow on the mountains of Moab for the scene in the 'Scape-goat.' Such laborious thought, such close communion with the outward world, could not but yield a ripe and plentiful harvest of ideas, and rich materials to carry them out with. Full and rich, and accurate and bold, are the pre-Raphaelite landscapes, and, more particularly, the pre-Raphaelite water-scenes: and when I speak of the pre-

Raphaelites, I apply the term to the whole school of art from Turner and Constable on to Millais. The Renaissance artists could not paint a water-scene—everybody knows that. Raphael and Michael Angelo knew less about water than a modern school-boy, under a competent master. Until this century water was quite a mystery to art, and never got adequate treatment on canvas, not even from Vandevelde, except in the less translucent forms, like foam. It is in great part a mystery even now, and a mystery it must in great part remain. Its moods are too delicate and subtle for art; the variety of forms that rise each moment out of vast sea-depths, and their manifold expression along its surface, are not to be reproduced in painting. Light lies on water as on nothing else. It trembles and dissolves, and art cannot paint either tremor or dissolution. As the light grows strong, the waters glow, and delicate vapours, streaked with rainbow tints, play on their surface; and then art can follow nature no further—its function is over. Such is art, and such is nature. The one has limits; if the other has any, who shall assign them?

But whatever came within the compass of art, the pre-Raphaelites accomplished. They have painted water: water as we know it—water that can flow, and break and gather, that fish can live in, and boats float on. No man can say he is intimate with the sea; but Turner (who, if he was not one of the Brethren, had a part at least in the movement) knew all that a man can know of the sea. He knew there was nothing on earth like it, nothing so great, nothing so extreme; and he feared no extravagance in depicting its anger, and never could get sunshine enough for its calms. He tore waves asunder, as if he were tearing steel, marking the strain, along their fluted surface, and suggesting the power with which they close again in the piling up of a mountain of waters high over the chasm. In one of the harbour scenes, he has covered the full breadth of his canvas with a single wave, mounting at one edge and descending at the other, though the background exhibits an illimitable sea, a harbour, and ships. No one before Turner could have dared to lift up a wave like that, because no one else

knew what a wave could come to. On the other hand, what an inexpressible hour he has kept for us, from the morning calm on the Scarborough beach! I say it advisedly—he has kept that hour for us. Even to-day, we fancy we can see the waves rising to the line of shingle, the last deposit of the ebbing waters, and the long bright reflections still tremble towards us, from ships and pier head, and the children in the water, and the skeleton fishing boats, and the sea-weed lying still wet on the beach, beyond the tide.

This now is all I shall say of the Realists. If they exaggerated the principle of conformity to nature, they have, at least, concentrated attention on it. They have taught us that if art by artistic privilege may depart from nature, it is a privilege that can be seldom used, and never beyond assigned limits.

(3) I come now to impressionism. We have heard so many bewildering accounts of the nature of impressionism, that most of us have ceased to hope for a clear statement of its principles, and for an explanation of those monstrosities of art that are called impressionistic. It is not, therefore, without difficulty that I venture to offer the following explanation. Its very simplicity will prejudice many who know anything about the vagaries of the school, and the variety of styles that bear its name. The principle of impressionism, as I conceive it, is as follows:—The pure impressions received on the retina from the external world, or what are called the pure visual impressions set free from every element of association, from the suggestions, that is, of touch, memory, and the other faculties—these and these only are the proper and exclusive subject-matter of painting. Let us see how this principle works itself out. Everybody knows that experiences commonly attributed to sight are really a very complex product to which other faculties beside sight contribute. It is no easy matter to pick out the pure visual impression so obscured is it by suggestions from touch and interpretations from reason and associations from memory. For all these faculties break in on the simplest act of vision, and qualify its testimony by their own. We see shadows and call them depth: we see lines

brushed along indistinctly, and we call them motion : we see a shapeless mass of green, and we remember the distinction of trunks and leaves and the lines on leaves. Again, on another score, every visual act is complex in character. When the eye opens, it lights successively on a number of objects, successively pitching on various centres, and changing its field of vision accordingly. An isolated look is extremely rare, if not altogether impossible. This restless motion of the pupil of the eye we can no more control than a telegraphist can make the bell strike only once at each touch of the button. Here are various impressions, all visual, however; and, strictly speaking, a landscape should hit off only one of these, for it purports to preserve the proportion of parts given in one view, in prominence, dimensions, distinctness, &c. First, then, the artist should cut off the pure impression of sight from associated elements; and, second, he must give to that impression just what is revealed in a single instant, no more and no less. This last restriction many would not admit, but the first is a peremptory law of the art. Here are some examples. We fancy if we look at a round glass vase, that the body and edges are revealed together, clean cut and defined; whereas if the eye falls fair on the vase we do not so see it, for the edges melt into the surrounding colours. There are no abrupt endings. The intellect it is that keeps setting us wrong. To see the edge stopping abruptly we must centre the pupil on the edge itself. The accomplished artist takes note of this, and his objects are seldom well defined. Again, it would be worth our while to study one of the impressionist water-scenes, particularly those that are most misunderstood. I single out these because they exaggerate principles, and are consequently more likely to bring them out in greater prominence. A number of patches, blue or grey, running along on a murky canvas, is commonly used by impressionist artists to represent water. That is the way an impressionist conceives it; and on what principle?—for he must have a principle. Look at the surface of a sheet of water which the winds have ruffled into small low waves, and you will find the principle. What the eye reveals is not a

continuous sheet of water, though memory keeps telling us it is continuous (I know it is continuous); but a series of patches each alternately light and darkness, running back in parallel lines for a considerable distance. It is the movement of the water that keeps suggesting an unbroken substance throwing off reflections from each part of the surface, according to the way in which the light falls on it. But the eye only catches the shiting patches, and that is all the artist will reproduce.

Again, how few are ever conscious of the delicate colouring that passes across the face of nature in atmospheric mists, sunbeams, reflected lights, changing with every hour of the day, sometimes deepening and growing quite visible, sometimes discernible only with difficulty—the merest breath. Without this floating mass of colour nature is only discordant patchwork. This tempers its contrasts; this is the groundwork, the prevailing tone, the key-note of the harmony we find on every coloured surface. Why do I say this? What else is nature, but a patchwork of substances, discordant in kind, and discordant in colour? and what else except the overhanging mists could graduate the breaks and soften the discordance where so many textures lie side by side? It is the *attention* that misses what the eye catches and cannot analyze.

And then there is that mystery of sunshine, streaming over rocks, and seas, and many-coloured gardens, the mystery being what it is doing there. Lighting up darkness—can that be all? So it used to be thought, but the moderns say that sunshine has a colour of its own, distinct from that of the texture it lies on. Science may demur, but the mystery remains—why dark-green meadows can turn to gold, with the green breaking through, when the sun pours over them. The fact is unquestionable, and plain to anyone who cares to notice it. It is only a question of looking and seeing. The Venetians discovered that shadow was colour, but the nineteenth century was the first to know that there was something more than light in sunshine; that it might be gold, or silver, or scarlet, burning purer than the tints it lies on, though these it also helps to strengthen, and purify, and refresh.

These are some of the mysteries of vision. It was only

when romanticism awakened men to the study of nature that these things began to reveal themselves; and the men that first became conscious of them, and raised interest for them have a right, on many scores, to be called a school with a special philosophy and a distinct aim. Impressionism seeks to define the proper field of vision, and to limit painting to the visual impression; but then, in addition, *to work that field for all that it is worth*, and reveal some of its untold wealth. 'Fiat lux' is the full expression of the philosophy of impressionism. It is a great philosophy. Let it only be supplied with legitimate methods, and impressionism must live. The very formulation of its programme is great. So much for its principles.

But our judgment alters when we come to consider the extravagant courses this school entered on almost immediately after it began. In the first place it so exalted colour as to question the importance of line and figure, and even tried to eliminate the latter altogether from art. It reasoned as follows:—Draughtsmanship and painting are separate arts. The former studies lineal symmetry; the latter, colour and harmonies in colour. What, then, has painting to do with figures? What has colour to do with lines? If colours may harmonize without dividing lines, and they can so harmonize, is it necessary we should hang them on lines and figures? And if we do so hang them, how are they to expand or open out, like musical notes, into rich broad contrasts, and prolonged harmonies? Figures compress them just where they begin to deepen and expand. If music were confined to a couple of scales, as painting is by the limits of figure, how should musical harmonies find utterance? This now is the principle embodied in the so-called impressionist symphonies. Every picture is a symphony either in grey and green, or black and gold, or blue and silver, or some other chord, a chord being the group of colour tones the scene is strung on. There are no figures, no dividing lines, but the colours arise in rich, broad masses, or vanish into delicate films of unending harmonies. But notice particularly how the original principle of impressionism is running on here, for it is my business to show

that my definition of impressionism is still running on in this prominent department of the impressionistic work. We are still interpreting the *field of vision*, and the impressionists suppose that line and figure are not essential to that field.

I have said so much in explanation of impressionism, that I shall only say a word in criticism. I shall only ask whether the painter's palette might justly be counted a work of art. I ask the question in all seriousness. You have only to harmonize the colours on the palette, and there you have impressionistic art. Many will be dissatisfied with this summary way of disposing of a school with a name and a history. But, I believe, I am striking its central weakness. The truth is, that harmony is a very small portion of the function of colour. Figure lends all their meaning to colours, and, what is more, gives them their interest. Figures are their naturally appointed media, their only support. Brown is only brown, but it gets a meaning and becomes criticizable in a face or an apple. And for these reasons, I say, we do violence to art in divorcing colour from its appointed vehicle.

But what am I criticizing? The colour symphonies? I do not believe that what are called colour-symphonies exist. I have never seen one. The so-called symphonies are all art trickery. Not one of them does what it pretends to do. Every one of them works on lines and figures, sometimes only dimly traceable, but always suggested in one way or another for the colours to run on. It could not be otherwise. You may paint faintly; or you may paint confusedly. You may show only fog or a cluster of stars, or falling rockets, but you are not going to hang up a canvas palette, dabbed over with colour, and call it art. The figures will come in, whether you like it or not. If nothing is to be visible but a rocket in the heavens, or the thick grey fog, then every 'man in the street' can be an artist, for he can *do* a fog. In that adventurous freak of Monticelli, 'A bouquet of women,' there is no mistaking the dancers, and trees, and the slopes of valleys, in the midst of the colour. And the same is true of all the symphonies, not excluding Whistler's. Artists may draw out the spirit of

nature, and the moods it excites; but a bodily presence must come in somehow, however it be insinuated.

Not less extravagant is the stress laid by impressionists on atmospheric hues. There *are* some delicate shifting colours floating in the atmosphere, particularly where the sun falling through foliage reaches water. But they are never more than barely perceptible, though I believe they affect our impressions of a scene. In the impressionist paintings it is the solid objects that are dimly traceable through the thick mist round them. Nature is put aside or contradicted flat for the mere bringing out of a idea. To a child the rushes in a river are green. The impressionist comes and exhibits his painting, and now the child calls them gold, or silver, or scarlet, or such like, with green looking through. And this suggests another point about colour. Why are these tints not noticed, as a rule, on the surfaces they hang round? The answer is, and the answer is important:—they are always in motion, and pass so quickly over the same locality that the several effects are in great part neutralized, though they *do* get in delicately upon us. Now painted objects are painted at rest. There is no known method of painting motion. There are hundreds of ways of *suggesting* motion:—the position of the body, the lie of garments, haziness, streaks, the direction of the eyes. There is no possible way of painting it directly. Art has its limits, and this is a limit it cannot pass. If it could paint motion, it could paint sounds. With this simple answer, I think I have disposed of (and I hope I am right) a vast collection of impressionistic paintings, probably the largest the school possesses—ballet scenes, storm scenes, flickering of light, moving meadows, breaking waves. They all embody a wrong principle, and are all false art.

When, therefore, it is claimed that impressionism has opened new sources of beauty, and created for art an entirely new province, we answer unhesitatingly:—it has certainly looked far into nature, and opened up numberless hidden beauties; but the natural limitations of art remain, and no new province has been created. Art is fresher than it was before; its spirit is stronger; but the boundaries it has are set by nature and are made impregnable.

I shall be quite satisfied if these few elementary remarks will enable the reader to set out broadly the principles that actuate a still-existing movement, and to localize its disordered parts, and see the unity that underlies them.

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FATHER O'GROWNEY.¹

TO very many in Ireland, as well as to many, very many, of the scattered members of our race, no sadder or more heart-breaking news has come for many a day than the announcement of the death of Father O'Growney, which three days ago was flashed along the wires from the distant Pacific Slope. Far away from his cradle-land, from the land which claimed his undivided affection, has he fallen asleep in death. Far away from that land to which he gave such loyal and ungrudging service, for whose glory and renown he ceaselessly laboured, in behalf of whose ancient language and literature he spent himself during his all too brief span of mortal existence, must his bones repose, must all that was mortal of him await the resurrection. Thousands of miles away from his natal spot in Royal Meath his remains have been ere now consigned to the silence of the tomb; but, if gratitude and patriotism have not wholly died out of the Irish heart, his name and memory must permanently endure in Erin. To his incessant, untiring, enthusiastic, unselfish and self-sacrificing work for Ireland and her language is it due, it cannot reasonably be doubted, that he now fills an early grave in distant Los Angeles. Such as he it is that make movements. What he has been to the Irish language movement it is impossible to tell. What he effected for it by his steadfast and unwearying efforts, by his enthusiastic yet eminently practical and methodic work, no words could well exaggerate.

On this occasion, then, I do not think I need apologize

¹ Lecture delivered in the MacMahon Hall, Maynooth College, on Oct. 21, 1899.

for turning aside from the beaten track of my lectures from this platform to pay my tribute to Father O'Growney's worth ; to give expression to my appreciation of his great and unselfish labours for Ireland ; to lay a wreath, however poor and unworthy, upon his grave. As a fellow-labourer of his for many a year in the same field of national effort, but still more as his successor here, charged with the duty of continuing his work, I feel strongly that I owe this much to his memory. But these considerations apart, I do not think it too much to say that the students of the College may learn a useful and inspiring lesson from his life-story.

Father O'Growney never thought of fame. As unassuming as he was unselfish, dreams of greatness, the promptings of ambition, troubled him not. Ireland was his idol. The study of her language and literature was his passion. The movement for the revival, spread, and perpetuation of the nation's ancient speech formed the focus of all his thoughts and strivings. To the effort which is being made to secure that Ireland's future shall be a genuine continuation, a rational development of her past, he rendered all the assistance in his power. To the ideal that inspires that effort was he devoted heart and soul, and as long as life remained all his energies were directed towards aiding to secure its realization. That ideal was as persistently present to him away in distant Arizona and California as it ever had been in Ireland. The fame of which he never dreamed came to him unsought. To-day there are thousands all the world over who revere his name, to whom his example and life-work have been an incentive to noble aims.

Father O'Growney was born at Ballyfallon, in the parish of Athboy, County Meath, on August 25, 1863. Hence, he was only thirty-six years when he passed away. His early studies for the priesthood he made in the Diocesan Seminary at Navan. It was during his student days in Navan, and when he was already in his sixteenth year, that he first became interested in the Irish language. Until then he was not aware, as he used himself to tell, that there was, or ever had been, an Irish language. The language of his ancestors had not been spoken in his home, and of it he had never heard

a single word there or elsewhere. He became aware of its existence in this way. Father Nolan and John Fleming contributed about this time a series of Irish lessons to *Young Ireland*, a weekly periodical published from the *Nation* office. Of this periodical Father O'Growney had been a reader, and the moment the Irish lessons began to appear, and he became aware that there was a language till then unknown to him which had been for thousands of years the language of his race, he resolved that he should master it at any cost. So he set to work. After much searching he succeeded in discovering a few old people who spoke Irish, with whom he could confer on questions of pronunciation, and who could help him along in other ways. From those days on to the very end the Irish language and its restoration as the vernacular of his native land formed his principal substantial interest in life.

In September, 1882, he came to Maynooth, and on the 13th of that month he matriculated for the class of First Philosophy. During his college course, which extended over six years, he never enjoyed robust health ; indeed, his health was oftentimes of the most indifferent character. This accounts for the fact that his course, though by no means undistinguished, was not as brilliant as his undoubtedly great talents had led his friends to expect. For him the severe and constant study which alone leads to brilliant scholastic successes was out of the question. To the study of the national language, however, he devoted himself with the greatest ardour. In the brief sketch of his life which appears in the history of the college, we read :—

Whilst still a student he showed an extraordinary aptitude for the Irish language, and studied it with great care and perseverance. During his holidays he often spent months in the Islands of Arran, and in those districts of Connemara and Cork, in which the purest Irish is still spoken. He thus acquired a perfect command of the spoken as well as of the written language, and prepared himself admirably for the position he was subsequently to occupy.¹

It may here be added that his vacation tours, always

¹ *Maynooth College : Its Centenary History*, p. 169.

planned with a view to perfect his knowledge of Irish, also embraced Donegal, Kerry, Waterford, and various other districts. The Irish class in the College was in Father O'Growney's student days placed in the Second Divinity year; and no wonder that we find him in 1886 carrying off the Irish *Solus*.

In 1888, he completed his course, and returned to Navan Seminary, in what capacity I cannot at present say—probably as Dean or Professor. On the 24th June, 1889, he was raised to the priesthood in the College Chapel here. Immediately afterwards he went on the mission, being appointed curate at Ballynacargy, County Westmeath. This was his only curacy, and the few years that he lived at Ballynacargy gave him his only experience of missionary work.

He now threw himself with whole-hearted zeal and energy into the Irish language movement. Just then the movement was at a rather low ebb. It may be said to have begun in 1876. From the time that the Ossianic Society became defunct, several years before, until the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded there existed no organization specially charged with looking after the interests of the language. But in 1876, almost entirely through the great and unremitting exertions of Father Nolan, the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was successfully launched. For a brief space hope ran high, and much enthusiasm was aroused. As an immediate result the existing provision, miserably and scandalously inadequate though it be, for the teaching of Irish in the National Schools was secured. But the Society referred to, though still in existence, never took hold of the country, and to-day it has very little practical work to place to its credit. Beyond the publication of an incomplete series of elementary manuals, and of a few indifferently edited texts, it has done little to justify its twenty-three years of existence. It soon became but too evident that it was not the sort of body to create or direct a popular movement.

Even the Gaelic Union, an association founded in 1880,

and since merged in the Gaelic League, though a much more enterprising and progressive organization, did not succeed in making any very considerable impression on the public mind. All the same it accomplished some good work; so much do I, as one of its original members, and from first to last a member of its Council, deem it my duty to claim for it. It encouraged the teaching of Irish in the National Schools by awards of prizes to teachers and pupils. But its most important achievement was the founding of the *Gaelic Journal*.¹ This was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest services ever rendered to the Irish language movement. The launching of such a periodical in 1882—the same year that Father O'Growney entered this college as a student—was an almost heroic undertaking. Still the movement, though it commanded the services of the best Irish scholars of the time, and included in its ranks numbers of unselfish and thoroughly earnest workers, did not make notable progress. Indeed, after a time, it began rather to lose ground, and, between one thing and another, its fortunes were somewhat low when Father O'Growney began to take an active and prominent part in it.

Very soon he became one of the outstanding figures, one of the most potent influences, in the movement; and of those who have closely followed its fortunes since then, few will be found to question that to him is largely due the position which it occupies to-day. Whilst still a student he was a frequent contributor to the *Gaelic Journal*. Whilst on the mission he published, first in the *Gaelic Journal*, and later on as booklets, a series of modernized versions of *Comhain Shneadógar* 7 *Mhic Ríagla*, and other short early Irish tales. Then also he made, and published in the *Gaelic Journal*, translations of 'The Wearing of the Green' and of 'Auld Lang Syne,' which, under the names *Cainteán an Shléir*, and *An T-am Fadó Ó*, have since acquired great popularity in Gaelic circles. During those years he laboured hard by his writings in the press as well as by private

¹ In the original list of subscribers, which I have before me at present, and which contains nine hundred and eleven names, I find Father O'Growney's name. The address given is 'Dressogue, Athboy, Co. Meath.' In a subsequent list, however, the address becomes 'St. Joseph's, Maynooth College.'

correspondence to call attention to the movement, to arouse increased interest in it, to induce as many as possible to join it and work for it. His most notable performance during those years was the publication in the *Gaelic Journal* of a series of four articles on Arran written in Irish. They were published under the title *Ára na Naomh*. The articles named appeared towards the close of 1889 and in the beginning of 1890. Never have Arran and the Arran islanders been written of more worthily, not even by Petrie himself, than in the articles to which I have referred. Language and matter are alike delightful.

In September, 1891, Father O'Growney became, in succession to John Fleming, editor of the *Gaelic Journal*.¹ This put him at once in the very forefront of the movement, and gave him a vantage ground which he was just the man to avail himself of to the utmost.

Of the periodical for which Father O'Growney now became responsible, it may not be out of place to say something at this stage. As stated already, it was founded by the Gaelic Union. Its first issue appeared in November, 1882. Since then a vast body of published and hitherto unpublished Gaelic literature—folk-tales, folk-songs, proverbs, original prose and verse—has been published in its pages. It contains, furthermore, extensive contributions to Irish lexicography and to scientific Irish grammar. Valuable old texts and masterly studies in Gaelic literature have appeared therein, to say nothing of propagandist matter or of intelligence about the movement. The *Gaelic Journal* is now in its tenth volume, and a complete set of it forms an indispensable adjunct to the library of every serious student of our mother tongue.

From November, 1882, to August, 1884, it appeared as a monthly. Thenceforward until February, 1894, it appeared as a quarterly. But at that time the earlier arrangement was reverted to, and since then it has again appeared as a monthly.

¹ It may be well to add here that when Father O'Growney went to America, in 1894, Mr. John MacNeill undertook temporarily the editorship of the *Gaelic Journal*. Later on it was absolutely transferred by Father O'Growney to the Gaelic League, whose property it has since been. Mr. MacNeill continued to edit it until recently. Its present editor is Mr. J. H. Lloyd.

Its first editor was David Comyn, still an earnest and effective, though unobtrusive, worker in the movement. In March, 1884, he felt obliged to resign, and was succeeded in the editorial chair by my dear old friend and tutor, John Fleming. Those who are at all interested in our ancestral tongue should never forget Mr. Fleming. Throughout a very long life he was an earnest, active, and practical supporter of the claims of the Irish language. To further the cause of its revival, he laboured unceasingly and with the most single-minded devotion. In the very front rank of the Irish scholars of his time, he was a persistent and unwearying worker in the cause which was dearer to him than life. Few Irish books appeared during his time, the manuscripts and proofs of which did not pass through his hands. And what labour and pains he bestowed on their revision! Yet, his services in this way often passed without a word of acknowledgment. He did not mind. He only thought of the interests of his native language. There was no Irish language society of his time of which he was not an active member. The Ossianic Society, the Keating Society, the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language (in its early days), the Gaelic Union, the Gaelic League—he belonged to them all, did valuable work for them all. Never overburdened with this world's wealth, he freely gave of his means—oftentimes, as I know full well, to an extent which he could ill afford—in furtherance of the Irish language movement. From the first issue of the *Gaelic Journal*, he was its most frequent, valued, and extensive contributor. Such was the man who in March, 1884, succeeded Mr. Comyn as editor.

He occupied the position for seven years. During those years he had frequently to write or otherwise provide almost the entire matter of the *Journal* himself. He conducted it with signal ability, and kept the flag flying until younger men were available to relieve him of the work. At length, the accumulating infirmities of age obliged him to ask that he should be relieved of the editorship, and so in September, 1891, he handed over the periodical to Father O'Growney.

Mr. Fleming has since passed to his reward. Peace to his ashes, and the light of heaven to his soul! He had many sorrows. He endured more trials than fall to the common lot. Those who in the ordinary course should have survived him predeceased him, and his home was left desolate. But all his trials he bore with magnificent Christian fortitude. A better man, a more sterling Christian, a man of simpler and more robust faith, I have never known. The language of our race never had a more ardent, fearless, outspoken, uncompromising champion, nor has the Irish language movement ever had within its ranks a more earnest, persevering, and indomitable worker. For twenty years I enjoyed his intimate friendship, his entire confidence; and to his inspiration, example, and unfailing aid I owe far more than I can ever adequately acknowledge or repay.

Within a month after he had taken over the editorship of the *Gaelic Journal*, Father O'Growney was appointed Professor of Irish in this College. His appointment took place at a meeting of the Trustees held on October 15, 1891. By the terms of his appointment he was required, in addition to the former duties of the Irish Chair, to deliver each year, before the College, six public lectures on Irish literature and archæology.

Here it may not be amiss to say a word or two about the College Irish Chair. The College, as everybody is aware, was founded in 1795. It had been seven years in existence before a chair of Irish was established: a somewhat curious fact, it may be observed in passing. One would have thought that a chair of the national language and literature would have been, especially in those remote days, amongst the first for which provision would have been made. Such a chair was, however, established on July 30, 1802, and its first occupant was the Rev. Paul O'Brien, who, like Father O'Growney, was a priest of the diocese of Meath. Father O'Brien held the position for eighteen years. He was a good Irish scholar of the old fashioned type, somewhat lacking however in exact and scientific knowledge, and rather given to the fanciful speculations of the Vallancey

school. Judged by modern standards, his Irish Grammar is a poor production. But he, undoubtedly, loved the language of his ancestors, did good work on its behalf in the College, and was an active member of Irish language societies of his time. His name appears in the list of members and officers of the Gaelic and Ibero-Celtic Societies, along with those of O'Flanagan, MacElligot, Haliday, and O'Reilly. Father O'Brien's successor was the Rev. Martin Loftus, a priest of the diocese of Tuam. He was appointed on June 22, 1820, and occupied the Irish Chair for eight years. Of him or his work I have been unable to glean any further particulars.

He was succeeded on August 80; 1828, by the Rev. James Tully, also of the diocese of Tuam. Father Tully occupied the Irish Chair for forty-eight years. His death occurred in 1876. Of Father Tully little need be said. All over Ireland, and far beyond the shores of Ireland, there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of priests to-day who remember him, and who passed through the Irish class during his time. He was, according to unanimous testimony, a man of great piety, a kindly, benevolent, charitable man, who effected much good in a variety of ways. But, alas! it is but too true that no one can lay to his charge that he ever did much for the Irish language. His tenure of the Irish Chair, covering nearly half a century, embraced the most critical period in the history of the language. But all with whom I have ever spoken on the subject agree that he did little to help the students in the study of their mother-tongue, to imbue them with a love for it, to send them forth to the mission animated with a fitting sense of the duty they owed it. When one recalls the lost opportunities of that half century, well—*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. Sad, very sad, is it, all the same, to think of what has been, and of what might have been.

After Father Tully's death the present Cardinal Primate became at once a Dean of the College and Professor of Irish. This double appointment was made on October 17, 1876. The change in the occupancy of the Irish chair promised fair for the fortunes of the national language in the

College; but, unfortunately, Cardinal Logue's tenure of the Chair was of very brief duration. His Eminence was, on the 25th June, 1878, appointed to a Chair of Theology, and for the thirteen years that followed the Irish Chair was left vacant. The Irish Class, however, was still continued, but was taught by a lecturer selected annually from amongst the Dunboyne students. This arrangement was necessarily most unsatisfactory. It involved a new appointment every year, in itself a fatal drawback, not to speak of still more serious disadvantages, which need not be mentioned, but which must be sufficiently obvious.

Eventually came the dawn of a happier day. The Irish Chair was revived by the Trustees on October 15, 1891. Their choice of a professor fell, as a matter of course, upon Father O'Growney. For the next few years he did the work of three or four men. The national language was at once placed upon a much more satisfactory footing than it had ever previously occupied in the College. Attendance at the Irish classes was made compulsory on all students of Rhetoric and Philosophy, whilst an optional class was established for students of Divinity. To all these classes had Father O'Growney to lecture. He had to prepare and deliver the public lectures to which I have already referred. He had to manage and edit the *Gaelic Journal*. Furthermore, he carried on an extensive correspondence with people in all parts of the world who were interested in the Irish language. This I have the best reason to know. Though then labouring on the Scotch mission, I was in constant communication with him, and knew of all his undertakings and projects. For the use of his classes he began to compile text-books. He thus prepared and had printed, although they were never published, an admirable summary of Irish Grammar, two parts of a series of Irish Readers, and one part of a Manual of Irish Composition. How he contrived to get through all the work he did at this time is a mystery.

His work in the *Gaelic Journal* and his correspondence was beginning to tell upon the outside public. Beyond doubt, he and John Fleming did an immense lot to pave

the way for a genuine Irish language awakening. But credit where credit is due. There was another man who accomplished very much in the same direction—a man young in years, but comparatively old as a worker in the movement. That man was Dr. Douglas Hyde. As a lecturer, both in Ireland and in America, he had succeeded in creating a good deal of interest in the movement. The time seemed ripe for the launching of an organization of a truly and professedly popular and go-ahead character. All previous organizations had been largely, many of them wholly, academical; it was high time to see what an organization with practical aims, and worked by popular methods, could accomplish.

On July 31, 1893, nine men, most of them young and practically unknown, held a conference in Dublin. That conference has become almost as historic as the more famous conference, of scarcely larger dimensions, that originated the language revival in Bohemia. Those present at the conference were Dr. Douglas Hyde, C. P. Bushe, J. M. Cogan (who has since passed away in a foreign land), Rev. William Hayden, S.J.; P. J. Hogan, M.A. (now Junior Fellow of the Royal University); John MacNeill, B.A.; Patrick O'Brien, T. O'Neill Russell, and Martin Kelly. The conference assembled at Mr. Kelly's house, 9, Lower O'Connell-street. Thereat was founded the Gaelic League, which has since become a world-wide organization, including hundreds of branches in Ireland, England, Scotland, the United States, and elsewhere, some of them located in places as far distant as Montreal, San Francisco, and Buenos Ayres. At a subsequent meeting, Dr. Hyde was elected President, Father O'Growney Vice-President, and Mr. MacNeill Hon. Secretary. Since then these three have been the real leaders of the Irish language movement.¹

¹ 'When the Gaelic League was founded in 1893, Father O'Growney was absent, I think, in Scotland, but he had been for some time previously in constant communication with a few others who, like himself, believed that the whole question of the national language required to be taken out of its academical surroundings, and brought to the hearths of the people. Immediately on his return he associated himself with the League, and induced many others to join it, including several of his colleagues in Maynooth. He also placed the *Gaelic Journal* at the service of the new organization. He is, there-

From a contemporary account of the founding of the Gaelic League, I may quote a few passages :—

The idea of making our movement more popular and practical has long been in the air. It was put forward by Dr. Hyde in New York two years ago. Since that time it has been touched upon more than once in the *Gaelic Journal*. It has now at length taken tangible shape and found for itself a local habitation and a name.

Then after giving an account of the preliminary conference, the writer proceeds :—

It was agreed that the literary interests of the language should be left in other hands, and that the new organization should devote itself to the single object of preserving and spreading Irish as a means of oral intercourse.¹

I shall not here follow up the history of the Gaelic League. Like honey of Hymettus was its advent to Father O'Growney. But the office to which he was elected therein threw additional work upon one already overburdened. To the practical and detailed work of the League he ungrudgingly devoted himself, and amongst its members in its early days of obscurity and struggle none was more zealous and active than he.

In this same year which witnessed the founding of the Gaelic League, Father O'Growney was called upon to undertake still further work. As a result of a somewhat protracted correspondence which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, he undertook, at the suggestion of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, the compilation of a new series of elementary lessons in Irish, in which an attempt should be made to teach the pronunciation by means of a system of

fore, properly to be regarded as one of its founders. Dr. Hyde was elected President of the League, and has since been always re-elected. The Rev. Guesby D. Cleaver was elected Vice-President, in recognition of his generous help given to the teaching of Irish in the primary schools, on which he annually spent large sums of money. Mr. Cleaver died a few months after the Gaelic League was formed, and Father O'Growney was chosen Vice-President to succeed him, and retained that post till his death; but he deprecated his election at first, and renewed his protest several times afterwards. Indeed, at no time did he seek prominence or obtrude his personality on others.'—*Reminiscences of Father O'Growney*. By one of his friends.—*Freeman's Journal*, October 21, 1899.

¹ *Gaelic Journal*, November, 1893.

phonetics. In elaborating the phonetic system which he proposed to employ for this purpose, he received large and valuable assistance from the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh. The new course of lessons was first published in the *Weekly Freeman*, and concurrently with their appearance in that journal they also appeared from month to month in the periodical which Father O'Growney himself controlled. In the *Weekly Freeman* and *Gaelic Journal*, they appeared as 'Easy Lessons in Irish,' but when republished in book form later on the title was changed to *Simple Lessons in Irish*. Of these lessons Father O'Growney published Parts I. II. and III. When no longer able to work upon them, Mr. John MacNeill undertook to continue them. Part IV. has long since appeared, and Part V. is at present on the eve of publication.

The compilation of the *Simple Lessons* was almost a work of genius. To say that they are a great improvement upon anything of a like kind previously in existence, is to say but little. They are, beyond all doubt, vastly, immeasurably, superior to any works of a similar character ever placed at the disposal of students of our language. They are a marvel of simplicity, clearness, order, and almost perfect gradation. Of the language and its phonology they display, elementary as they of necessity are, a perfect mastery. Their publication, on the whole, was probably the greatest individual service ever rendered to the Irish language movement. Compiled primarily and mainly for the use of those whom circumstances obliged to study without the aid of a teacher, they have been found just as useful by others more favourably circumstanced. Nevertheless Father O'Growney himself always said that if he had had a different object in view, he would have worked upon quite different lines. Thousands upon thousands of copies of his books have been sold. They have gone to all parts of the world. They have carried their compiler's name everywhere. They have made more readers of Irish, introduced far more people to the study of the Irish language, than all the other works that have ever been published.

It seemed that Father O'Growney was but on the threshold of a career of singular usefulness to his country, to her language and literature. But for some years he had, as has been already observed, been doing the work of three or four men. His health, always indifferent, now gave way altogether. On October 9, 1894, he felt obliged to apply to the Trustees of the College for a year's leave of absence. He hoped that rest and change and a milder climate would so restore him that by the time his leave of absence had expired he should be able to resume his work. Unfortunately, this was not to be. He immediately sailed for America, where, on his arrival in New York, the Gaelic societies of the Empire City, Brooklyn, and the Eastern States generally organized a reception in his honour. He journeyed leisurely to San Francisco, where he proposed to settle down. Soon, however, he discovered that the state of his health required a still warmer and drier climate. He, consequently, moved southward to Arizona. In that State he has since lived, sometimes at Prescott, sometimes at Phoenix, with occasional sojourns at Banning and Los Angeles in the neighbouring State of California. When his year's leave of absence had expired, his health had not materially changed for the better. He asked that it should be extended by a year, and his application was granted. Still restored health refused to answer his expectations, and so he wrote to the Trustees tendering his resignation. On June 23, 1896, his resignation was accepted, and he was granted a pension by the College.

His life since then has been a lonely one, far away from home and friends, far removed from the scenes, the work, the interests that to him were all in all, without a single kindred spirit to commune with, save when, at long intervals, some friend of happier days, or some fellow-worker in the cause, paid him a brief visit. Such visits were necessarily few in that remote region. His situation was pathetic enough for tears. The victim of acute heart disease, he lingered on until last Wednesday, when the end came.¹ He

¹ October 18, 1899.

died at the Mercy Hospital, Los Angeles. A pillar of the Irish language movement has fallen! He who was in very truth a tower of strength to the cause to which he devoted his life is no more. His friends and his fellow-labourers in the cause have lost one for whom they shall mourn for many a day. Every sympathiser with the movement for the revival of our ancient language shall henceforth grieve for one for whom he cherished a tender affection.

Though far removed from direct contact with the movement, Father O'Growney kept in touch with it to the last, and laboured as zealously as ever in its behalf. During the brief portion of each day which his physicians allowed him to devote to work of any kind, he occupied himself in writing letters to the Irish-American periodicals and journals in the interests of the movement. Scarcely an issue of the *Gaelic Journal* appeared that did not contain a contribution from his pen, usually on some disputed or unsettled point of Irish grammar or lexicography. He maintained a constant and voluminous correspondence with the leaders of the movement at home and in America. For all he had a word of encouragement, of praise, of counsel. His vast and extremely accurate knowledge of everything pertaining to the language was ever at the disposal of all who cared to draw upon it, and he was a singularly prompt and obliging correspondent. The vast influence that he wielded—in many cases over people who never saw him,—his earnest and indefatigable devotion to his ideal, his utter unselfishness, the singularly practical character of his enthusiasm, have often led me to link him with Thomas Davis in my thoughts.

In a notice of him which appeared about two years ago the writer observed :—

There is no more familiar name in the Gaelic world than that of Father O'Growney. It would be difficult to exaggerate his great influence on the language movement. Modest, scholarly, and retiring, he is one of those quiet enthusiasts by whom causes seemingly almost hopeless are pushed on to victory. He may be said to have consecrated his life to the cause of the old tongue which he loves so well.¹

¹ *Fáinne an Uac*, Feb. 12. 1898.

Generous and enthusiastic as this tribute is, it certainly does no more than justice to Father O'Growney, to his influence and work.

Now that he is gone from us, it is pleasant and consoling to recall that he was spared to see the movement on which he had staked all, whose final and complete success was far dearer to him than life, well advanced along the road to victory. His closing hours must have been cheered and made happy by the well-grounded conviction that that movement, which he himself did so much to create and consolidate, is bound to succeed—to succeed, at no distant date, beyond the most daring hopes of its originators, to press onward and upward to victory, complete and assured. Happy, assuredly, are those noble, generous, and unselfish souls, fired by a lofty ambition, inspired by high and ennobling ideals, moved by exalted aims for God or country, for whom life's evening is not clouded by shattered hopes, whose sun does not set amidst forebodings of unrelieved gloom, whose lamp is not extinguished in nethermost darkness. May the great God be thanked and praised that such a fate was not Father O'Growney's in his dying hour!

Father O'Growney was a man of most amiable disposition, of most winning manners, a kindly, warm-hearted, genial man. He was as unassuming and artless as a child; amongst strangers somewhat reserved, silent, and even shy, but amongst his colleagues and intimates bubbling over with fun and drollery. He possessed an extraordinary gift of humour; indeed, those who knew him best believe that in this respect he could not be surpassed. 'I have never known a man half so witty, or with anything approaching his exquisite sense of humour,' observed one of his former colleagues a few days ago. No one was quicker to grasp the humorous element in an incident or situation; no one told a story with more racy, sparkling, mirth-provoking humour. He was a capital *raconteur*, a splendid specimen of the real Irish *seanchaidhe*.

Of the ardent personal affection that he invariably inspired, I had abundant and striking proof during the summer vacation. His visits to the Arran Isles during his

student days have been already referred to. Such visits did not end with his student days. He visited Arran more than once in later years. Last July I carried out a long-cherished project of visiting Arran. In Inishmaan, one of the Arran group, I tarried for some weeks. I had been there scarcely a day when I discovered that Father O'Growney was simply worshipped by the islanders. He had been almost the first to sojourn amongst them in quest of Gaelic lore, the first to inspire that Gaelic-speaking community with a sense of pride in their racial inheritance. They regarded him as in a sense their own, and from morning till night would they talk of him in the most affectionate and endearing terms. How they pitied him away in distant Arizona, stricken down by illness, exiled from friends and home and native land, and how fervently would they pray again and again that God and the Virgin Mary might restore him to health, and send him back to Ireland. How ardent was their desire to see him once more, to welcome him again amongst them. The news of his death will make many a heart sad and sore the world over, but nowhere will it cause keener, more poignant regret, or a deeper sense of personal bereavement, than away amidst the Atlantic billows in rock-bound Inishmaan.

Father O'Growney was a member of the Royal Irish Academy. He was well known to continental Celtologists, who admired and respected his ability and attainments. Many of them visited him here on their way to the Irish-speaking districts in the south and west. On questions of Gaelic scholarship they frequently sought his advice and assistance. In the preface to one of his books, Dr. Kuno Meyer of Liverpool, refers in warm terms of acknowledgment to the help which he had received from him. Amongst his class-fellows and contemporaries here were some who have since achieved fame, and not a few who, inspired and influenced by his example, have rendered valuable service to the Irish language movement. Amongst them may be named Father Yorke of San Francisco, distinguished as a journalist, controversialist, and orator; Dr. Henebry, Professor of Irish in the Catholic University of America; Father

Mockler, Professor of Irish in St. John's College, Waterford; and Father Kiernan of Clontribret, the tireless and indefatigable leader of the language movement in Monaghan.

It is time to conclude. I should be glad to think that I had done anything like justice to the memory of my dear friend, my fellow-worker for so many years in the cause of our native tongue, my distinguished predecessor in the Irish Chair of our College. If I have failed, it has not been through any want of good-will, of any want of appreciation of his character and work, of any want of affection and reverence for his memory. My highest ambition is to continue his work here in the spirit in which he would have wished me to continue it, to give to the movement for which, as I believe, he sacrificed his life, all the assistance I can possibly render it. His devotion to the language of his country, when as a student he dwelt within these walls, should be for all time an inspiration and a guiding light to the students of the College. I hope the lesson of his unselfishness, his zeal, his industry, his self-sacrifice, his patriotism, his high sense of national duty will not be lost upon them. Most heartily and sincerely do I hope that his example will spur many, very many of them to earnestly strive to emulate his work for Ireland. I hope too that the glorious example of his life-work since he became a priest will not be lost upon the patriotic priesthood of Ireland. I conclude in the words of a note received from Dr. Hyde in reply to a telegram which I sent him on Thursday, announcing that his dear old friend and comrade-in-arms was no more. *buille tìom tpuarúinéileac do tuit ar Chlannab Sáeéal moiu. Go nóéana 'Dia tpuócaipe ar anam ar scapao!* 'A heavy woeful blow has fallen upon the Irish race this day. May God grant mercy to the soul of our friend!'

MICHAEL P. HICKEY.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

THE SCOTTISH TRADITION

BEFORE we proceed to consider the character and value of the Scottish tradition, it will not be out of place briefly to review the ground already traversed. We began our inquiry by asking what Irish tradition had to say on the subject before us. Our ancient records were found to give to this question a clear and consistent answer: they pointed decisively to the neighbourhood of Dunbarton as the place where St. Patrick was born.¹ And the answer thus given must be accepted, not as the opinion hazarded by one or other of our early writers, or as the witness of this or that particular manuscript, or even as the view of any special period, but as the unvarying testimony of early Irish tradition. To doubt that this is so is tantamount to accusing our ancestors of a dulness and apathy simply inconceivable, and attributing to our ancient scribes, in particular, an unexampled capacity for blundering. These transcribers, according to such critics as Dr. Lanigan, Father Malone, and Dr. O'Brien, not only displayed an unvarying tendency to substitute false for true readings, but showed themselves consistently incapable of perceiving true readings, even when these latter were, so to speak, staring them in the face, and clamantly demanding recognition. St. Jerome, with characteristic plainness of language, sometimes attributes certain Scriptural readings to *oscitantes librarii*: but our Irish copyists, according to the critics just mentioned, can only be described in the language of Lucretius as *librarii stertentes*.² Such a supposition carries with it its own complete refutation, and only serves to confirm our belief in the genuineness of the tradition so unworthily assailed.

Accordingly, when we now turn to examine the Scottish tradition, we are simply obeying the voice of the Irish,

¹ I. E. RECORD, October, 1899, p. 341.

² 'Et vigilans stertit, nec somnia cernere cessans,' *De Rer. Nat.* iii. 1061.

transmitted to us from a remote antiquity, when the question of St. Patrick's birthplace could not have been a matter of uncertainty. We are not acting as would-be 'discoverers,' but as those who seek confirmation of teaching derived from trustworthy sources : we are not following the *ignis fatuus* of 'theory,' but are led by the light of authentic records.

I.—TRADITION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH : THE

ABERDEEN BREVIARY

It is, surely, impossible for any Catholic to contemplate the change which has come over the once glorious Scottish Church, without feeling his heart touched with the deepest sympathy for her misfortunes. As we think of the devastating storm of anti-Catholic bigotry and violence that swept over this country at the Reformation, we are filled with a sentiment akin to despair, as we realise all that was then lost to our common Catholicity. We mourn over the general destruction of whatever was connected with the ancient faith ; of glorious churches and venerable monastic institutions burned or levelled to the ground ; of precious works of art, the symbols of our holy faith, wantonly defaced, or shattered into shapeless fragments ; of valuable documents of various kinds, condemned either to the flames, or to misuse, neglect, and ultimate decay. But, although much has perished, something still survives to bear witness to the ancient faith of the Scottish Church.

Among the documents which have survived the sixteenth century revolution, the Aberdeen Breviary occupies an important place. It is, indeed, the only pre-Reformation Scottish Breviary that has come down to our time.

(1) *History of the Aberdeen Breviary*

We owe this work to the enlightened zeal of Bishop William Elphinstone, the founder of Aberdeen University, and one of the earliest patrons of the art of printing in Scotland. He was a man distinguished alike for his private virtues and for his labours for the public welfare ; and his piety and learning would have made him a worthy ornament of the Catholic Church in any age or in any country of the

world. He caused the Aberdeen Breviary to be printed by Walter Chapman, of Edinburgh, in 1509-1510. Under the editorship of the well-known scholar, David Laing, the work was reprinted by Toovey, of London, in 1854.

(2) *Character of the Aberdeen Breviary*

This work enjoys a high character for authenticity, even in the estimation of Protestant writers. When submitted to the test of comparison with other early sources of information, it is found to be so faithful in reproducing its authorities that we are forced to respect its testimony in cases where such means of comparison no longer exist. Laing says :—

In the instances of some of the chief missions (*i.e.* to the different peoples inhabiting Scotland), such as those of St. Ninian and St. Columba, St. Kentigern and St. Serf, the original materials employed in the preparation of the work have, in whole or in part, descended in our own day, and the remarkable fidelity with which we find these cited in its pages, warrants us in placing a high value upon the accounts that are given of other apostles and early teachers, of whose pious enterprise every other memorial has passed away.¹

The reader will also observe that the testimony of the Aberdeen Breviary may well be taken as a witness to the general belief of the Scottish Church in the matter now under consideration ; for, as to its situation, the diocese of Aberdeen was in the north-eastern corner of Scotland, far removed from the territory comprised in the ancient see of Glasgow.

(3) *Testimony of the Aberdeen Breviary*

The *Lectio I.* in the Matins for the 17th March, the Feast of St. Patrick, is as follows :—

Patricius, Hybernensium apostolus, ex patre Calphurnio de Scotorum nobili familia ortus, matre Conkessa, beati Martini Turonensis episcopi Francigena sorore, apud castellum de Dunbertane divinorum præsagis conceptus, et in Kilpatrick prope idem castellum in Scotia natus et educatus extitit, in baptismo Suthat a comparentibus nominatus : post hoc a sancto Germano in Gallia Magonius, et a beato Celestino papa Romae Patricius appellatus.

¹ *Preface*, by David Laing, quoted in Father Maonab's Pamphlet, p. 58.

The general meaning of the above passage is unmistakable, and strikingly confirms, even in matter of detail, the evidence derived from Irish tradition. But it is worthy of remark that a distinction is here made between the place in which the saint was 'conceived, amid the accompaniment of heavenly signs,' and the place in which he was born: the first is the 'Castellum de Dunbertane,' the second is the neighbouring town of Kilpatrick. This reminds us of the words of St. Fiac's hymn, and the gloss thereon. For, St. Fiac says: 'Genair Patraic i Nemthur,' literally *Genitus est Patricius in Nemthur*. The gloss then adds: 'Nemthur. i. cathir sein feil i. op. mbretnaib tuaiscirt i. ail cluade, literally, *Nemthur; id est, civitas quae est in Britonibus septentrionalibus* (or, *inter Britones septentrionales*), *id est, Ailcluade*.¹

And now, let us consider the special significance of this testimony. We see that the Aberdeen Breviary claims St. Patrick, as one born in Scotland; but, in order to recognise the full force of this claim, a second consideration demands our attention; namely, that no other ancient Breviary has ever been known to advance a similar claim for any other country in the world.² Now, how could this be so, if St. Patrick really belonged, not to Scotland, but to some other country, such as France, Spain, or even South Britain? All these were more favoured than Scotland was; they were more advanced in civilisation; they could boast of a more continuous literary activity;

¹ I have already observed (I. E. Record, Oct. 1899, p. 349), that the question, whether Nemthur directly refers to Dunbarton or to Kilpatrick, is one of secondary importance, in the view of those who are guided by the evidence of tradition. We may be content to acknowledge our limitations, with regard to an accurate acquaintance with topographical details: it is better to wait in patience than to blunder in haste. Later on I may venture to state my own opinion. Meantime, it is obvious that a comparison of the passages given above suggests that Nemthur was a special name for Dunbarton rather than for Kilpatrick.

² A striking illustration of this truth is derived from the history of the Rouen Breviary. In the text which reads 'in Britannia *Gallicana* ortum,' the word *Gallicana* is notoriously a modern interpolation. Such tampering with ancient testimonies defeats its own object; for when such '*Gallican liberties*' have to be taken with the text to bolster up the French theory, it is quite clear that the original reading was regarded as unfavourable to that theory.

they possessed a more unbroken historical tradition. Yet we are asked to admit as probable, nay as actual, that from some one of these more favoured countries a prominent citizen should suddenly disappear, torn from his home by Irish marauders ; that he should again appear among his own people, after years of absence in a state of slavery ; that he should once more abandon friends and country, severing all natural ties, and disregarding all opposition ; that he should become the successful apostle of a country at the world's end, thus adding a new nation to the Church's fold ; that he should be the means of inspiring that newly converted nation with such lively faith and ardent zeal as should send forth from her bosom a countless multitude of earnest missionaries, destined to become the teachers of his own country and of half the countries of Europe ; and yet, that, in spite of all these marvels, the countrymen of this wondrous saint and hero should never acknowledge the bond of nationality existing between themselves and him, should never claim him as their own ! Are we seriously expected to believe all this ? Do our adversaries themselves realize all that is involved in their arbitrary hypotheses ? Let us suppose that no indication whatever had been afforded by any national records as to the place of St. Patrick's birth, and that we found ourselves reduced to the necessity of casting about for a likely spot to which the honour might be attributed. Even in that case, we might prudently have selected Scotland, for we might naturally reason thus :—

Since no nation claims this remarkable man, we are forced to conclude that he must have been born in some country whose national records have suffered most severely from the ravages of time and from other destructive agencies ; for, otherwise, it is impossible to understand how so great a man could fail to be remembered in the place of his birth. Now, within the limits of possibility in Western Europe, Scotland is certainly the country that seems best to fulfil the required conditions. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that Scotland was the place of St. Patrick's birth.

And now, let us return from abstract hypothesis to actual fact. In reality, Scotland is the only country which seems

to claim him, while other more favoured lands have consistently ignored him. How can this phenomenon be explained, unless we acquiesce in the unopposed claim of Scottish tradition? We see, then, that the consistent and consentient testimony derived from the ancient records of two nations points to the same conclusion, and leads us towards the same spot? Where must we look for that spot? I think the reader already knows how that question must be answered; but, let us set all possible doubts at rest, by turning to the evidence of strictly local tradition.

II.—THE KILPATRICK TRADITION

The Aberdeen breviary informs us that Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, was the birthplace of St. Patrick; after the considerations already advanced, that evidence should be held to decide the question. But our ancient Irish records, if properly understood; if interpreted, not in the spirit of captious criticism, but in the spirit of judicious fairness, are equally definite. This appears all the more clearly when we view them in connection with the facts to which I now proceed to refer.

(1) *Local Cultus of the Saint at Kilpatrick*

The reader will remember the testimony already adduced from two of the earliest lives of our national apostle.¹ The *Tripartite*, which embodies early materials dating from A.D. 500-700, says:—

A church was founded over the well in which Patrick was baptized; and the well is at the altar, and it has the form of a cross, as the learned report.

Similarly, the *Vita Quarta*, compiled before the year A.D. 774, tells us:—

The inhabitants of the place erected a church over the fountain in which he [St. Patrick] was baptized, and those acquainted with the place say that the fountain, which is beside the altar, is in the form of a cross.

Now, let us compare these ancient records, more than

¹ I. E. RECORD, October, 1899, pp. 355, 356

twelve hundred years old, with existing facts, verifiable at the present day.

On the main road to Dumbarton, about four miles from Dumbarton Rock, and five miles from the place where I am now writing, stands the modern church of Kilpatrick. The church is on the right-hand side of the highway, as you proceed towards Dumbarton; and, on the opposite side of the road, not many paces distant, is the well which has been known from time immemorial as St. Patrick's well. I am aware that such a gross, material fact as a well counts for little in the estimation of 'Patrician' theorists, who regard as objects more worthy of their attention their own abstract theories, doubtful etymologies, and conjectural 'readings.' But it is none the less a striking circumstance, that the well of which I speak is the only one which not only bears St. Patrick's name, but also claims to have marked for more centuries than we can precisely reckon, the place of his birth, and the spot of his baptism.

(2) *Antiquity of the Local Cultus*

The modern church of Kilpatrick is but the last link in the chain of evidence which reaches back to a period far beyond the date of the oldest surviving records—the form of the name would alone tell us that. But even such early records as exists point to the same conclusion. From them we gain a knowledge of the following facts:—

Deriving its name from St. Patrick, the church had in the remote and misty past been dedicated to that illustrious saint. Following the fashion of the times, the church of Kilpatrick, which had been built on the supposed birthplace of the saint, with the lands granted to it by the earls of Lennox, was conveyed in 1227 by Maldowen, or Malcolm, the earl of the time, to the monastery of Paisley.¹

This well-known action of Earl Maldowen's, by which the church and lands of Kilpatrick became the property of Paisley Abbey, merely begins a new period in the history of the local Cultus, which must necessarily be admitted to have existed long before. We know that Maldowen's

¹ Bruce's *History of Kilpatrick*, p. 63.

predecessors had given generous grants to the church of St. Patrick. The following, so far as can be gathered, is the succession of the early earls of Lennox. The first of whom history gives any account was Alwyn, who died about the year 1160, leaving a family of very young children. During the minority of the heir, the earldom was held by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, and one of the principal companions of Richard the Lion-hearted in the war of the Crusades; Alwyn, the second of that name, succeeded as heir to the first Alwyn, towards the close of the twelfth century, and dying in 1225, left the title and estates to the Earl Maldowen above mentioned.¹ Maldowen's transfer of the property from the hands of the secular guardians of the shrine to those of the regular clergy, was not allowed to pass unchallenged. The dispute which thus arose brought about the intervention, first, of a Papal Commission; and secondly, of the secular power. The proceedings which resulted are recorded both in the *Chartulary of Paisley Abbey*, and in the *Scots Acts of Parliament*. The following passages are of special significance.²

(a) A certain Beda Ferdan, who may be described as hereditary guardian of the Kilpatrick church and property, and who dwelt in a house situated towards the east, near the cemetery attached to the church, held the lands of Monachernan, and other lands in the time of Earl Alwyn, the second of that name. These lands were held from the church, under the sole obligation of entertaining pilgrims who came to the sanctuary. Beda Ferdan ultimately lost his life in defending the rights of the church, *interfectus erat pro jure et libertate ecclesiae*, and was succeeded by his son, Christinus. Earl Alwyn added to the possessions already held by the church.

Malcolmus Beg juratus dicit, quod vidit Bedam Ferdan, habentem domum suam sitam juxta cimiterium ecclesiae de Kylpatrick ex orientali parte et tenuit nomine ecclesiae illam terram de Monachkennaran . . . et praedicta terra et aliis quas

¹ Irving's *History of Dumbartonshire*, p. 43; cf. p. 480.

² These passages will be found in an extract from the *Scots Acts of Parliament*, vol. i., fol. 85, cited in Bruce's *History of Kilpatrick*, Appendix, p. 331.

tenebat de ecclesia recipiebat hospites ad ecclesiam venientes, nullum aliud servitium faciendo pro eis. Requisitus in tempore cujus comitis hoc vidit, dicit quod in tempore Alwini Comitis; et quod idem Comes dedit Sancto Patricio et ecclesiae illam terram de Kachconnen, &c.

(b) Earl David, while he held possession of the Lennox, had endeavoured to obtain from the church lands assistance in raising his military forces; but this attempt had been successfully resisted by the authority and influence of the Church, although the resistance thus successfully offered seems to have cost Beda Ferdan his life.

Anekol juratus, idem dicit per omnia quod Malcolmus Beg, et adjecit quod Comes David, frater regis Wilelmi, eo tempore quo habuit comitatum de Levenax et possedit, voluit de dictis terris ecclesiae de Kylpatrick habere auxilium, sicut de ceteris terris comitatus, et non potuit, quia defensae erant per ecclesiam.

(c) Beda Ferdan's family seems to have presided over the reception and entertainment of the pilgrims to St. Patrick's church for a number of years. During the course of the legal proceedings connected with the settlement of the dispute, the oldest residents, and such as had been born and brought up in the neighbourhood, were naturally cited to give evidence. One witness in particular deposed to having seen, *more than sixty years previous* to the time of the inquiry, this very Beda Ferdan, who occupied a large house built of wattles, near the church of Kilpatrick, and situated east of that building.

Alexander filius Hugonis juratus dicit, quod sexaginta annis et eo amplius elapsis, vidit quemdam nomine Beda Ferdan, habitantem in quadam domo magna, fabricata de virgis, juxta ecclesiam de Kylpatrick versus orientem.

As the document from which the above extracts have been taken refers to an inquiry instituted in 'the year of grace 1233,' it is clear that the church of Kilpatrick was a place of pilgrimage as early as A.D. 1170. At that time we find Beda Ferdan established as guardian of the sanctuary, and holding from the church certain lands by a kind of feudal tenure. How many centuries before feudal tenures were known in Scotland this church and place of pilgrimage

existed, protected only by the sanctity of the spot, and by the piety of the faithful, who shall say? Or rather, who shall take upon himself to put an arbitrary limit to the antiquity of a local cultus, and a local tradition, which were already old at the time spoken of by our most ancient records?

(3) *Position of the Ancient Church at Kilpatrick*

In the course of ages, since first their existence was recorded, both church and well have undergone several changes. But the citations above given throw some light upon the question of their original relative position. We are told that Beda Ferdan's house, where he received and entertained the pilgrims, *recipiendo et pascendo hospites illuc venientes*, was a wattled building, and we naturally conclude that the adjoining church was of wood. What we are told of early churches in other places, as for example, of those in Ireland, strengthens this conclusion, which indeed is put beyond a doubt when we remember that St. Ninian's church, being built of dressed stone, was regarded as quite an innovation in ecclesiastical architecture. The earliest church at Kilpatrick was, we are informed, built over the well; and we can quite understand the truth of the assertion. The present Protestant church was built on the site of its immediate predecessor, the pre-Reformation structure; during the rebuilding of the sacred edifice the congregation had to worship in the open air. Mr. Bruce admits the difficulty of assigning a precise date for the erection of this earlier edifice, which was demolished in 1812. But he notes that in 1825 'it was said to have been the oldest church of its time in the west country;' and he adds, judging from a surviving drawing of the building and from some still existing fragments, that 'the architecture is apparently of the Norman period, and points to the early part of the twelfth century.'¹

It seems probable, therefore, that two different churches existed for some time simultaneously, and of course, occupy-

¹ Bruce's *History of Kilpatrick*, pp. 100-101. This judgment has since been confirmed by the remarks and illustrations which occurred in a lecture given by Mr. Bruce before the Antiquarian Society of Helensburgh.

ing different sites: the earliest structure, which was of wood, survived down to the end of the twelfth century, and even later, being allowed to stand, in consideration of the continued visits of pilgrims, until it gradually fell to ruins; while, under the influence of the superior culture introduced by the Norman barons, the pre-Reformation stone building was erected in the earlier part of the twelfth century. The actual position of the present church is thus seen to be in no wise opposed to the statement of our early writers, that the primitive structure 'was erected over the well.'

RECAPITULATION

Let us now briefly recall the evidence already considered. We have seen the testimony of Ireland; we have examined the claims of Scotland, and we have inquired into the local tradition of Kilpatrick; the result has been in every case the same, and seems to leave no room for reasonable doubt.

With regard to the first, our ancient Irish records are decisive and unanimous in pointing to Scotland, and even to the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, as our apostle's birthplace. The evidence is all directly in favour of one view: no other opinion finds any support.¹ Now, on the supposition of our adversaries, what an inexplicable phenomenon would here be presented, setting at defiance all the laws of evidence! What a wonderful agreement in support of error; what a wonderful 'conspiracy of silence' against the truth!

Again, when we consider the opposite claims that might be advanced by various nations, a similarly remarkable phenomenon is presented: Scotland alone claims St. Patrick while all other nations confirm her claim by allowing it to pass unopposed. The Aberdeen Breviary asserts that he was born in Scotland and at Kilpatrick; all other ancient

¹ With regard to the supposition that our ancient records prove that St. Patrick was taken captive in Armorica, I have already called attention to the fact that the place of birth and the place of capture are in themselves two very different things. If, from an examination of St. Patrick's own writings, or from any other consideration, we are forced to conclude that the two places are to be reduced to one and the same, then the unanimity of testimony in favour of Kilpatrick being the place of birth will compel us to seek in the same neighbourhood the place of capture. Once more, the certain must be made to explain the uncertain, not *vice versa*. My own opinion on the point in question will find expression at the proper time.

breviaries fail to raise a single note of protest. This must be a new embarrassment to 'Patrician' theorists: the assumed agreement in support of error and 'conspiracy of silence' against the truth become still more wonderful.

Lastly, when we turn our attention to the neighbourhood of Kilpatrick, early records and existing indications alike prompt us to exclaim: 'This is indeed the spot indicated by our ancient writers.' And this, too, while we vainly seek elsewhere for records or indications which could by any possibility intimate the presence of a serious rival. Thus we have been led onward, step by step, from Ireland to Kilpatrick: we have followed in the footsteps of so many of our ancestors, who believed as we believe, and who so often came hither on pilgrimage to honour their national apostle at the spot that gave him birth. Have they and we been alike mistaken? Those who profess to think so must, at least, concede that we have erred in good company—that of the saints and sages of ancient Erin. They must also admit that the indications by which we have been guided in the course of our inquiry are such as do not generally lead to false conclusions. On the other hand, their view of these indications supposes that inexplicable agreement of evidence in support of error and that impossible 'conspiracy of silence' against truth, to which I have already referred.

These considerations the anti-Scottish theorists would do well to weigh carefully, before again attacking a question which should be regarded as one that was definitely and finally settled long ago. Above all, they should hesitate to identify themselves with those of whom the poet says:—

We think our fathers fools; so wise we grow—

lest perchance they incur the Nemesis that threatens them in the satirist's next line.¹

I have now reviewed the principal arguments in support of the truth. I hope to consider in a future article the history and fate of error.

GERALD STACK.

¹ See Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, l. 439.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

DISPENSATION IN A VOW OF CHASTITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you please say if a dispensation is necessary in the following case, and from whom it should be sought? A woman who had taken a vow in chastity in the world obtained from the Pope a dispensation to get married. Her husband has since died, and now she wishes to marry a second time. Does she require a dispensation? If she does, who can grant it?

A. M.

WE gather from the fact that this person, on the occasion of her first marriage, had recourse to the Holy See for a dispensation, that her vow was one of perpetual and perfect chastity. Our correspondent's question, then, comes to this :—What is the precise effect of a dispensation to marry on a vow of perpetual and perfect chastity? The obligation of the vow is only partially removed by the dispensation. *Per se* the effect of the dispensation is to remove the obligation in religion forbidding marriage, and the use of the rights consequent on marriage. Other obligations under the vow remain intact. Sins against chastity, therefore, committed by the dispensed person continue to be violations of the vow. Again, the permission or dispensation is usually given for one marriage only, and, therefore, a new dispensation is required for a second marriage. If, however, the first dispensation were granted absolutely, and if the reason on account of which the dispensation was given was universal and permanent, the dispensation also would be understood to be permanent, and there would, therefore, be no need for a second dispensation in case of a second marriage.

If a dispensation be needed, it can be obtained only from

the Holy See or someone having special faculties. The vow was *ab initio* reserved specially to the Holy See, nor does the vow cease to be reserved now owing to the fact that its obligation was partially and temporarily suspended.

ABSOLUTION FROM A RESERVED SIN

REV. DEAR SIR,—A person who is under the necessity of receiving Communion, or of celebrating Mass, *v. g.*, finds his conscience burdened with a reserved sin. There is no time to go to, or write to the Superior who reserved the case. May he confess to any priest, and is he bound to confess the reserved sin even though the confessor has no faculties to absolve from it?

CONFESSARIUS.

This question has been so often discussed that we will but briefly recall the principles underlying the solution.

1. The reservation of which there is question may be a papal reservation or an episcopal reservation.

2. In case of papal reservations, any confessor has, *modo transeunte*, the necessary faculties to absolve *directly*, provided the penitent be in urgent necessity of receiving absolution, and if there be no time to refer the matter to the proper authorities. There remains, indeed, the obligation to have recourse to the proper authorities within a month. This has been the clear rule since 1886 in regard to papal cases.

Theologians are not agreed as to whether the same procedure is, without a special disposition of the bishop, to be followed in regard to episcopal cases. For ourselves, in view of the legislation or decision of 1886, above referred to, we think it most probable that any confessor has power, and *direct* power, to absolve in case of urgent necessity from an episcopal reserved case, even though the bishop has not *expressly* adopted the papal procedure in regard to his reservations. Others, however, are inclined to think, that, apart from an express disposition of the bishop, a simple confessor can, even in urgent necessity, absolve only *indirectly* from an episcopal case.

3. If the penitent in our correspondent's question can

get *direct* absolution from the reserved case, he is manifestly bound to confess it. If, on the other hand, he can get only *indirect* absolution, he is, *per se*, not bound to confess it: he may confess other sins, and obtain absolution which will *indirectly* extend to the reserved sin. In this latter case an obligation will, of course, remain of afterwards confessing the reserved sin to someone who has faculties to absolve directly; the same obligation would remain, even if the sin were mentioned in the previous confession.

In reply to our correspondent's question, then, we say:—

1. The penitent may not confess to *any* confessor. He must confess to one having faculties, if any such confessor be available. Our correspondent may seem to imply the contrary.

2. In the absence of a confessor with special faculties he is bound, when the case is a papal case, or an episcopal case to which the bishop has made the Roman practice apply, he may select any confessor available, he can be absolved *directly*, and he is bound to confess the reserved sin. The fact that the penitent *can* be absolved directly removes all excuse for not confessing, or for withholding the reserved case. When the case is an episcopal one, in our opinion the penitent ought to confess; also to mention the reserved case, and he can be absolved *directly*. As it is not certain, however, that in such a case the absolution of the reserved case would be direct, we do not undertake to condemn the penitent who does not consider himself bound to confess his reserved sin to a simple confessor. Acting on this latter opinion, a penitent having no unreserved grave sin since his last confession may confess venial sins, or sins of his past life, and receive absolution, or he may omit confession altogether, and receive communion, having made an act of contrition: a penitent whose conscience is also burdened with grievous sins, which are unreserved, is, of course, bound to confess these, though he may withhold the reserved sin.

DISPENSATION OF THE VOWS OF RELIGION

REV. DEAR SIR,—A member of a religious community, for sufficient reasons, obtained from the bishop a dispensation to return to secular life. No dispensation was asked or granted in the view of chastity. Does this person require a dispensation in the vow of chastity in order to get married?

RELIGIOUS.

We assume, of course, that the bishop was within his right in dispensing in the vows of religion. For, the person belonged, no doubt, to a mere diocesan congregation which had got no approval from the Holy See. The bishop retained power, therefore, to dispense in the vows of the members. A dispensation is evidently still required from the vow of chastity before the person can lawfully contract marriage. But from whom is the dispensation to be obtained? If the vow be not perfect and perpetual, of course the bishop can dispense in it; if it be perfect and perpetual, it will be necessary to have recourse to the Holy See, unless the bishop happens to have special faculties. If the vow be perpetual, and if it were taken freely with full knowledge and deliberation, it is, almost with a certainty, a perfect vow, and should be treated as such. It may be worth while to add, however, that if the person can assert that the vow of chastity was taken not precisely, *ob amorem castitatis*, but for some other reason, the vow is imperfect, *ratione finis*, and may be dispensed by the bishop.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

CARRYING THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN OTHER CASES THAN TO THE SICK

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. A priest celebrates at an out station, where he wishes to remain till evening to give Benediction with the evening devotions; but he has to return home that night, and, accordingly, carries the Blessed Sacrament with him—perhaps several miles.

2. A priest attends two small churches—one three, the other six miles from the urban church, where he lives. He remains

after the late Mass in the former church to give Benediction, with a Host consecrated at the Mass; but he has to return to town for Vespers. Benediction is given at the out church at four in the afternoon. He has to carry the lunette, with the large Host, back to town.

3. A priest celebrates on Sunday, thirty miles from his residence, in a small church. He consecrates for Benediction; but, there being no safe in the church, he takes the lunette back after Benediction to the hotel where he lodges. He consumes it next morning at his Mass.

4. In the case No. 2 above, the nearer church to town contains the larger congregation; hence Mass is celebrated there at 11 o'clock about three times in the month, and at 9 in the farther church. The priest, going out from town every Sunday morning, takes a number of consecrated particles to communicate people at the nearer church. He then proceeds to the farther, celebrates Mass at 9, returns to the nearer church, where he celebrates the late Mass. It is thought too long for the people to remain fasting till the late Mass.

5. The priest's residence is about five hundred yards from the church. In the house there is an oratory, with a tabernacle. On other accounts the oratory is legitimate; but the only reason for keeping the Blessed Sacrament is for convenience' sake, in case of sick calls. Mass may be said in the oratory; but usually the priest does not hesitate to carry the particles from the tabernacle in the church to the oratory, without lights, &c.

I should very much like to have a full treatment of the theological aspect of the above cases—first, as to whether Benediction is a justification, under the circumstances; and, secondly, whether the devotion and convenience of people and priest justify carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the other cases. As to dispensations, I know of none beyond that of taking the Blessed Sacrament to the sick *sine lumine*, &c., and of keeping it in the priest's room when necessary, &c.

IN PARTIBUS INFIDELIUM.

We are of opinion that the various practices mentioned by our esteemed correspondent are all quite lawful. But though we are certain that this opinion is correct, we experience no small difficulty in supporting it by arguments sufficiently conclusive to convince one who was inclined to

doubt. True, were we at liberty to appeal to the custom which prevails in missionary countries we could at once show that the Blessed Sacrament is carried by the holiest priests in circumstances precisely similar to those described by our correspondent, and preserved in their houses, though no farther distant from the church than the presbytery to which he refers; and, finally, we could show that bishops in missionary countries, though aware of the existence of this custom, do not condemn it. But it would seem that we are not at liberty to appeal to this custom, because it is this custom itself which our correspondent impugns, and for which he seeks from us either condemnation or justification. We must, therefore, seek some other source for reasons in favour of the opinion we have already stated.

In discussing questions of this kind one cannot hope for much assistance from the decrees of Roman Congregations, or from the works of theologians. For both the Congregations and the theologians, in treating of preserving or carrying the Blessed Sacrament, have before their minds, as a rule, the circumstances which prevail, or used to prevail, in Catholic countries. If they refer to the state of things existing in missionary countries, they merely give the words of the dispensation, to which our correspondent refers in the last paragraph of his letter, without vouchsafing a word of explanation as to the extent of the dispensation, or as to the practical details which it may cover. The working interpretation, then, is left to the prudence and piety of bishops and priests, and the custom to which we have just referred embodies this interpretation.

But we are not left entirely without assistance. For though we have not met any theologian who discusses *ex professo* any of the points raised by our correspondent, we can quote many theologians who would permit the Blessed Sacrament to be carried to others than those who are subjects for the viaticum, or who are *infirmi* in the sense of the dispensation granting permission to carry the Blessed Sacrament *occulte ad infirmos*. When a person suffers from a chronic ailment, which is too slight to justify him in receiving Holy Communion after having broken his

fast, and yet is of such a nature that he cannot remain fasting during the night, theologians generally say that a priest may, and sometimes *ought* to, bring the Blessed Sacrament and administer Holy Communion to him shortly after midnight.

Si autem morbus diuturnus quidem, sed nullatenus letalis est, S. Eucharistia non jejuno dari nequit, etsi aegrotus sine cibo diu manere non potest; at hæc est ratio cur aliquoties media nocte vix elapsa ad eum deferri possit, vel etiam *debeat*.¹

Now Lehmkuhl, as is evident, here contemplates Communion received through devotion only, and yet he would not merely allow, but would oblige a priest to violate the law of the Church forbidding the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament at night, in order to satisfy the devotion of the infirm person. And, moreover, he would have the priest to be at hand at the stroke of midnight—*media nocte vix elapsa*—in order to obviate all, even the slightest, inconvenience. The Blessed Sacrament may, then, be carried for the purpose of administering Communion received through mere devotion; and, also, a priest must take into consideration the convenience of those who are to communicate. We may, therefore, draw the practical conclusion that, in the case mentioned by our correspondent in No. 4, the priest is not only justified in carrying the Blessed Sacrament with him in order to communicate those in the nearer church, but that he is bound to do it. The inconvenience of receiving Communion at an 11 o'clock Mass is so great, that few would be able, and fewer still would care, to face it, at least frequently. Hence, if Communion were not distributed early, no one would be found to approach the holy table in that church on Sundays; and thus, by a pharisaical interpretation of the mind of the Church, Christ, in the Blessed Sacrament, would be kept out of the hearts of His people. If priests kept in mind the dictum, *Sacramenta sunt propter homines*, they would be saved many a scruple.

From the Congregation of Rites also we obtain clear

¹ Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 161, 2.

and direct confirmation of our opinion that the Blessed Sacrament may be carried to others than those who are sick. In 1871 the then Prefect Apostolic of Denmark asked the Congregation some questions regarding the extent of the faculties conferred on him by this very dispensation which we are discussing. We will quote the part that applies to the present case:—

Inter facultates speciales quae Oratori communicatae fuere, nona ita jacet: Deferendi Sanctissimum Sacramentum occulte ad infirmos sine lumine, etc. Num vi hujus facultatis liceat deferre et ministrare S. Communionem eis qui longo tempore in carceribus acatholicis detinentur dicto modo, si secus eodem carere debeant.

Resp. Affirmative si immineat periculum sacrilegii ab haereticis aut infidelibus, et adsint causae graves pro Communione ministranda.¹

The qualifying clause, *si immineant periculum*, &c., need not be taken into account. It is on this condition that the general dispensation is granted, and the condition is supposed to exist wherever the dispensation can be availed of, even for the purpose of carrying the Blessed Sacrament to the sick. Hence, when there is a grave cause, as there certainly is in the case mentioned in No. 4, the Congregation of Rites would allow a priest to carry the Blessed Sacrament *occulte*, and to administer Communion to people who are not at all sick.

The carrying of the lunette containing the Benediction Host follows the analogy of carrying the Blessed Sacrament to administer Communion to persons who are not sick. Both are intended to excite and strengthen devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament, and though Holy Communion unlike Benediction produces this and other effects *ex opere operato*, still Benediction holds so prominent a place in the *cultus* of the Blessed Eucharist, and is, moreover, so favourite a devotion with the faithful, that the same cause, or a cause similar to that which would justify a priest in carrying the Blessed Sacrament for the purpose of giving Communion,

¹ N. 5469, Feb. 4, 1871.

would justify him in carrying it for the purpose of giving Benediction.

So much for the abstract view of the case. Now for the case as described by our correspondent. Benediction has already been established as a weekly, or, at least, as a regularly recurring devotion in the churches of which mention is made. Plainly in the circumstances it is impossible to have this devotion unless subject to the inconvenience of carrying the Blessed Sacrament for the purpose of keeping it safe. Now, if there was question of establishing this devotion in a church in which it had not previously been established, and in which it could not be celebrated unless the priest carried the Host from or to another church, or to his house, there might be some reason for inquiring whether Benediction alone is sufficient to justify a priest in carrying the Blessed Sacrament *occulte*. But when it has been already established in a church no speculative doubt on this subject, however well founded it might be, would justify a priest, or even a bishop, in discontinuing it. The doubt should be first changed into certainty, and that can be done only by a clear and unambiguous statement by the Congregation of Rites or of Propaganda.

With regard to the priest carrying the pyxis from the church to the tabernacle in the presbytery without vestments or lights, all we can say is, that it is part of the general custom; but a part of which we do not generally approve. In very many country districts in missionary countries such is the seclusion of the church and presbytery; such, at any rate, is the absence of all danger of insult or sacrilege, that a priest might transfer the Blessed Sacrament to his house or thence to the church with the solemnities prescribed by the church for such occasions.

The inconvenience at night of finding keys, and lights, of opening the church and the tabernacle, together with the delays which all this would cause is considered a sufficient justification for a priest to keep the Blessed Sacrament in his house *loco tamen decenti*.

**CERTAIN DUTIES OF THE SUBDEACON IN A SOLEMN
MASS**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly insert an answer to the following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD:—

1. Must the subdeacon, whilst holding the paten at Solemn Mass, genuflect at any time, except during the Consecration?
2. In a Solemn Requiem Mass must the subdeacon, standing *in plano* from the Consecration to the *Agnus Dei*, genuflect whenever the celebrant does so?

C. C.

1. We would recommend our correspondent to look into some work of recognised merit on the ceremonies of Solemn Mass, and to follow the directions therein laid down. In small details, such as those to which he refers, there is a variety of practice, and, within certain well-defined limitations, each master of ceremonies, and each writer on ceremonies, adopts or modifies an old practice, or invents a new one. The author of the *Ceremonies of Some Ecclesiastical Functions*, whose work is now before us, directs the subdeacon to genuflect after receiving the paten—(a) when he first descends to the foot of the altar; (b) before going up to assist at the *Sanctus*; (c) on the predella, after the *Sanctus*, immediately before descending to the foot of the altar; (d) before going up to the altar at the end of the *Pater Noster*. All the genuflections of this series that are made at the foot of the altar are made on the lowest step, not *in plano*. During the Consecration the subdeacon genuflects on both knees, or kneels, during the whole time.

2. The subdeacon should always genuflect with the celebrant, in the circumstances set forth in question 2.

**THE USE OF A PURIFICATOR WHEN A BISHOP DISTRIBUTES
HOLY COMMUNION**

REV. DEAR SIR.—Will you please answer the following question? When a bishop during his Mass gives Communion, should the paten be held by the chaplain, *with* or *without* a purificator? The practice does not seem to be uniform. In the

Responsa varia SS. Congregationum given at the end of the first volume of Scavini, it is stated that the paten, 'est purificatione tenenda.'

C. C.

The purificator is never employed now at the Communion of the faithful. The Ritual prescribes an ablution of wine, together with a purificator to wipe the lips, to be presented to every one receiving Holy Communion, whether from a bishop or a priest. But custom has done away with both ablution and purificator. What our correspondent has noticed in Scavini is merely a reference to a custom once obligatory, but now obsolete.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Some remarks in the last number of the I. E. RECORD, under the head 'Correspondence,' and entitled: 'On homes for aged and infirm priests,' have suggested to me to send you some thoughts on the same subject—thoughts which are the result of study, and of a rather long experience. My attention was called to it some years ago by the fact, that I, with two others, was named trustee for a bequest of £8,000, left to found such a home in Ireland, for Irish priests. The bequest fell through.

I must say that there is no subject upon which a bishop in his pastoral, or a priest in his pulpit could appeal with more power than that of such an institution, because of the extraordinary respect, esteem, reverence, and gratitude which our people have for the good priest who has for a long, or even a short time, laboured amongst them.

My contention is—first, that such a home is neither necessary nor needed for *good* priests; second, that though such a home is desirable for our weak and fallen brothers, it is almost impossible to get them to stay in, and take advantage of any home in which even a mild discipline would be insisted on. Nothing can save some but a religious jail out of which there is no getting; and if such a home were established I would prefer to see it out of Ireland, for the following reason—though not the only one—that in this country it would be an ever-standing reminder of what would be most painful to the most priest-reverencing and priest-loving people in the world, particularly to the afflicted families of which its inmates were members.

With reference, first, to good priests, 'old and unfit for missionary work, aged or infirm.' Now, if they be parish priests they are generally left in the possession or part possession of their parochial house, and they have an annual pension out of the parish. But this is not all, they are helped by intentions if they be able to say mass, and also, as a rule, by the generous kindness of friends and old parishioners. Such men, having had for years their own home, and a certain independent way of living, will not be likely to change it for a home such as is

proposed. They would consider it *infra dignitatem*, decidedly and rightly so, if it were not consecrated solely to good priests.

Curates when they break down in health generally die young; but if their existences be prolonged, their family, friends, parishioners, brother priests, some or all, never allow them to need, I will not say, the necessities, but the ordinary comforts of life. Also, if they had a small residence of their own—parochial property—I have scarcely ever heard of their being disturbed, unless they wished it themselves. I knew cases in which the bishop kindly offered help to delicate curates out of a diocesan fund; which help they refused, first, because they did not need it; and secondly, because this fund was generally utilized for the support of the fallen.

I must candidly say that one remark of your correspondent, 'An Old Reader,' amazed me:—'How sad sometimes to hear of some old dignitary housed up for months, sometimes even for years *without one to visit him, without one to breathe to him a word of spiritual consolation.*' The italics are mine. What must be the forlorn state of good old priests who were never dignitaries? This is entirely against my experience, and I cannot believe that we Irish priests ever did, or could, so neglect a sick or dying brother. I never knew a priest so placed who was not visited socially and spiritually by his neighbouring brother priests and also by the bishop whenever he happened to be in the locality.

With reference to our fallen brothers, who have got chance after chance, and again and again have failed, such an asylum or home is most desirable, but very difficult of accomplishment. Such an asylum must not be a mere hotel, but, in a certain sense, a religious house, where a rule and discipline accommodated to the circumstances must be insisted on under superiors who are at once strict to a certain limit, considerate, and patient. Even in such houses breaks down or breaks out are not infrequent; and the late venerated Abbot of Mount Melleray stated, if I mistake not, at the Synod of Maynooth, 1875, that he and his community were obliged to give up such a house because the breaks out caused a false suspicion to fall on themselves. In any case, I should prefer to see such an asylum—desirable though it be—outside Ireland for many reasons as well as for the one already given.

AN IRISH PRIEST.

HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have perused the letter of 'An Old Reader' on the above subject, and I cordially agree with the writer.

He, however, suggests an appeal to the Catholic public for the funds to establish these homes. I, on the other hand, think such an appeal unwise and unnecessary: unwise, because we make too many such appeals to them; unnecessary, because we can do the needful for ourselves. We are not so poor as we sometimes try to make out.

In my diocese (mine not in the sense that it belongs to me, but that I belong to it) we have a curates' fund to which parish priests contribute annually £2 each, and curates £1. This amounts to nearly £200 a year. We give from £60 to £80 to each retired priest, which, by the way, is not sufficient provision now-a-days, nor is it a fair method of distribution as between man and man.

Now, what I suggest is this. Establish four homes, one for each province; let each diocese contribute *pro rata* according to the number of its own inmates; let nothing be given to the men themselves, but let them be maintained comfortably and respectably. As 'An Old Reader' says, under the existing plan they are neither comfortably nor respectably housed.

May I, with bated breath, make another suggestion to the National Council of 1900? It is this: that—with the permission of Rome, of course—a compulsory retirement scheme be passed under which all priests (whether P.P. or C.C.) be put aside on reaching, say, the age of seventy-five. This in most cases would allow them to celebrate their golden jubilee in harness, and then, free from parochial responsibilities and cares, would ensure them peace in the evening of their lives in these homes. It would also be for the good of religion by bringing in younger and stronger men to work in the vineyard. In the civil service the retiring age is fixed at sixty-five; this is rather early, but the principle is surely a sound one.

In throwing out this suggestion I know I am skating on thin ice.—Yours,

VICARIUS.

P.S.—If the above be adopted, I will gladly subscribe £100 towards the building of these homes.

['Vicarius' may modify his views when he reaches the age of seventy-five. Ed. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS

TIME REQUIRED FOR DEGREES IN ECCLESIASTICAL FACULTIES

E. SACRA CONGREGATIONE STUDIORUM

B. SEDES NON SOLET DISPENSARE SUPER LEGE BIENNII PRO ACQUIRENDIS GRADIBUS IN ECCLESIASTICIS FACULTATIBUS

I.

ILLME AC RME DOMINE,

Petitio nuperrime ab Amplitudine Tua ad h. S. Studiorum Cong, transmissa similis prorsus est petitioni tribus abhinc mensibus ab Emo Arch. Compostellano porrectae, cui ex S. Pontificis mandato, licet aegre, negative, responsum fuit.

Rationes ab eadem A. T. adductae, ut nempe clerici istius Seminarii Malacitan, absolutis inibi S. Theologiae cursibus sese ad Instituta Pontificia nuper in Hispania erecta conferre possent ut licentiae examina superarent, quin Instituti cursus frequentare tenerentur, non ita validae ab h. S. C. censentur, ut quae ab EE. Patribus scite ac prudenter nuperrime constituta sunt decreta nedum pro Hispania sed pro omnibus Institutis et Universitatibus haeic Romae et per Orbem existentibus, ullo pacto corrigi ac moderari deberent.

Generalis lex est, et praxis ubique terrarum, rigidior profecto penes omnes laicas Universitates, viget ut ibi gradus alumni suscipere possent, ubi studia complevisset. Si qui penes Hispaniam hucusque contrarius invaluit usus, nonnisi temporaneis concessionibus permissum fuit, quibus profecto per decem Institutorum erectionem derogatum est. Lex igitur nova ex rationabili ac universali praxi suffulta, ut Ampl. T. optime novit, ita quoad gradus assequendos in Hispania est proposita, ut nempe baccalaureatus penes Seminaria ex antiquo privilegio conferri posset, licentia vero et doctoratus penes decem Instituta et nonnisi alumni qui eorumdem scholas celebraverint.

Hac ferme ratione, lex biennii statuta pro Gallia, statuta fuit et etiam Romae per litteras circulares anno 1896; imo Epis. Universitatum Parisiensis Tolosanae et Lugdunensis Fundatoribus numero 74 per procuratorem specialem Romam ad id missum, dispensationem cursum pro licentiae examinibus instantissime

poscentibus, negative respondendum EE. Patres in plenariis Comitiis mense Junio anni 1895 habitis, uno ore decreverunt, ipso Summo Pontifice pluries adprobante, imo et mandante. Eadem responsio Epis. Bisuntino et Bituricensi facta est anno 1896.

Haud ergo aegre ferat Amplitudo Tua, si huiusmodi recentibus obversantibus decretis, petitioni facere satis haec S. C. minime possit

Quod ad alumnorum paupertatem et pericula objecta attinet, poterunt penes Seminaria centralia nisi Sacerdotes sint, degere per unum annum, quo absoluto, ad licentiae contendere gradum poterunt, qui licet doctoratu inferior, ad effectus tamen canonicos sufficit. Quod si, ut A. T. promittit, ratio studiorum penes istud Seminarium ita constitueretur, ut uniformis prorsus foret ac apud centralia praescribitur, nobilissimum hoc propositum nonnisi valde commendare S. Congregatio poterit, sed non inde sequetur, ius esse alumnis a Facultatum cursibus dispensari: quia programmatum uniformitas non sola ratio est sufficiens ad privilegium collationis, vel ad cursus dispensationem obtinendam: de multis enim aliisque conditionibus praemuniri S. C. debet et certior fieri, an reapse ex. gr. et Professores habiles sint et Doctores, an materiae profundius et maiori amplitudine pertractentur, an exercitationes scholasticae rite ita fiant ut alumni ad aemulationem in dies excitentur, an Praefectus studiorum suo munere alacriter fungatur, an examina baccalaureatus et pro annuis experimentis nimis remisse haud fiant, aliaque nimis complexa ac innumera concurrant quae propria sunt Universitati, cuius est quasi alma mater alumnos veluti alere, fovere et ad fastigium graduum ducere.

Quod si haec omnia comparari posse penes Seminarium Malacitan. Ampl. Tua testetur, duo poterunt inde concludi, 1 ut vel Seminarium ipsum ad dignitatem Instituti Pontificii rite evehatur: et hoc opportunum nullus dixerit, sive quia decem iam constituta fuerunt, sive quia alia Seminaria continuo idem poscent. Vel 2, admissa programmatum uniformitate ob studiorum amplitudinem ac profunditatem et alumnorum prae ceteris Seminariis profectum et superioritatem, nonnisi valde gratulandum erit pro Ecclesia, cuius sollicitudo est potius doctos requirere clericos, quam doctores.

Si qui, reapse docti, doctores fieri velint, praescriptis conditionibus subiiciantur necesse est, a quibus *in genere* dispensare

haec S. Congregatio nec potest nec debet, licet in casibus specialibus Ampl. Tuae commendationibus libenter indulgere sit parata, prouti pro aliis Hispaniae Dioecesibus in usu est.

Haec erant pro munere, quo fungor Ampl. Tuae significanda, cui aestimationis meae sensus proderere pergratum habeo dum manum deosculor.

Romae, die 24 Augusti, 1898.

Amplitudinis Tuae Illmae ac Rmae, Humus servus

J. MAGNO, *a Secret.*

Illmo ac Rmo Dno Dn. Joanni
Munoz et Herrera, Episcopo Malacitan.

WHAT IS A SEMI-PUBLIC ORATORY ?

DECRETUM

SUPER ORATORIIS SEMIPUBLICIS

A Sacra Rituum Congregatione saepe postulatum est, quaenam Oratoria ceu semipublica habenda sint. Constat porro Oratoria publica ea esse, quae auctoritate Ordinarii ad publicum Dei cultum perpetuo dedicata, benedicta, vel etiam solemniter consecrata, ianuam habent in via, vel liberum a publica via Fidelibus universim pandunt ingressum. Privata e contra stricto sensu dicuntur Oratoria, quae in privatis aedibus in commodum alicuius personae, vel familiae ex Indulto Sanctae Sedis erecta sunt. Quae medium inter haec duo locum tenent, ut nomen ipsum indicat, Oratoria semipublica sunt et vocantur. Ut autem quaelibet ambiguitas circa haec Oratoria amoveatur, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII ex Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis consulto, statuit et declaravit: Oratoria semipublica ea esse, quae etsi in loco quodammodo privato, vel non absolute publico, auctoritate Ordinarii erecta sunt; commodo tamen non Fidelium omnium nec privatae tantum personae aut familiae, sed alicuius communitatis vel personarum coetus inserviunt. In his omnes qui sacrosancto Missae Sacrificio intersunt, praecepto audiendi Sacrum satisfacere valent. Huius generis Oratoria sunt quae pertinent ad Seminaria et Collegia ecclesiastica; ad pia Instituta et Societates votorum simplicium, aliasque Communitates sub regula sive statutis saltem ab Ordinario approbatis; ad Domus spiritualibus exercitiis addictas; ad Convictus et Hospitia iuventuti litteris, scientiis, aut artibus instituendae destinata; ad Nosocomia, Orphanotrophia, nec non

ad Arces et Carceres; atque similia Oratoria in quibus ex instituto, aliquis Christifidelium coetus convenire solet ad audiendam Missam. Quibus adiungi debent Capellae, in Coemeterio rite erectae, dummodo in Missae celebratione non iis tantum ad quos pertinent, sed aliis etiam Fidelibus aditus pateat. Voluit autem Sanctitas Sua sarta et tecta iura ac privilegia Oratoriorum, quibus fruuntur Emi S. R. E. Cardinales, Rmi Sacrorum Antistites, atque Ordines Congregationesque Regulares. Ac praeterea confirmare dignata est Decretum in una Nivernen. diei 8 Martii, 1879. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 23 Ianuarii, 1899.

C. Ep. Praen. Card. MAZZELLA,

L. ✕ S.

S. R. C. Praef.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

MASSSES IN CONVENT CHAPELS

R. mus D. Stephanus Antonius Lelong Episcopus Nivernen; quae sequuntur Sacrae, Rituum Congregationi exposuit, opportunitam declarationem seu resolutionem humillime expostulans, videlicet.

I. Potestne Episcopus iure ordinario concedere licentiam etiam plures Missas qualibet die celebrandi 1 in Capellis seu Oratoriis publicis piarum Communitatum, etiam earum quae clausuram non habent; 2^o. in Capellis seu Oratoriis piarum Communitatum, quae licet non habeant ingressum in via publica, inserviunt tamen quotidianis exercitiis totius Communitatis; 3^o. in Capellis seu Oratoriis ad personas quidem privatas pertinentibus, sed quae sunt publica vel semipublica in eo sensu quod habeant ingressum in via publica vel prope viam publicam, ut semper cuilibet volenti intrare permittatur.

II. Potestne Episcopus alia oratoria praeter Capellam seu principale Oratorium erigere in piis Communitatibus, sive ob numerum Sacerdotum ibi degentium ut ab omnibus Missa dici possit, sive in gratiam infirmorum, qui nequeunt adire Capellam seu Oratorium principale?

III. Potestne Episcopus iure proprio concedere facultatem asservandi SS. mum Sacramentum 1, in Ecclesiis seu Capellis publicis quae tamen titulo parochiali non gaudent, etsi utilitatibus Paroeciae inserviant; 2, in Capellis piarum Communitatum publicis, id est quarum porta pateat in via publica vel in area

cum via publica communicante, et quae habitantibus omnibus aperiuntur; 3, in Capellis seu Oratoriis interioribus piarum Communitatum, quando non habent Capellam seu Oratorium publicum in sensu exposito ut evenit ex. gr. in Seminariis?

IV. Potestne Episcopus iure proprio licentiam concedere uni Sacerdoti secundam Missam diebus Dominicis aut festivis de praecepto celebrandi 1 in Oratoriis seu Capellis quae a S. Sede vel vi indulti ab ea concessi fuerunt approbata, quando propter distantiam a Parochiali Ecclesia ista secunda Missa proficere potest voto Parochianorum qui aliter missam non audirent vel saltem difficillime; 2 in duabus Ecclesiis in eadem Parochia existentibus quando pro utraque deservienda unus adest Sacerdos, et tamen non sine detrimento religionis Missa in una tantum celebraretur; 3, in eadem Ecclesia quando aliter pars sat notabilis Parochianorum Missam non audiret; 4, quando valde utilis est, sin autem necessaria ista secunda Missa ut communicari a Fidelibus cum maiori facilitate et aedificatione frequentius possit?

Sacra itaque Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, hisce postulatis sic respondit:

Ad I. Episcopus utatur iure suo in omnibus casibus expositis.

Ad II. Si porro ex piarum Communitatum conditione necessaria sit erectio alterius Oratorii, pro eius erectione facultas erit a Sancta Sede obtinenda.

Ad III. Implorandum est indultum a Sancta Sede quoad omnia postulata.

Ad IV. Posito quod Episcopus iam facultatem obtinuerit a S. Sede concedere Sacerdotibus suae Dioecesis indultum bis in die festo sacrum litandi, erit suae prudentiae hac speciali facultate in casu necessitatis pro populi bono uti, si vero eiusmodi facultate ipse non sit instructus, eam impetrare poterit. Atque ita respondit ac declaravit. Die 8 Martii 1879.

Ita reperitur in Actis et Regestis S. R. Congnis. Die 23 Ian. 1899.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

OCCASIONAL SERMONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. By T. O'Rorke, D.D., P.P., Archdeacon of Achonry. Dublin : James Duffy & Co., Limited, 15, Wellington-quay. Price 3s. 6d.

THE merits of this graceful little volume are exactly inversely as its size. The eleven discourses which it contains are each a model of sacred eloquence. It is an exceedingly rare and refreshing experience when so much that is scarcely up to the mediocre standard of pulpit oratory sees the light of publication, to come across a style of preaching which flavours strongly of the simplicity commended in Scripture and which possesses, at the same time, in its choice purity of expression, warm recommendations to popular taste and favour. Above and beyond all things these sermons are eminently readable. Few persons can take up an ordinary sermon-book, and read an instruction to the end without a feeling of weariness. Yet we are convinced that any of our readers may take up any of the sermons contained in this pithy but pregnant collection, and derive even positive pleasure from its perusal. Dr. O'Rorke is well known to the general public as a man of letters and a ripe scholar. The erudite works that have emanated from his prolific pen have worthily heralded the accuracy and extent of his learning in fields of Historical and Archæological research. But it will, perhaps, occasion a pleasant surprise, even to those who know him best, to discover that his abilities are so versatile as to enable him to invest the dryest and most hackneyed of subjects with an attractiveness that will ensure their being read not alone by the Pastor in search of the bread to break to his flock, but even by the religiously-minded in quest of stimulants to still deeper devotion. Recognising that the inspired narratives afford the most appropriate setting for the Word of God, our author has largely cast his language in the Scriptural mould. Indeed the whole fabric of these lectures, warp and woof, is Sacred Scripture. There is one of these sermons in which the author seems to have excelled himself. No doubt the subject appealed to his heart, and the theme was an inspiration. The funeral oration on Dr. Durcan (late Bishop of Achonry) places our author in the first rank of Panegyrists,

while it will enshrine the revered memory of his departed friend in a monument more enduring than stone or brass.

Four of the sermons were preached on 'special occasions.' The others are on such ordinary subjects as Scandal, the Blessed Virgin, the Passion, Detraction, &c. We know that Archdeacon O'Rorke was induced to publish this choice selection only out of deference to the urgent solicitations of many friends, and that he intends them primarily as a token of regard towards, and for the use of his parishioners, to whom they are inscribed. Yet we would predict that their sphere of usefulness will be by no means so circumscribed, and that the well-merited reputation of the author in the literary world, as well as their own intrinsic worth, will secure for them a wide circle of readers among clergy and laity.

P. M.

CARMEL IN ENGLAND. A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849. Drawn from Documents preserved in the Archives of the Order. By Father B. Zimmerman, O.C.D. London: Burns and Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

By this volume Father Zimmerman has done for England what Father Patrick, another priest of the Order, has recently done for Ireland in his history of the rise and spread of Carmel in our own country. The origin of the Carmelites is sufficiently romantic to fire the enthusiasm of the historian. Tradition surrounds the founding of the Order with a halo of antiquity, tracing its connection with the 'Sons of the Prophet,' founded by Elias and Eliseus, and this link with pre-Christian times is still preserved in the name of the Congregation. The records, then, of the introduction and institution of the Carmelite Order in these countries ought to stimulate the interest of everyone who is alive to the reputation which its sons enjoy for their lives of self-renunciation and religious zeal, and who is acquainted with the success that attends their missionary labours, especially among the poor and lowly of Christ's flock.

Disturbed by the incursions of the Saracens, in their peaceful abode in the Holy Land, where they seem to have been cradled, the Carmelites spread into Europe, and they were afforded protection and patronage in France by Louis IX. From France

they crossed over to England, about the twelfth century, and one of their early converts in this country was the celebrated 'Simon Stock,' who has been accredited with receiving the Brown Scapular at the very hands of our Blessed Lady. Here they soon multiplied rapidly until the confiscations of Henry VIII. threatened them almost with extinction. Our author takes up the revival of the Order in England subsequent to the Reformation, and treats of the Foundation of the English Mission, its progress during the Restoration, and the trials and victories it has borne and achieved during these troublous periods. He confines himself to the Discalced Carmelites. It may be interesting to point out that there are two well-known branches of the Order. The division arose out of the exigencies and circumstances of the times. The original Rule, first written for them by John, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the fifth century, and afterwards enlarged and approved by Innocent IV., was rigorously severe. Later on, to increase the practicability of the Order, a mitigation of some of the austerities prescribed by the original Constitution was granted by Eugene IV. After a time a yearning arose for a return to the pristine rule, and St. Theresa, the glory of Carmel succeeded in bringing about a reform to stricter observances in many convents of nuns and friars. All the houses did not fall in with these reformatations, and from this time forward there have been two branches--the Calced, or Friars of the Mitigation, and the Discalced, or Friars of Reform, each having its own Superior-General.

P. M.

DE JUSTITIA ET JURE ET DE QUARTO DECALOGI PRÆCEPTO-
Tractatus Compendiosus in Usus Scholarum Præsertim
in Britannia. Auctore Thoma Slater, e. Soc. Jesu.
Editio. Altera Multum Aucta. Londinii: Burns et Oates.

THE early demand for a new edition of Father Slater's tract bespeaks appreciation, on the part of students, of his goodly effort to supply a much-felt want. It were superfluous to commend a work whose value has been so quickly recognised. It will suffice, for the sake of those who may be as yet unacquainted with the work, to state, that the author sets forth, clearly and succinctly, the principles of the Justice treatise, together with their special determination and application as affected by English law. In the new edition a very substantial appendix of fifty

pages has been added. In it the author deals with some special contracts of frequent occurrence, and with the fourth precept of the Decalogue. The sole reason, as far as we can judge, why these questions are placed in an appendix, is their absence from the first edition. This reason will scarcely be deemed sufficient. The contents of the appendix have every claim to rank as an integral portion of the principal work, as in importance and practical utility we can by no means regard them as secondary.

The book is professedly a synopsis and supplement, and must be judged accordingly. Yet we cannot help expressing regret, that it has not been expanded to at least once and a half its present size. Failing this, we should certainly eschew a number of questions of altogether minor importance. Either course would enable the author to give a fuller treatment to the more important questions, and to extend a more generous recognition to rival opinions. As a deficiency in this latter respect we would instance the author's treatment of the questions on 'Cessio bonorum,' and the obligations arising from copyright law. The strict opinion in the former case, and the liberal one in the latter (at least if understood in regard to the rights of the publisher as distinct from those of the author), have enough to recommend them to deserve being commemorated even in a compendium.

At times we should look for greater precision of statement at the author's hands. For instance, as a proof of the necessity, for valid Prescription, of *bona fides theologica*, we find the following reason assigned: '*quando quis cognoscit se rem alienam possidere, eam restituere tenetur.*' As a statement this is a truism, but as a proof in the particular instance it is scarcely satisfactory. If the State could transfer ownership, notwithstanding the absence of *bona fides*, the object would cease to be a *res aliena*. The point to be proved is that the State has no such power.

However, in noticing these imperfections, we should be sorry to be understood as implying that they detract in any way seriously from the value of the book. We fully recognise the great utility of the work, especially in so far as it expounds and applies English law, and we are certain that, in its present amplified form, it will be found eminently worthy of a place among the books of the 'practical' order in the sacerdotal study.

W. B.

DE PAUCITATE SALVANDORUM QUID DOCUERUNT SANCTI?
Auctore F. X. Godts, C.SS.R. Rollarii Flandrorum:
Julius De Meester.

SEIGNEUR, Y EN AURA-T-IL PEU DE SAUVÉS? (Luc. XIII.
23.) Par le P. J. Coppin, C.SS.R. Bruxelles: Societé
de St. Charles Borromée.

THESE two works have been written as a refutation of the teaching of R. P. Castellen, S.J., put forth in his work 'Le Rigorisme et La Question du Nombre des élus.' The learned Jesuit teaches that by far the greater number of the human race will be saved. The purpose of the two books before us is to show that the greater number will be lost. This is an age of controversy. French authors have been specially active in Catholic circles. All those authors whose ordinary language is French we may designate by the title of French authors. In all their writings, there is a clearness of idea and language which distinguishes them from their German neighbours, and frequently from their English fellow-workers in the name of truth. The two works which lie before us are conspicuous for this clearness of conception and expression.

Both works, though a refutation of the same teaching, set about their task in different ways. The work of Father Godts establishes his teaching principally from a positive point of view. He shows that the almost universal opinion of the saintly and learned theologians of the Catholic Church is that the number of the saved is less than the number of the lost. He gives the doctrine of these men in their own words with their reasons. This collection is of great interest. It shows clearly what the mind of the Church is, as made manifest in its doctors. The work of Father Coppin, on the other hand, faces the question from a negative point of view. He takes up, page by page, the book of Father Castelein as it first appeared in the *Revue Générale*. He shows the weakness of its arguments, and in doing so proves the truth of his own doctrine.

We have great sympathy with both writers in their condemnation of the expressions which Father Castelein employs in reference to the followers of the opposing view and their doctrine. 'Ce vieux legs du Jansenisme;' 'Un rigorisme qui repand des idées étroites et de troublants prejugs;' 'Discours rigoristes, pessimistes, intolerants, desprésants;' are a sample of the

expressions which that author uses. We can see how unsuitable this style is when we remember that the doctrine which is thus contemptuously rejected is the teaching of St. Thomas, St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Bernard, St. Augustine, and practically all theologians who have written on the subject. On the other hand, we do not think it wise on the part of the learned Redemptorists, whose books we are reviewing, to urge their doctrine so far as to make it seem that at present the teaching of their opponent deserves some ecclesiastical censure. Constituted authority will, doubtless, in its own good time, give a decision; but till that decision be given it is better to abstain from the use of expressions which cannot fail to give offence to good Catholics.

J. M. H.

TWENTY-TWO OFFERTORIES FOR THE PRINCIPAL FEASTS OF THE YEAR, for Soprano, Alto, and Bass *ad lib.*, with Organ accompaniment, composed by Ludwig Ebner, Op. 52. Ratisbon: J. Georg Boessenecker.

THIS collection ought to prove most useful to a great many choirs. The combination of parts, Soprano, Alto, and Bass is one, we imagine, that will suit in a great many places, where male voices are scarce. Moreover, the Bass part being *ad libitum*, the choir will not be put out, even if the gentlemen singers do not turn up. The pieces are easy and short, and at the same time artistic and effective.

H. B



THE CONVERSION OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH

IT is through a sense of duty to the Sovereign Pontiff and to Holy Mother Church that I venture to trespass on the valuable space of the I. E. RECORD, and solicit in the name of the Superior and Society of St. Sulpice the kind attention of its readers. More than two years ago it pleased our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. to entrust us with a mission to the whole Catholic world, 'ad complexum universi orbis Catholici,' and, more recently, to remind us of the great importance he attaches to our fidelity in discharging this mission. The object and character of the undertaking are indicated in the very title of the present article, and all I beg leave to do is to explain more fully the purpose of the Archconfraternity of Our Lady of Compassion, by referring to documents and facts connected with the first origin and progress of the work.

On August 22, 1897, the Holy Father directed to the Very Rev. A. Captier, Superior-General of the Society of St. Sulpice, his apostolic letter, *Compertum est*, through which an archconfraternity of prayers and good works for the conversion of England to the Catholic faith is established, having its headquarters 'in *Ædibus Sulpitianis*.' The latter words here designate the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the residence of the Superior-General (henceforth President

of the Archconfraternity), and also the adjoining Church of St. Sulpice. It is in this church that the meeting of the Archconfraternity takes place on solemn occasions, and regularly once a month the whole seminary, superiors, professors, and students, join in the devotions with the clergy and faithful of the parish.

In the course of his letter, Leo XIII. repeatedly recalls his own constant and strenuous efforts to bring together once more all the Christian nations that have been so sadly torn away from the centre of Catholic unity. He also bears testimony to the ardent zeal of the founder of St. Sulpice for the conversion of England, and finally declares that he has set his heart upon promoting the good work by a new crusade of prayers; that he has resolved to have it spread throughout the Catholic world by the care and instrumentality of the venerable Olier's sons, by the zeal likewise of so many priests of divers tongues and nations who go forth year after year from the seminaries conducted by the Society.

Britanniam scilicet vota Nostra petunt, conjuncta cum votis tot hominum sanctitate, doctrina, dignitate praestantium, in quibus maximi fuit Paulus a Cruce, tum pater legifer Olerius. Ignatius Spenser et Wiseman cardinalis. . . . Nunc vero aliquid coeptis addere cupientes quo latior fiat ac validior quasi precum conspiratio, piam Societatem constituimus instar Archisodalitatis, cui propositum sit assiduis maxime precibus Britanniae conjunctionem cum Romana Ecclesia maturare.

Ædes autem elegimus S. Sulpitii ubi Societas hujusmodi constitueretur, tum quia Gallia, utpote Britanniae citima, facilius potest cum ipsa quae opportuna sunt atque idonea communicare; tum quia Sulpitiana Congregationis auctor Olerius. Angliae cum Romana Ecclesia reconciliandae ingenti studio, suos inter alumnos flagravat; tum denique quod eadem Congregatio S. Sulpitii quum ad omnes fere orbis partes proferatur, potest ubique gentium alias istius modi sodalitates instituere. *Nostra enim interest maximi, quemadmodum res ipsa suadet piam istam societatem longe lateque propagari, ideoque hortamur omnes vehementer quotquot sunt, non in Gallia modo sed ubique terrarum, catholici de religionis causa solliciti ut sua eidem societati nomina dare velint.*

It is needless for us to comment upon the words of the Holy Father, to insist upon the pressing character of his

desire. After commending so highly the new sodality, His Holiness proceeds to establish it formally, briefly describing its organization, patrons, and privileges. As a supplement to the latter part of the Papal letter, the *Statutes* of the Archconfraternity are added under the signature of the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

The nature of the new sodality may be gathered from either document, and may be summed up in the following few points :—It is an association of prayers and good works, having for its sole end the conversion of Great Britain to the Catholic faith. It is placed under the heavenly patronage of the Blessed Virgin, under her title of Our Lady of Compassion, likewise of St. Joseph, St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and St. Austin, the Apostle of England.¹ A plenary indulgence is granted available to associates on the feast day of all the above-named saints, and on certain other occasions.² All such indulgences may be gained, on the ordinary conditions, by all active members of the Archconfraternity, viz., by all persons who (1) have been duly inscribed, and who (2) offer up every day some special prayers (at least one Hail Mary) for the conversion of Great Britain to the faith. Those who wish to answer the fervent call of the Sovereign Pontiff, and become members of the pious association, have two means of doing so. They may either send their names directly to the President or Director of the Archconfraternity in Paris, or else give them to the Director of any other of the local sodalities to be erected all over the world for the same object, and then affiliated to the Central Association in Paris. Pastors, chaplains of colleges, convents, and religious communities, desirous of erecting a sodality in their church or chapel have to apply to the diocesan authority, viz., to the bishop

¹ To this list of patrons the name of St. Gregory the Great was most appropriately added at the special request of Cardinal Perraud.

² (1) On the day of enrolment in the Archconfraternity; (2) at the moment of death; (3) for attending the monthly meeting. An indulgence of fifty days once a day for the associates who devoutly recite the Ave Maria for the conversion of Great Britain.

himself, or to the vicar-general when he has received a *special delegation* for that end.¹

A recommendation from the bishop is required by canonical regulations when application is made to the Superior of St. Sulpice for affiliation of the sodality already erected to the Central Association in Paris.² Such association is necessary for members of local sodalities to share in the spiritual privileges granted to the archconfraternity. Further information on practical points connected with the foundation or management of sodalities will be cheerfully furnished on application to the headquarters of the work.

The solemn inauguration of the archconfraternity took place in the church of St. Sulpice, on October 17, 1897, attended by a large number of Catholic laymen and clergy from England, many of whom had come over for that special occasion. English and Irish representatives of the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Servites, Jesuits, Vincentians, Passionists, Oratorians, and other orders;

¹ The following form for the erection of a confraternity has been printed for the use of a large diocese, and may, perhaps, be of service elsewhere:—

N. (*Nomen Episcopi.*)

Dei and Apostolicæ Sedis Gratia Episcopus N. (*Nomen Sedis.*)

Quum a Nobis rogatum sit ut Confraternitas B. V. Mariæ perdolentis (*de Compassione pro conversione Britanniae in Ecclesia (iiii. Titularis et Loci)*) erigatur; Nos Confraternitatem prædictam per has præsentem erigimus ac R. D. Ecclesiæ Rectorem pro tempore existentem (*vel alium sacerdotem*) ejusdem præsidem constituimus. Mandamus autem ut pro dicta Confraternitate statim petatur aggregatio ad Archiconfraternitatem ejusdem nominis primariam à SS. D. N. Leone PP. XIII. in Ecclesia Si Sulpitii. Parisiis erectam.

Datum (*Nomen loci*) die . . .

² The following specimen of a form for application may, perhaps, be found useful:—

Rmo. Superiori Cong. S. Sulpitii

Rector infrascriptus Ecclesiæ . . . Præsides Confraternitatis B. V. Mariæ Perdolentis pro conversione Britanniae ab Illm. et Rmo. Dno. (N. Episcopi) ibidem canonice institutæ humiliter postulat ut pro dicta Confraternitate concedatur aggregatio ad Archiconfraternitatem ejusdem nominis primariam a SS. D. N. Leone PP. XIII., Parisiis in Ecclesia S. Sulpitii erectam . . . die . . . N. Rector Eccæ. Confraternitatis Præsides.

Vidimus et approbamus tum Confraternitatem ipsam
tum præsentem petitionem

.....die.....

N.....Epus. N.....

secular priests, canons, prelates, heads of colleges, members of the English hierarchy, all mingled with the priests, students, and faithful of St. Sulpice, in the impressive ceremonies of this memorable day. Before this imposing audience a most eloquent sermon was preached by the French Dominican, Father Feuillette ; and when, after the celebration, the two Cardinals of Paris and Westminster, who had alternately presided over the functions of the day, returned to the seminary, preceded by the long procession of the secular and regular clergy, they were greeted by the enthusiastic cheers and applause of a large crowd of bystanders ; a touching evidence of the ascendancy which the Catholic feeling retains over the soul of the French people, and of the power of the same feeling to reconcile differences upon other points of minor importance.

Since then thousands of names have been entered in the register of the head confraternity, and hundreds of sodalities already erected in various parts of the Catholic world have applied for affiliation. The number of affiliated sodalities amounts, at the present date, to very nearly five hundred and thirty, scattered over France and England, over Belgium, Italy, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, fully reckoning an aggregate number of myriads of associates.

To Ireland, however, the work has not yet been sufficiently presented, though very kind encouragement has been received from eminent members of the Catholic hierarchy. We should not answer the expectation of our revered and beloved Pontiff Leo XIII. were we to delay any longer in inviting our brethren of the Irish clergy to join in the holy work, particularly such of them as minister to communities in which reigns a spirit of greater piety and zeal—clerical colleges, convents, monasteries, &c. ; there, indeed, fervent souls are already united by manifold ties of common prayer and universal charity ; there, above all, the voice of our Holy Father is wont to receive a prompt and willing response. Prayers offered up in Ireland for the conversion of England will rise to the throne of God, enriched with a

sweet and singular fragrance of noble generosity which cannot fail to please and touch the Sacred Heart of the Saviour. These generous prayers will prove a powerful co-operation in the work of so many Irish priests who, in all English speaking countries, are slowly gathering, day by day, into the one true fold the souls of converts, sweetly winning back by word and example the hearts of our separated brethren to the faith of their forefathers.

Were England to become once more a Catholic country, what a wonderful increase of power would accrue the world over to our Holy Mother Church, and what prayer could be more effective for the conversion of England than the prayer of Ireland !

P. DE FOVILLE, P.S.S.

DERRY-CALGACH

IT is at all times an interesting study to trace the derivation and origin of names, but frequently it is a task of no ordinary difficulty when one has but the faint light of tradition to guide his steps. In such cases conjecture must often take the place of proof, and fragmentary scraps of history must be pieced together to make out a consecutive narrative. The ancient name of Derry is no exception to the rule. That the place was known from time immemorial as Doire-Calgach down to the close of the tenth century, all our writers testify ; that this Calgach, who gave his name to the place, must have been a distinguished warrior, all are agreed in saying ; but of his history or military career there is no authentic Irish record. Our annals had not as yet begun to be written, and the heroes of that prehistoric age were doomed to go down to their graves without having their names emblazoned in story. In some instances, however, mute memorials have perpetuated the names of notable warriors in the pillar-stones or cairns erected to their memory ; or, as in the

present instance, by giving to a place the name of him who was the hero of the age.

The original Pagan appellation of this place [says the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore] was Doire Calgaic, or Derry-Calgach—'the oak-wood of Calgach,'—Calgach, which signifies 'a fierce warrior,' being the proper name of a man in Pagan times, and rendered illustrious as Galgacus in the pages of Tacitus. In support of this etymology may be adduced the high authority of Adamnan, abbot of Iona, in the seventh century, who, in his life of his predecessor, St. Columbkille, invariably calls this place 'Roboretum Calgagi,' in conformity with his habitual substitution of Latin equivalents for Irish topographical names. For a long period subsequent to the sixth century, in which a monastery was erected here by St. Columbkille, the name of Derry-Calgach prevailed; but towards the latter end of the tenth century it seems to have yielded to that of Derry-Columbkille, no other appearing in the Irish annals after that period.

Similar to this is the statement of Dr. Reeves, in a note p. 160 of his *Adamnan*:—

Daire-Chalgaich—the name is Latinized Roboretum Calgachi. Calgach, the Galgacus of Tacitus (*Agric.* c. 29), is a name occasionally found in the *Annals* (*Four Masters*, 593; and in composition, *ibid.* 622). It is derived from Calg, 'a sword,' or 'thorn;' and as an adjective denotes 'sharp' or 'angry.' Hence Calgach, gen. Calgaich, became a proper name in the sense of 'fierce warrior.'

Such are the statements about the ancient name of Derry; but little seems to be known of the hero from whom the city derived that appellation. He was evidently a man of no ordinary mould, a general whose warlike achievements and military prowess were not only admired in his own day, but

Which on the granite walls of Time
Cut deep a deathless name.

Unfortunately, however, he lived too early to have his name transmitted to us by an Irish scribe, and we are consequently obliged to turn to the pages of Tacitus for whatever is known of this clever commander; but even here the references are only fragmentary.

Calgach is a distinctly Irish name, for neither in English

nor in Scotch history does such a name occur. He whose name is associated with Derry must have been a prince as well as a warrior, for otherwise he could not have collected and commanded as he did the forces which he sent across the Channel to aid the Caledonians in their wars against the Romans. But it may at the outset be asked what could have induced an Irish king to join the Scotch confederation, or what interest could he have had in fighting against the Romans? It appears to us that the answer to this question greatly assists us in settling the nationality of Calgach, and of identifying him with Derry.

From prehistoric times there had been a continued emigration from the north of Ireland into that part of Scotland subsequently known as Dalriada, and largely corresponding with the present Argyleshire and its borders. The Irish king claimed dominion over this colony, and ranked it as part of his territory. We know how in after times, when it had grown powerful, this colony determined to throw off the Irish yoke, and in this movement for Home Rule had no less powerful an advocate at the Convention of Dromceat than the eloquent and patriotic St. Columbkille. The native Picts had at first endeavoured on many occasions to expel these settlers, but finding their efforts fruitless had to permit them to remain in possession of the territory. At the period now under consideration there existed, as O'Halloran tells us,¹ a strong alliance between the Britons, Picts, and Irish against the Romans. The Irish monarch was Fiachadh, son of the great Fearaidhach. This king, well knowing the designs of Agricola upon Ireland, wisely resolved to fight him abroad rather than at home.

The successes of Agricola [says O'Halloran], far from intimidating, rather added a new stimulus to the counsels of Fiachadh. Fresh forces are poured into North Britain; led on by Cormac, called Gealta-Goath, and grandfather to Cathoir-more, whom Tacitus calls Galgacus; and to his standard are all the disaffected in Britain invited.

¹ *History of Ireland*, vol. i., ch. 5.

From this it appears certain that Galgacus was of the blood-royal, and was completely in command of the Irish forces. In joining the Caledonian confederation he was merely defending the property of the Irish monarch and the lives of his subjects, and warding off at the same time an invasion by the Romans. Agricola well knew the importance of gaining possession of Ireland on account of its splendid harbours, and vast resources; he knew besides the military power of the island and the aid it was giving to the Caledonians, and he felt that by subjugating it he would at the same time crush the persistent and successful opposition of Scotland. Circumstances seemed to favour the plans he was maturing, for an Irish petty king, who had got into trouble at home, fled to Agricola, by whom he was hospitably received, and kept to be afterwards turned to account. Tacitus thus relates the circumstances :—

In the fifth summer Agricola made an expedition by sea. He embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the estuary, and having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast, which lies opposite to Ireland, with a body of troops; not so much from any apprehension of danger, as with a view to future projects. He saw that Ireland, lying between Britain and Spain, and at the same time convenient to the ports of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquisition, capable of giving an easy communication, and, of course, strength and union, to provinces disjointed by nature.

Ireland is less than Britain, but exceeds in magnitude all the islands of the Mediterranean. The soil, the climate, the manner and genius of the inhabitants, differ little from those of Britain. By the means of merchants resorting thither for the sake of commerce, the harbours and approaches to the coast are well known. One of their petty kings who had been forced to fly from the fury of a domestic faction, was received by the Roman general, and, under a show of friendship, detained to be of use on some future occasions. I have often heard Agricola declare that a single legion, with a moderate band of auxiliaries, would be sufficient to complete the conquest of Ireland. Such an event, he said, would contribute greatly to bridle the stubborn spirit of the Britons, who, in that case, would see, with dismay, the Roman arms triumphant, and every spark of liberty extinguished round their coast.¹

¹ *Life of Agricola*, ch. xxiv.

From this chapter we see the importance Agricola attached to the conquest of Ireland. We see, moreover, how much he dreaded attacks from that quarter, for when he sent his fleet (if it can be so called) to circumnavigate Scotland, or at least to explore part of its coast, he is careful to line that part of the coast opposite Ireland with a body of troops. Why? 'Not so much,' says Tacitus, 'from an apprehension of danger, as with a view to future projects.' Of course; Agricola feared no danger. But that troublesome Calgach had an inconvenient habit of bringing over his Irish auxiliaries to annoy the poor Romans, and it was no harm to have an army ready to receive him. Another fact—a painful one to us, no doubt—is learned from this chapter, viz., how early in her history Ireland was betrayed by her own sons. Here is a petty king, anticipating the treachery of Dermot McMurrrough, prepared to sell his country to the Romans, and to guide them in the invasion of his native land.

Before proceeding further in this sketch it is well to inquire what weight is to be attached to the statements of Tacitus when describing the military achievements of Agricola. Agricola was his father-in-law, and his object was to glorify that father-in-law by all means in his power. The account was written for the Roman people, who were ready to swallow any statement that magnified their glory, or ministered to their vanity. Rome was far distant from Britain, and there was no means of contradicting the statements of Tacitus. He describes, therefore, with the greatest apparent minuteness, various engagements of Agricola in places never heard of since or before, and with people of whose existence no trace can be found. The Roman general gains countless victories, and slays thousands of his enemies; but, somehow, he seems to reap no advantage from his victories, and his enemies appear none the worse for the slaughter. He is always on the point of performing some great achievement, but storms come on, or bogs and marshes intervene, and *only* for these the Caledonians would have been exterminated to a man. It seems to have been the weakness of all the Roman invaders

of Britain to boast of how completely they had subjugated it, whilst in reality they had often run away. Cæsar boasted that he had completely conquered that country, but Tacitus says:—

Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans that set his foot in Britain, at the head of an army, can only be said by a prosperous battle to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the seashore. The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than show it to posterity.¹

How, then, are we to believe Tacitus himself when he tells us: 'The fact is, Britain was subdued under the conduct of Agricola?'² This fact of the untrustworthiness of Tacitus when recording the exploits of Agricola is to be carefully borne in mind when reading over the account of his encounter with Calgach and his forces at the foot of the Grampians. That under the name of a great victory over the Caledonians, Tacitus tries to cover what was rather a defeat to Agricola, is pretty clear to anyone who reads even *his* narrative of the event. Again and again in the preceding portion of his story the Caledonians are represented as beaten, completely routed, and slain. Now, in the contest at the foot of the Grampians we see Galgacus at the head of thirty thousand men confronting the Romans, and with numbers daily flocking to his standard. This is not at all a bad muster for men that had been routed and slain so often already.

After describing the opening of the campaign, Tacitus depicts in glowing language the enthusiasm of the Caledonians—how the various clans leagued together to defend their country, and drive back the invaders.

Undismayed by their former defeat [says he], the barbarians expected no other issue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cause required a vigorous exertion of their united strength. For this purpose, by treaties of alliance, and by deputations to the several cantons, they had drawn together the strength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thousand men appeared in arms, and their force was increasing every day. The youth of the country poured in from

¹ *Agricola*, ch. xiii.

² *Ibid.*, ch. x.

all quarters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and the ensigns of honour which they had gained by their martial spirit. Among the chieftains, distinguished by their birth and valour, the most renowned was Galgacus. The multitude gathered round him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour.

Galgacus before the battle addressed his soldiers in a speech recorded by Tacitus, and whether he delivered this speech in the words attributed to him, or that Tacitus, having heard the substance of what was said, clothed it in that beautiful language of which he was such a master, certain it is that it stands unrivalled in the annals of military oratory. He dwelt on the motives that impelled them to engage in this war, motives than which none more noble could fire the breasts of men. They were fighting for home and liberty, fighting against the imposition of a foreign yoke and against the galling bondage of slavery. They had ever been freemen—were they now to become the slaves of the Roman Empire, that empire whose history was written in the blood of its victims and in the ruin and degradation of every land it had subdued. If vanquished, what, said he, have we to expect but the merciless lash of the conqueror—our country devastated, our wives the victims of a brutal soldiery, our children sold like dumb cattle in the slave-market, and this ancient stronghold of liberty converted into an appanage for the hirelings of tyrant Rome. He thus concluded :—

In the ensuing battle be not deceived by false appearances ; the glitter of gold and silver may dazzle the eye ; but to us it is harmless, to the Romans no protection. In their own ranks we shall find a number of generous warriors ready to assist our cause. The Britons know that for our common liberties we draw the avenging sword. The Gauls will remember that they once were a free people ; and the Germans, as the Usipians lately did, will desert their colours. The Romans have left nothing in their rear to oppose us in the pursuit ; their forts are ungarrisoned ; the veterans in their colonies droop with age ; in their municipal towns, nothing but anarchy, despotic government and disaffected subjects. In me behold your general, behold an army of freeborn men. Your enemy is before you, and, in his train, heavy tributes, drudgery in the mines, and all the horrors

of slavery. Are those calamities to be entailed upon us? Or shall this day relieve us by a brave revenge? There is the field of battle, and let that determine. Let us seek the enemy, and, as we rush upon him, remember the glory delivered to us by our ancestors; and let each man think that upon his sword depends the fate of all posterity.

This speech [says Tacitus] was received, according to the custom of Barbarians, with war songs, with savage howling, and a wild uproar of military applause. The battalions began to form a line of battle; the brave and warlike rushed forward to the front, and the field glittered with the blaze of arms.

In his admirable translation of the Roman historian, Arthur Murphy speaks thus of the oration of the Caledonian general:—

Neither the Greek nor Roman page has anything to compare with it. The critics have admired the speech of Porus to Alexander; but, excellent as it is, it shrinks and fades away, before the Caledonian orator. Even the speech of Agricola which follows immediately after it, is tame and feeble, when opposed to the ardour, the impetuosity, and the vehemence of the British chief. We see Tacitus exerting all his art to decorate the character of his father-in-law: but he had neither the same vein of sentiment, nor the same generous love of liberty, to support the cause of an ambitious conqueror. In the harangue of Galgacus, the pleasure of the reader springs from two principles: he admires the enthusiasm of the brave Caledonian, and at the same time applauds the noble historian, who draws up a charge against the tyranny of his own countrymen, and generously lists on the side of liberty.

Tacitus then proceeds to give an account of the engagement, and for brilliancy and vividness of description nothing could excel the picture he presents. The varying fortunes of the battlefield; the alternate victory and defeat of Roman and Caledonian; the courage, born of despair, which rallies again and again the routed forces of the north, are depicted in so real a manner, that one fancies as he reads that he is standing at the foot of the Grampians, witnessing the prowess of Galgacus, and the military tactics of Agricola. Of course, Tacitus, as usual, gives the victory to his father-in-law, represents the number of slain on the Caledonian side as ten thousand, whilst only a few hundreds

of the Romans fell; but it is rather remarkable that, notwithstanding this signal victory, Agricola, instead of following it up, withdrew to winter quarters, and shortly afterwards withdrew altogether from Britain. Another remarkable fact is, that in the plain where Agricola had his forces marshalled for the battle, there is a fort, which to the present day is called Galdachan, or Galgachan Ross-Moor; 'not that Galgacus constructed the camp,' says Gordon,¹ but here he engaged Agricola's army; for which reason his name is left on the place.' We are rather inclined to think that Galgach took and held the camp, just as his name holds it up to the present.

Such is the man whose name has been linked with that of Derry in the past. That the man who impressed his name on this place must have been a remarkable man, a man of note above his fellowmen, is evident; but no such man is known to history or tradition, except Calgach who figures in the pages of Tacitus. That he was a prince or king of the north of Ireland, and as such king also of the Irish colony in Scotland, is pretty clear; and this would explain the part he took against the Romans. That Derry was his great military fort, where he massed and drilled his forces for sending to Scotland, is most probable, for from time immemorial the island of Derry was used as a military station. The kings of Aileach so employed it, and we know that Æd, the son of Ainmire, had his great military camp here at the time St. Columbkille came to seek a site for his intended monastery. That it continued to be used as a military station in after ages, we learn from the annalists. Thus, under the year 832, they record that 'Niall Caille and Murchadh defeated the foreigners, *i.e.*, the Norwegians and Danes at Derry-Calgach, with great slaughter.' Its natural position was well suited for this purpose, as well as for sending out auxiliaries to the Caledonians.

The Scotch annalists, however, lay claim to Calgach as a countryman of their own, and few can blame them for so doing, for he was a man of whom any country might well be

¹ *Itinerary*, pp. 39, 40.

proud. Thus in Gordon's *Itinerary*, as quoted by Murphy in his notes to Tacitus, we are told:—

In the chronicles of the kings of Scotland, Galgacus is called Galdas; of which name and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account:—Galgacus was latinized by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz., *Gald* and *Cachach*; the first *Gald*, being the proper name, and the second an adjective to it, from the battles he had fought, it signifies the same as *praeliosus*, 'Gald, the fighter of battles:' which kind of nickname is still in use among the Highlanders. Thus the late Viscount Dundee was, by the Highlanders that followed him, called John-Du-Nan-Cach, 'Black-haired John, who fights the battles,' and in like manner John Duke of Argyle, was known among the Highlanders by the name of John Roy-Nan-Cach, 'Red-haired John, who fights the battles.'¹

This derivation, however, is too far-fetched, and is put forward merely as a specious argument in favour of the Scotch theory. The derivation from the Irish of the name Calgach is much more natural, and an argument in its favour is the fact of the name of the hero having been given to Derry in pre-historic times, and continued so late as the close of the tenth century. There is one fact which tells against the Scotch theory more than any other, and it is that 'the original records of Scotland were wholly destroyed by Edward I. of England, when he overran that country in the year 1300, for the purpose, if possible, of obliterating by their destruction the nationality of the people; but before the close of the same century a new account of the history of Scotland was given to the world; a long series of Scottish kings, who never had any existence, being coined to fill up the interval of some hundred years before the time of Fergus, the son of Erc.'² We fear that the *Galdas* of Gordon must be relegated to this list of manufactured potentates.

The foregoing are all the fragments we have been able to gather about this remarkable man. They are meagre, it is true; for the want of historical records at that period renders the history of Ireland for centuries rather vague and

¹ Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 40.

² Haverty's *History of Ireland*, ch. ix.

uncertain ; but the fact remains, that our writers, taking up the early traditions of the time, identify Calcagh as the hero of Tacitus, and link his name inseparably with the green island in the Foyle. Derry can boast of many glories in the past ; but not the least of these is, that from her wooded heights went forth the warrior who spread dismay among the Roman battalions, and whose dauntless courage and burning eloquence have furnished Tacitus with materials for the most brilliant and glowing passages in his history of Agricola.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

FATHER MARQUETTE, S.J., DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI

JACQUES MARQUETTE was born in 1637, in the old French town of Laon. He belonged to a family which, as far back as the fourteenth century had already achieved considerable distinction. The brilliant talents which won for so many members of the Marquette family high honour both in the military and civic annals of their country, were inherited in the highest degree by the subject of this sketch. But he was destined to win renown in a new and very different arena. Young Marquette was to be one of the bravest and most devoted warriors of the Immaculate Mother of God ; a bold and successful pioneer in the fields of spiritual conquests, and one of the most beloved teachers of the 'Red Man.' Like so many great and good men, the future apostle had the happiness of having a truly Christian mother, under whose tender care he daily unfolded the blossoms of youthful virtue. It was she who instilled into his innocent heart that deep and ardent love of our Blessed Lady for which he was ever so remarkable. In his seventeenth year, Jacques entered the Society of Jesus, and after twelve years of study and probation was ordained priest. He at once volunteered

for the foreign missions, begging to be sent among the heathens. Before his request could be granted, he had to be transferred from the province of Champagne to the province of France. The transfer accomplished, he was at once appointed to the Canadian Indian mission.

On the 20th September, 1666, Père Marquette landed at Quebec. He was then in the very bloom of early manhood, full of life and vigour, glowing with apostolic zeal and ardour, and resolved—aye, perhaps, already bound by vow—never to leave this mission, the thorny ways of which led to the gates of martyrdom, unless at the call of obedience, 'which is better than sacrifice.' Under no circumstances has the missionary a bed of roses; but, in some favoured spots of the earth, his life may be rendered more endurable. A mild climate, nature in her fairest aspect, and the good dispositions of the natives in many instances, lighten his toil, and afford him some little consolation, although, even then the arch-enemy does not let his prey be snatched from him without severe fighting and weary wrestling. But, under the cold sky, in the gloomy forests, on the stormy lakes and snowy plains of north-west Canada, whither our good missionary first bent his steps, the struggle was indeed a hard one. A barbarous people, firmly bound in the devil's slavery, ever ready for deeds of violence; blindly proud; fiercely opposed to Christian practices; fickle as the wind: such were Father Marquette's first pupils. Every earthly comfort and consolation were wanting to the messenger of faith. He had not even the prospect of speedy and lasting results to buoy him up in his trials. Still, without some support, the strongest soul would faint and grow weary. Like all his brethren on the Indian mission of that time, Père Marquette was sustained by the blessed consciousness that he was drinking of the chalice of his thorn-crowned Master; that he must share His poverty and desolation; and like Him, be mocked and hated. What mattered any suffering or privation to the ardent young apostle, if he could in the end succeed in snatching a few, nay, even one soul from among the thousands who were wandering

in the night of separation from God. The baptism of a dying infant richly rewarded this faithful loving soul for months of weary wanderings, full of privation and fatigue.

Three weeks after landing in Quebec, Father Marquette set out for the Jesuit residence at Three Rivers, where, under the saintly Père Druillettes, he was to begin the study of the various dialects spoken by the Algonquins. A knowledge of these dialects would be indispensable for the Ottawa mission on the Upper Lake, for which he was destined. Having acquired the needful knowledge to which he added some proficiency in the rudiments of the Huron tongue, the following year (1668) he set out for the Upper Lake, accompanied by a lay-brother. At that time this was a difficult and dangerous journey. A brigade of Indian canoes laden with furs arrived yearly from the Upper Lakes, Michigan and Superior, and our travellers availed themselves of the return of this brigade to reach their destination. In fact, this was the only means by which the journey could be accomplished. The route lay through the Ottawa River into Lake Nipissing, thence through the St. Francis River (now French River) into Lake Huron.

The voyage proved an excellent apprenticeship for his subsequent missionary life. Usually, it was with the greatest reluctance that the Indians gave a passage in their frail bark canoes to strange teachers who condemned their gods and their vices. Vainly the patient son of St. Ignatius handled the rudder with the unwearied strength of an enthusiastic beginner, or waded in the water, as he helped to push the boat against the stream. Without a murmur he carried not only his own pack, but also whatever load the savage Indians chose to add, over the numerous portages, often miles long, from river to river, from lake to lake, past waterfalls, sinking in marshy ground, stumbling over rocks and fallen trees. Often, too, did he suffer the pangs of hunger, by no means a rare occurrence on a journey where they relied entirely for food on occasional hunting or fishing. Many a time did he divide the last of

his scanty stock of provisions, regardless of his own want, among the sick ones, whom he nursed with angelic patience, even singing hymns to amuse them, hour after hour. But his humility, his gentleness, his unwearied labour and self-sacrifice were in vain. The savage sons of the forest regarded all he did as their right. The defenceless stranger with the hateful hairy face, was at every opportunity the butt for mockery, and sometimes even received bodily ill-usage. He might be thankful that they did not set him ashore, and leave him to his fate in the pathless woods. Such had happened to earlier missionaries, in particular to the first apostle of the Chippewayans, Father Menard, when he made this journey. But the fiercely savage mood of the Indians had been somewhat tamed since that time by a closer acquaintance with some of the fathers, and most of all by the knowledge that the actual ill-treatment of the 'Black Robes' would not pass unpunished by the French in Canada. All the same, sufferings of all kinds were not wanting to our father on the long weary journey from the St. Laurence to the Falls of St. Mary's River. The deep humility, which was such a strongly-marked feature of his character, did not permit him to mention a word of these sufferings in his first reports written to his superiors. It was only two years later that, acting under holy obedience, he wrote a detailed account of his work during his two years' residence on the Upper Lake.

Sault St. Marie, is the name given to the Falls or Rapids formed by the mighty volume of water which rushes from the Upper Lake into Lake Huron, a few miles east of the lake known then by Sweet-Water Lake, at this point, sparkling and foaming like the Nile Cataract at Philae, the crystal flood, a mile in breadth, rolls over the enormous masses of rock which fill the bed of the river for about a mile. Here, where no vessel of the white man dares to venture, the light skiffs of the Indians stem the rushing, but shallow waters, and make war on their finny inhabitants, the dainty white fish and the huge lake trout.

Not less than two thousand Chippewayans and other Indians were assembled at this spot, when, in 1642, the first missionaries, Father Charles Rambaut and Father Isaac Jacques, lingered for a few days on the banks of the St. Marie River. Fear of the terrible Iroquois drove these Indians, ten years later, to the remotest creeks of the Upper Lake. In 1660, when Father Menard and Father Allouez wandered about Sault St. Marie, they found it utterly forsaken.

In Father Marquette's time the partial peace which existed between the French and their allies, the Algonquin tribes on the one side, and the Iroquois on the other, had enticed some of the fugitives back to the old camping ground. The Rawitigowiniway (men of the river turned into foam) once more made Sault St. Marie their home, while other Algonquin bands halted there as guests. The rich harvest, yielded by the teeming waters, afforded food for all. The Indians of Sault St. Marie proved less averse than others to the teachings of the Gospel. Father Marquette who built a hut and lived amongst them in the summer of 1669, declared of them :—"The harvest is rich, and it depends on the missionary alone to baptize all—two thousand in number—who dwelt there." But Father Marquette was destined by Providence to be the pioneer of the Gospel in fresh and distant fields. An older missionary, Father Dablon, recently appointed superior of all the Upper Algonquin missions, elected to live at Sault St. Marie, and undertook the cultivation of the newly-sown field which under his, and more particularly under his successors, Pères Nowel and Druillettes, blossomed forth and bore rich fruit.

Our young missionary was sent four hundred miles further away to Chagoimegom (Schagawanikong), where the waves break over the long sand banks, called by the Jesuits La Pointe due Saint Esprit, in these latter days abbreviated to Pointe. His route lay along the southern shore of the lake and past the Bay, where now the picturesque town (the see of a bishop), named after our holy missionary, year after year stretches further over the fir-crowned sand-hills.

Had the humble priest, when he camped somewhere along the shore for his frugal meal and nightly rest, any prophetic instinct of the future? We know not. But certain we are, that if a prophet voice had whispered to him, 'Here one day will thy name be honoured,' the humble priest would answer, 'Oh, rather may it be entered in the book of life!'

After a canoe journey of four hundred miles, which in favourable weather was usually accomplished in fourteen days, but often took much longer, Father Marquette arrived at La Pointe, on 13th September, 1669. His predecessor and founder of the mission, Father Claudius Allouez, had worked here for four long years with burning zeal. No fewer than eight different Indian tribes, some of them settlers, some only visitors at La Pointe, had received the Word of God from the mouth of the Gospel messenger who spoke in divers tongues.

Hurons, Chippawayans, different bands of the Ottawa tribes, &c., were acquainted with the principle of the Christian religion, and some at least out of these tribes had learned to bend the knee before Him who has made all things. Many children and a chosen number of adults had been baptized. But the greater number of the Indians domiciled at La Pointe obstinately resisted the missionaries. The invocation of the demons (manitous), especially in times of war, sickness, and when hunting; the worship of the phenomena of dreams as a divinity; the savage feasts, at which everything must be consumed, even at the risk of life, in honour of the manitous; the dances and orgies held in worship of the demons, these were the hell-forged chains in which the powers of darkness kept these creatures of God fast bound. And what were the weapons of the solitary missionary against these Satanic forces? Instruction, admonition, persuasion, alike failed. The preaching of the eternal punishments of hell, which at the time made a great impression, was usually very soon forgotten. But by slow degrees the example of a pure self-sacrificing love, and the heroic renunciation of a saintly life, penetrated with warm life-giving ray to those hearts so enshrouded in the darkness of idolatry, and so petrified with self-love. Prayer

and sacrifice were the missionary's chief weapons. The unbloody sacrifice of Calvary daily offered by the young religious; his countless privations and penances, and the intercession of the sinless Mother of God, these were the means he employed.

The Immaculate Conception was Father Marquette's favourite devotion, the perpetual subject of his contemplations, the central point of all his devotional practices. It was the constant theme of his sermons; even in daily conversations it was constantly on his lips. He wrote no letter which did not contain in some part the words Immaculate Conception. From his ninth year he fasted every Saturday in honour of the Immaculate Virgin. It was the loving absorption of his soul in this mystery which, according to the testimony of his superiors and brethren, yea, of all who knew him, surrounded him with a halo of transfiguration, and gave to his character an indescribable brightness and lovingness, and made him so powerful in winning souls. Four stout bands, one of the Hurons, and three of the Algonquin tribes—on the whole over two thousands souls—claimed Father Marquette's spiritual care. The Hurons, nicknamed Tobacco Indians, fugitives from the Iroquois War of 1650, were already, for the most part, Christians. For twenty years they had wandered over the islands of the great lakes and through the forests of Wisconsin without spiritual guides, and in constant contact, either friendly or hostile, with heathen tribes. Consequently, they had become so demoralized that Father Allouez's efforts to reform them proved almost fruitless. Our missionary, who was all things to all men, obtained such influence over them that they promised him to amend their lives. The Ottawa Indians were more than all others sunk in witchcraft, 'They mock at the commandments,' wrote the father, 'and will scarcely listen to us when we speak of Christianity. They are proud and obstinate, and but little is to be hoped from this tribe.'

The Chippawayans (of the pike), with the exception of the few baptized by Father Menard nine years before, also remained callous, yet wished to have their children

baptized. The Kischkako tribes (short-tailed bears) were the missionary's joy and comfort. True, it was only after three years' unceasing labour that his predecessor had succeeded in overcoming their prejudices. The whole band declared for Christianity. Some of the chiefs and many of the people had been baptized. Father Marquette, with his winning ways and entire devotion, completed their conversion. Some passages from his reports on these Indians might here find place :—

On my arrival I found all the Indians in the fields, busy with the harvest. They listened with pleasure when I declared to them that I had come to La Pointe for their sake and that of the Huron; that they should never be forsaken, but should be held dearer than all other tribes, and that they and the French should be as one people. I had the consolation of seeing how much they loved prayer, and how highly they esteemed the privilege of being Christians. I baptized the newly-born children, and visited the chiefs, all of whom I found well disposed. The principal chief had allowed a dog to be hung from a pole near his wigwam—a sort of sacrifice which the savages offer to the sun. When I told him this was not right, he went himself to the spot to take it down. A sick man who had been instructed, but not yet baptized, begged me to grant him this grace, or, at least, to stay near him, as he would have no sorcery practised for his recovery, and he also said that he was afraid of hell-fire. I prepared him for Baptism. The joy my frequent visits gave him half cured him. He thanked me for my trouble, and made me a present of a slave brought to him a few months before from Illinois. He frequently declared that I had given him fresh life.

I invited the Kis-chkakoer Indians to winter near the chapel, whereupon they at once separated from the other bands, and crowded round us, delighted to be near the house of prayer, where they could frequently receive instruction, and have their children baptized.

It is a great consolation for a missionary to find such docility among a barbarous people. I lived in perfect peace with these savages, and often spent whole days instructing them and praying with them. The severity of the winter did not prevent them from coming to the chapel, and there were many who never failed in their daily attendance. From morning until night I was busy receiving them, preparing some for baptism, some for confession, and at other times admonishing them against superstitious practices.

Some vague tradition of the Tower of Babel seems to have lingered amongst these tribes. They said that their fathers had

told them of people who had once tried to build a great house as high as the sky, but that the wind had blown it down.

They now despised all the gods whom they had honoured before their baptism, and wondered how they were ever so silly as to offer sacrifice to such fabulous things.

Father Marquette was appointed, in the summer of 1670, to the new mission among the Illinois. He only awaited the arrival of his successor to leave the flourishing mission field of the Upper Lake in order to begin anew his labours elsewhere. But, alas! before long no successor would be necessary. The fruitful vineyard was destined to destruction, and one hundred and sixty-five years were to pass away before a Christian missionary—the saintly Bishop Baraga—would again land in the lovely bay of the Chagoimigon.

The circumstances which led to such an unexpected change form one of the darkest spots in the annals of the Huron and Ottawa Indians. Sinago, the chief of the fierce heathen band of this name, had, some years previously, paid a visit to the neighbouring Sioux, and had been received with high honour. They welcomed him as a son of their nation with festive dances and smoking of the calumet. By these ceremonies, which in their significance resembled a solemn oath, Sinago's person, as well as those of all his tribe and allies, became as sacred as the person of a mighty ambassador, or of a monarch himself would be among civilized people. On the other hand, the insulting of a Sioux, by either the chief or one of his tribe, would be an act of treachery for which no revenge was too great.

In the autumn of 1670, the same Sioux chief, who had smoked the calumet of peace with the chief of the Ottawa, came to La Pointe for the purpose of settling misunderstanding which had arisen between the tribes. Full of unsuspecting trust, he took up his abode in Sinago's wigwam, who greeted him as a brother. But the savage Hurons were thirsting for blood, and no amount of palavering prevailed; even bribery, often the surest method among the Indians, failed to secure a pacific settlement of the dispute. Sinago proved treacherous, and his guest's rich presents could not purchase his fidelity. At a signal, the

Sinago warriors fell upon the unsuspecting Sioux chief and his companions, three men and one woman; they were cut to pieces, and then, according to their fiendish custom, eaten in triumph.

Dire punishment followed closely upon such shameless treachery, rare even among savages. No sooner was the deed done than terror seized the band. As if the whole Sioux nation was already at their heels they took to their canoes and fled to the mouth of the Upper Lake and farther; most of them as far as the Island of Manitoulin in Lake Huron, others to the straits of Mackenzie. The remainder of the population followed them, some in early winter, some in the spring of the following year: all knew that the vengeance of the mighty Sioux was certain. One can imagine the pastor's feelings at such a calamity. His own extremely reticent reports, as they reach us, are silent on the matter. He tarried at La Pointe until the beginning of the winter, but his ministrations were no longer needed. Confusion reigned in the colony. Perplexity and frightened suspense filled all hearts. The Sioux formally declared war, and at the same time, they returned to Father Marquette a picture of the Immaculate Virgin, which he had sent them as a greeting and token of friendship. He then resolved also to leave the terror-haunted spot, and to repair to Sault St. Marie, in order to consult with his superiors as to future proceedings. He embarked in his frail canoe, and at the end of a month arrived at the Falls of St. Marie, utterly worn out, after having made his way through snow-storms, hurricanes, and dangers of every sort. In all probability, it was on this fearful journey that the seeds were sown of the wasting disease which a few years later caused the devoted priest such suffering.

The terrible occurrence at La Pointe rendered the opening of the Illinois mission an impossibility. The scattered flock must be gathered together again. A number of the Huron and Ottawa Indians had long been settled in the neighbourhood of Mackinac. Hither now came many of the fugitives from La Pointe. The missionaries followed them, and towards the end of winter a poor little chapel

was built on the cape opposite the Island of Mickilimackican (Big Turtle) on the west, henceforth to be known as Point St. Ignace. Here, where one day his bones were to rest, Father Marquette began, in the spring of 1671, the work of his third mission. The success of his labours at St. Ignace is best described in his own words. In his report, written the following year (1672), he says :—

They have been faithful in their attendance at chapel, have willingly listened to my instructions, and have given their consent to every regulation which I consider necessary to make in order to wean them from their barbarous and dissolute practices.

We must have patience with these wild souls who have learned none but the devil's lessons, whose slaves they have ever been, and who continually relapse into sin. God alone can steady these fickle minds, grant them His grace, and preserve them in it; He alone can soften their hearts, whilst we weak creatures try to stammer in their ears.

Even of the savage Sinago, of whom there were about sixty in the mission, he was able thus to report :—

They are no longer the same as when at La Pointe. They now desire to become Christians; they bring their children to be baptized, and come regularly to the chapel.

The humble missionary ascribes this change to the influence of a brother Jesuit, Père Andrè, in whose mission at Green Bay some of these had wintered. He continues :—

No matter how severe the weather, it did not prevent the Indians from coming to the chapel. Some came twice daily last autumn. I prepared some for confession who had not approached the sacrament since their baptism, while others made a general confession of their whole lives. I could not have believed that Indians could give such an exact account of everything that had happened. Some spent a fortnight in preparation. From that time I noticed a complete change in them. With some, indeed, I am not satisfied; but if I only let fall a word of disapproval of their conduct, they come at once to the chapel. I have hopes that what they now do from motives of fear or respect, will be one day done from love of God and the wish to save their souls.

The report ends with these words :—

So much, Rev. Father, have I to communicate about this mission. They are milder, more tractable, and inclined to accept

instruction, than in any other district. But, at your word, I am ready to leave them in the hands of another missionary, and go forth to seek unknown tribes, to preach the great God of Whom they know nothing.

Father Marquette was not mistaken in the good opinion he had formed of his flock. In the course of a few years, Point St. Ignace became a model mission. Most of the Hurons were thoroughly converted, and hundreds of the Christian Ottawa Indians, whose numbers increased daily, vied with them in devotional practices. The services of three priests were required for the zealous flock. But our missionary, meanwhile, had determined to follow the path marked out to him by God, and to preach the Gospel to the tribes of the lovely Mississippi Valley.

To be continued.

E. LEAHY.

THE CHURCH IN 'THE DARK AGES'

A.D. 800-1200.

THE old legend of 'the dark ages' is dead and buried, and we have no wish to disinter it. Invented by the Reformers, as an excuse for their rebellion, it did duty for centuries as a war-cry, and was received as gospel by at least ten generations of Protestants. All Catholic protests and refutations were unheeded until, on the revival of historical studies, some learned Protestants discovered the imposture themselves. It needed no little courage to proclaim the discovery to their co-religionists, and the names of Voigt, Hurter, and Maitland, the pioneers in the cause of truth, deserve to be preserved and remembered.¹ Although no respectable writer ventures to quote the old legend now, it still holds its ground in Gibbon, Hume,

¹ *History of Gregory VII.*, 1815, by Voigt, Professor of the University of Halle. *History of Innocent III.*, 1838, by Hurter, Swiss pastor. *The Dark Ages*, second edition, 1845, by Rev. S. R. Maitland, Librarian to Archbishop of Canterbury.

Robertson, and all our old writers. For writers of every kind managed to give it a place in their books. Who could expect to find it in Robertson's *History of Charles V.*? Yet, in this single work, Maitland counts thirteen cases of what he calls 'gross mistake or barefaced falsehood' regarding this subject. Thus:¹ 'Many of the clergy did not understand the Breviary which they were obliged daily to recite; some of them could scarce read it.' Again:² 'Many dignified ecclesiastics could not subscribe the canons of those councils in which they sat as members.' Again:³ 'Even the Christian religion . . . degenerated during those ages of darkness into an illiberal superstition. . . . Instead of aspiring to sanctity and virtue . . . they imagined that they satisfied every obligation of duty by a scrupulous observance of external ceremonies.'

These are not the worst cases, but they are fair specimens of the barefaced assertions one may expect to find in any English work published before the middle of this century.

But we must not reopen a controversy which every historian now looks upon as closed. Our object is to notice a fact not much attended to by the disputants, namely, the extraordinary manifestations of the Church's innate sanctity during these 'dark ages.' The legend was expressly intended to proclaim to the whole world the complete disappearance of her note of sanctity during this period. Well, we confidently assert, that at no period of her history was her innate sanctity more conspicuously manifested than during these same 'dark ages.'

No one ventures now to assert that any change took place during this period in her doctrine, sacraments, or sacrifice. We can, therefore, confine our attention to her members. Not that we hope to find them all living up to their profession, for 'the wheat and the cockle' must commingle to the end; but that the works of holiness were so general, and the number of singularly holy persons so great,

¹ Page 10.

² Page 16.

³ Page 103.

as to prove the mother that bore them and nourished them by her doctrine and sacraments, to be the true Spouse of Christ.

After the Church's successful labours during three centuries for the conversion of the new races that succeeded the Roman Empire, she found herself suddenly confronted by new difficulties. The new Christian states formed under her influence were threatened with destruction; and with them all her institutions of religion, learning, and charity. Hordes of pagan Norsemen, delighting in rapine and slaughter, strong, brave, and fearless, issued from the north, and fell upon the Christian states. We know the results in England and Ireland. Well, the state of the Continent was not much better. Rohrbacher tells us¹ that during the ninth century the Norsemen had penetrated everywhere by the great rivers, and had sacked Rouen, Paris, Trèves, Hamburg, Toulouse, Aix-la-Chapelle, Tours, Cologne, Blois, Beauvais, Bordeaux, Nantes, Liège, Angers, Amiens, Cambrai, Arras, Metz, &c.; and that the Saracens had ravaged the whole south, even to the walls of Rome. Churches and monasteries had a special attraction for these fierce marauders, whose hatred of Christianity equalled their love of plunder. Wherever they passed, the churches and monasteries were in ruins, the clergy and monks slain, dispersed, or carried into captivity; the schools closed, and the people like sheep without a shepherd.

Such was the state of Europe about the close of the ninth century. But the mercy of God was at hand. By the conversion of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, in 912, an end was put to the continental ravages of the Norsemen; King Alfred (871-900) broke their power in England; Pope Leo IV., in 849, secured Rome and Italy against the Saracens; and, though last not least, Brian Boru, in 1014, delivered the schools and churches of Ireland from the tyranny of the Danes.

It was no easy matter to repair the ruins, moral and

¹ Vol. xii.

material, that had accumulated during a whole century; but the Church and her children were equal to the emergency, and in an incredibly short time the churches and monasteries were restored, the schools reopened, the parishes supplied with pastors, abuses corrected, new institutions founded, and almost every trace of devastation and ruin obliterated.

But just at this point a persecution began, the most dangerous that the Church had ever endured. The feudal princes who had just been so liberal in their endowments, claimed the right to dispose of the chief dignities of the Church; that is, in practice, to impose unworthy pastors on the Christian people. The emperors of Germany and the internecine factions of Italy, even claimed the right to give Popes to the Church, and actually set up nineteen anti-popes during this period. We need only name Henry IV. of Germany, Philip I. of France, and our first Norman kings, to remind our readers of the exorbitant claims made by the princes of this period. A single example will suffice to illustrate the working of this system. St. Arnulph¹ is a good specimen of the bishops at this time. Born of noble parents, his early life was spent in the army, and in the ordinary pursuits of a country gentleman. But even then his morals were pure, and his virtues conspicuous. One day, accompanied by his two esquires, he set out as if to visit the court; but on arriving at Soissons they hung up their arms in the Church of St. Medard, and entered that great monastery as 'soldiers of Christ.'

Arnulph made rapid progress in virtue and learning, and voluntarily undertook the care of an aged monk who had long inhabited a lonely hermitage within the enclosure. On the death of this hermit he asked permission to occupy his place; and here he spent three years and a half in most rigid silence, terrible austerities, study of Holy Scripture, meditation and prayer, and even in the composition of books, as his biographer thus tells us: *librosque componendi non contemnendam adeptus est gratiam*. At this time the

¹ Surius, vol. viii.

abbot died, and the King intruded an unworthy favourite named Pontius; speedy ruin, temporal and spiritual, was the result, until at last the monks, aided by the bishop and the notables, appealed for mercy to the King, and Pontius was withdrawn. Arnulph was elected, and compelled by the bishop to quit his hermitage and undertake the charge. In a very short time the havoc wrought by Pontius was repaired, and Arnulph's gift of miracles became so notorious that people flocked to him from all sides. But another trial awaited him. An ambitious monk, named Odo, to create a vacancy, induced the King to summon Arnulph to his standard at the head of his tenants. Rather than return to his old profession he resigned, and went back to his beloved hermitage, taking care to have a holy and learned monk named Gerald elected in his stead. But Pontius soon reappeared, and took forcible possession by the aid of Queen Berta; Gerald had to retire, but Arnulph remained unmolested in his hermitage. His fame had spread more and more, and his cell was now constantly surrounded by persons of every class seeking advice or the cure of their diseases. At this time the bishop died, and a courtier named Ursio was intruded. On hearing of this St. Gregory VII. ordered his legate to call a provincial council to examine the matter, and Ursio was deposed. Arnulph was elected, and compelled by the legate to take charge of the see. Excluded from his cathedral he took up his residence in the castle of Ulcia, placed at his disposal by Count Theobald. Attracted by his sanctity and miracles the whole diocese rallied around him; under the protection of the people he made his visitations, administered confirmation, consecrated churches, reformed abuses, and performed every other duty of his office. He died in 1087.¹

We have here a vivid picture of the times, and can easily see how abuses were multiplied. These abuses were great and numerous, but were never universal, and seldom of long duration. An intruder was often followed by a saint, or counterbalanced by a saint in the next diocese.

¹ Our *Surius* is the critical Turin ed. 1880.

St. Hugh of Grenoble found the diocese in a deplorable state, but long before his death (1132) it was the model diocese of France. The notorious intruder Vidon (Gui) of Milan found himself confronted by St. Peter Damian and St. Anselm of Lucca. This constant succession of holy bishops diminished the evils of lay-investiture; the nominees of princes were not always unworthy; and princes were not always able to have their own way. Yet the abuses arising from the system were enormous; so enormous that, at first sight, the Church's note of sanctity would seem to have disappeared altogether.

But it is only at first sight; for on closer inspection we see clearly that never was her vitality and innate sanctity more strongly manifested than during this very crisis. Against the most powerful princes, the intruders in some of the principal sees, the pretended rights of numerous dignitaries and unworthy pastors, the temporal interests of numberless families and dependants, the dead-weight of custom, and the absence of all human aid, the cause of the Church seemed quite hopeless; and yet by the force of her own innate sanctity she swept away all these abuses. The first impulse came, as usual, from Rome. The Popes had often condemned these abuses; but they only yielded at last to the open war against investitures which was proclaimed by St. Gregory VII., in 1075, and followed up to complete victory by his immediate successors. This victory appears all the more glorious by contrast, for all these abuses survive to this day in the East, where the schism was consummated in 1053, and in the Russian, English, Prussian, Swedish, and every other national Church separated from Rome. They are all mere slaves of the state, departments of the civil government.

These signal victories over barbarism and Erastianism would suffice to prove the Church's innate sanctity; but much more remains to be told. Alban Butler's list of saints for this period mounts up to one hundred and seventy-two; 'all approved,' he tells us, 'by the Holy See or by some particular churches.' They had also the unanimous testimony of their contemporaries, founded on their known

lives of heroic virtue, and their notorious gift of miracles. Even such men as Alfred, Lanfranc or Urban II., great and good as they were, had no claim to this distinction with their contemporaries. It was only the notorious gift of miracles that decided public opinion, lay and clerical; for the idea that miracles had ceased with the apostolic times was unknown in those days. Lourdes has, in our own time, almost completely silenced not only this Protestant fiction, but also the rationalistic paradox regarding the impossibility of miracles. It is not necessary for our purpose to prove each and every miracle attributed to a saint; it is enough for us to know that the gift was so notorious as to attract to him persons of every class and condition. That there were many such the reader can verify for himself in Surius, Guerin's *Petits Bollandists*, or even in Butler's abstracts.

In reading the lives of saints one is struck by their mysterious influence over their contemporaries. This influence produces far-reaching effects if the saint happens to occupy some responsible position. Let us now see whether the Church produced such saints in those days. We begin with bishops, and, to enable the reader to judge for himself, an authentic list is given, with the dates of death:—

St. Leo IV., Rome	-	-	-	855
St. Nicholas I., Rome	-	-	-	867
St. Leo IX., Rome	-	-	-	1054
St. Gregory VII., Rome	-	-	-	1085
St. Tharasius, Constantinople	-	-	-	806
St. Nicephorus, Constantinople	-	-	-	823
St. Methodius, Constantinople	-	-	-	846
St. Ignatius, Constantinople	-	-	-	877
St. Dunstan, Canterbury	-	-	-	988
St. Elphege, Canterbury	-	-	-	1012
St. Anslem, Canterbury	-	-	-	1109
St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury	-	-	-	1170
St. Celsus, Armagh	-	-	-	1129
St. Malachy, Armagh	-	-	-	1148
St. Laurence, Dublin	-	-	-	1180
St. William, York	-	-	-	1154
St. Ethelwald, Winchester	-	-	-	984
St. Wolstan, Worcester	-	-	-	1095

St. Osmond, Salisbury	-	-	-	1099
St. Richard (Eng.), Andria	-	-	-	1199
St. Anscarius, Bremen	-	-	-	865
St. Rembert, Bremen	-	-	-	888
St. Frederic, Utrecht	-	-	-	838
St. Ado, Vienne	-	-	-	875
St. Ludger, Munster	-	-	-	809
St. Conrad, Constance	-	-	-	976
St. Donatus (Irish), Fiesoli	-	-	-	874
B. Peter Igneus, Albano	-	-	-	1089
St. Uldaric, Augsburg	-	-	-	973
St. Adalbert, Prague	-	-	-	998
St. Gerard, Toul	-	-	-	994
St. Wolfgang, Ratisbonne	-	-	-	994
St. Peter Damian, Ostia	-	-	-	1072
St. Anselm, Lucca	-	-	-	1086
St. Arnulph, Soissons	-	-	-	1087
St. Gerard, Hungary	-	-	-	1046
St. Boniface, Russia	-	-	-	1009
St. Stanislas, Cracow	-	-	-	1079
St. Godhard, Hildesheim	-	-	-	1038
St. Bernward, Hildesheim	-	-	-	1021
St. Annon, Cologne	-	-	-	1075
St. Hugh, Grenoble	-	-	-	1132
St. Peter, Tarentaise	-	-	-	1174
St. Ubaldus, Gubbio	-	-	-	1160
St. Anthelm, Bellay	-	-	-	1178
St. Godfridus, Amiens	-	-	-	1118
St. Galdinus, Milan	-	-	-	1176
St. Otho, Bamberg	-	-	-	1139
St. Bruno, Segni	-	-	-	1125
SS. Cyrii and Methodius	-	-	-	ninth century.

All these names are found in the Roman Martyrology. Alban Butler has just a third more. How many such bishops have the Eastern Churches produced since the schism ; or the Anglican Church since its origin ?

‘Rex justus erigit terram.’¹ In these days when kings not only reigned but ruled, a good king or queen was an inestimable blessing. We all know the set form in which the English people used to petition their kings : ‘give us the laws of good King Edward.’ It was so also in Hungary, and wherever saints had reigned. Well, in

¹ Prov. xxix. 4.

those days the Church produced not only a Charlemagne (814), and an Alfred the Great, but also—

St. Edward the Confessor	-	-	1066
St. Stephen of Hungary	-	-	1038
St. Ladislaus of Hungary	-	-	1095
St. Henry of Germany	-	-	1024
St. Wincellaus of Bohemia	-	-	938
St. Olans of Norway	-	-	1030
St. Canute of Denmark	-	-	1086
St. Eric of Sweden	-	-	1151
St. Edward of England	-	-	979
St. Margaret of Scotland	-	-	1093
St. Mathildes of Germany	-	-	968
St. Leopold of Austria	-	-	1136

Alban Butler has a few more, but only these are found in the Roman Martyrology.

But it was in the conversion of nations the Church's holy fecundity was most strikingly manifested during this period. It was precisely during those 'dark ages' the light of the Gospel was diffused in the north by the missionaries who converted Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Moravia, Servia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Muscovy, and several minor divisions of the Slavonians. To see the close relations between the apostles of these nations and Rome, we need only read the lives of SS. Cyril and Methodius, St. Boniface, St. Anscarius, St. Rembert, and St. Adalbert. That all these nations were converted by Catholic missionaries is beyond all question; it is only about Russia that any doubt has been raised, but Alban Butler (July 24) has clearly proved that Russia was Catholic long before the Greek schism reached her.¹ What a contrast between this prodigious fecundity and the notorious sterility of the Eastern Churches since the schism. They have been able, by fraud and violence, to pervert Catholic populations, but not to convert pagans, of whom Russia has whole nations under her rule. The extension of the schism into Siberia and northern Russia was not by the conversion of pagans, but by the migration of the populations to those unoccupied

¹ See also Rohrbacher, vol. xiii., p. 236, xix. 130.

regions. To form an idea of the sterility of the Anglican and other Protestant Churches, we need only read Marshall's *Christian Missions*. The conclusion from all this is manifest. 'Go teach all nations . . . and behold I am with you all days, even to the end of the world.' It is easy to see where this promise has been realized.

Even Protestants have begun at last to see the value of the religious orders, and to envy the Church's power of producing them, just as they are needed for the wants of the time: for the preservation of learning and culture, the redemption of captives, the nursing of lepers, the care of the sick, the improvement of agriculture, the foundation of schools and colleges, the education of children, and all the other wants of the Christian people. For, besides the common object of their own sanctification, each of them has some one of these special objects. Montalembert, in his *Monks of the West*, has given a detailed account of the immense services rendered by the monasteries from the sixth to the tenth century; but the blight of lay-investiture had gradually fallen upon a great many of them, thus creating an immense void. The Church thus finds herself again confronted with many and urgent wants. Will she be equal to the emergency? Let us see.

New orders, protected in some way from this blight, could alone meet the difficulty. Well, such orders she produced: they spread with amazing rapidity, and were protected by their poverty and the fame of their sanctity. Cluny was founded in 910, and soon found itself at the head of two hundred houses. Before 1158 it had given to the Church many bishops and three great Popes, St. Gregory VII., Urban II., and Pascal II. So great was its influence on the culture and learning of the period that the freethinker, Violet le Duc, does not hesitate to call it 'the cradle of modern civilization.'¹

The Carthusians were founded in 1085, had two hundred houses at the end of the thirteenth century, and edify the Church by their example and writings to this day.

¹ *Dictionnaire des Dictionnaires*, art. 'Cluny.'

The Cistercians were founded in 1098, and had five hundred houses at the end of fifty years; of these seventy-two were founded by St. Bernard himself, five of them in Ireland, five in England, thirty-five in France, eleven in Spain, six in Belgium, five in Savoy, four in Italy, two in Germany, two in Sweden, one in Hungary, and one in Denmark.¹ He was the most remarkable of the distinguished men produced by the Order, among whom were two popes, forty cardinals, and a great number of bishops.

The Order of Premontr  was founded in 1120. They were Canons Regular, spread rapidly, and had at one time as many as thirteen hundred houses. Missions and preaching were its chief external work. One can form some idea of the effect produced by these missions from the single instance given by Alban Butler in the life of St. Norbert, June 6th. But more ample details are given by Rohrbacher.²

Besides these great cosmopolitan orders, important local ones were founded by St. Benedict Anian (821), St. Romuald (1027), St. John Gualbert (1073): stimulated by the example and influence of all these new orders, bishops and nobles everywhere began to restore or reform the older monasteries; most interesting details regarding this movement are given by Montalembert.³

Yes, these fruits of sanctity are great and undeniable; but what about the masses of the people? Is not the testimony of Robertson amply confirmed by the learned Mosheim's account of these 'dark ages'?

Robertson only copied from Mosheim, one of the chief agents in circulating these calumnies. No popery is the main feature of his so-called *History*. At the tenth century he exhausts the whole vocabulary of slander. Thus, ch. iii.:

The state of religion in this century was such as might be expected in times of ignorance and corruption. . . . The whole Christian world was covered at this time with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition. . . . Corruption and impiety now reigned with a horrid sway; licentiousness and dissolution had infected all ranks and orders of men.

Rohrbacher, vol. xv.

² Vol. xv.

³ Vol. v., ch. 12.

By what proofs does he support these charges? Were these people atheists or agnostics? Were they socialists or anarchists? Were they wholesale swindlers, like our French and Italian Masons? Did they deal in fraudulent monopolies, syndicates, or *corners*? Did they exterminate whole populations, like Irish landlords? Were they hard-hearted to the poor or the afflicted? Was there any abnormal licentiousness like that which exists not only in the great cities of Europe and America, but even among a great many rural populations? Not a bit of all this, What then? Well, then, they believed in saints, relics, monks, penance, reparation, pilgrimages, masses, festivals, and devotion to the Virgin Mary. Is that all? Absolutely all that this so-called historian offers in proof of these atrocious charges.¹

The Church of God could not allow her children to lapse into such a state. All these writers argue sophistically, from the particular to the general, as Maitland fully proves; his exposure of Robertson's many sins of this kind is most interesting and instructive. Garbled extracts formed another weapon in their unholy warfare; Mosheim used it freely and without shame or remorse. The reader should see for himself Maitland's exposure of his conduct.

We have no *Mores Catholici* for this period like that of Digby for the middle ages; but we cannot believe in the moral degradation of people subject, at least periodically, to such influences as these already mentioned. Saints rose up amongst them, like the prophets of old. Holy bishops repaired the injuries inflicted by intruders. Holy kings and queens reformed whole nations. Strict and fervent monasteries arose upon the ruins of others. Who can calculate the reforming influence of preachers like St. Bernard or St. Norbert? Or that of the many holy bishops whose names we have given? Not to go beyond our own country, did not St. Celsus and St. Malachy repair in a few years the disorganization of two centuries?

¹ He accepts as gospel all that Luitprand had written against the Popes; but for this he is not so culpable, since even Catholic writers had been deceived for a long time. See Rohrbacher, vol. xii., for the credence due to Luitprand.

This and many similar examples remind us, that the hearts of the people remained always sound in spite of the scandals that arose from the confusion of the times. We have numberless proofs of this. At the preaching of saints, feuds and enmities were extinguished, restitutions and reparations effected, calumnies retracted, and good works set on foot, such as hospitals, roads and bridges, churches and monasteries. Protestants deride this zeal for the foundation of monasteries, and call it a superstition by which great criminals hoped to atone for their iniquities; but they forget that the monastery in those days was the school of the district, the medical dispensary, and the centre of outdoor relief.¹ Yes, even the Strongbows of those days believed in the necessity of reparation, and made some atonement to society; a superstition not much in fashion at present. How many hospitals have been founded by the Panama robbers, or by our Irish exterminators?

But works of spontaneous piety were far more numerous than works of reparation. It would be impossible to give any idea here of their number, but the reader can see it in detail in vol. v., ch. xii., of Montalembert's great work. In vain does Mosheim attempt to trace this prodigious liberality to the scare that preceded the year 1000; for that scare was transient, whereas this movement existed for generations before and after.

In these chapters Montalembert describes in detail a movement still more extraordinary. Countless men and women of rank and fortune devoted not only their wealth but their own persons also to works of charity and religion. This movement was no local or sudden outburst; it was universal, and ran through the whole of these 'dark ages.'

We have seen how numerous saints were in those days. In reading their lives one is struck by two things; nearly all had received a liberal education, and their parents and relatives were remarkable for great piety and intelligence. This is just the reverse of what Mosheim tells us about these 'dark ages.' Only that these saints had biographers,

¹ Montalembert, vol. v.

we should never have known this interesting fact. These saints had fellow-students at school and college ; but as we know nothing about them they are counted among the ignorant.

At the close of this period there is one landmark about which there can be no mistake—the first crusade. Apart from its merits or demerits, we learn from it one thing, the spirit of the time. Can anyone say that there was then any lack of faith, religious earnestness or self-sacrifice in any rank or class whatever ?

We may now ask, what enabled the Church in those days to repair the ravages of barbarism ; to save Christianity and civilization from utter extinction ; to resist the erastianism of the princes ; to save the Holy See from the despotism of German emperors and Italian factions ; to convert so many nations ; to overcome so many superhuman difficulties ? We may also ask at what period in those 'dark ages' did she cease to produce these other fruits of sanctity ? When did she cease to beget saints, to exhibit the gift of miracles, to found religious houses, to provide for the poor and the sick, to redeem captives, to protect the weak, to defend the sanctity of marriage, to denounce the vices of the great, to found schools and colleges for the poor, to proclaim and defend the whole law of Christ ? We may ask Reformers what Church separated from Rome ever produced manifest fruits of sanctity like these ? We may ask, in fine, in what period of her history, since the age of the martyrs was the Church's note of sanctity more strikingly manifested than during those so-called 'dark ages' ?

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

THEORISTS AND THEORIES .

The School of Lanigan

‘**F**OR more than a thousand years,’ says Cardinal Moran,¹ ‘it was the uninterrupted tradition of Ireland and of Scotland, that our apostle, St. Patrick, was born in the valley of the Clyde, not far from the city of Alclyde.’ And so long as the Irish tradition was preserved and handed on by native Irish scholars, it was impossible that the truth concerning this matter could ever be effaced, or even obscured in the Irish heart. But the time came when the succession of native Irish scholars was almost brought to an end, through the disastrous influence of English misrule and oppression.

The Irish nation had reverently carried on the history of her apostle in an unbroken sequence from the saint's death, at the end of the fifth century, until the compilation of the *Book of Armagh*, in the middle of the seventh, and thence down to the age of the Four Masters. With the death of the latter, in the seventeenth century, night began to gather round the history of the Irish Church.²

Indeed, it was during the lifetime of the Four Masters that this period of darkness and trial was ushered in. To the government of Elizabeth belongs the odium and infamy of having inaugurated that system of political oppression and religious persecution which was for centuries identified with English policy in Ireland: the Scottish princes of the Stuart line can only be reproached with the minor disgrace of having continued and extended a system of misgovernment to which they must have felt themselves

¹ *Irish Saints in Great Britain*, p. 131.

² See article in *Dublin Review*, July, 1880, ‘The Apostle of Ireland and his Modern Critics,’ p. 85. The writer of these words is here an unexceptionable witness, no other than Father Morris himself. Why the knowledge of the saint's birthplace, and that alone, must be excluded from this ‘unbroken sequence’ of tradition is a question worth answering; but Father Morris prudently refrains from suggesting an answer, and, indeed, even from considering the question.

already committed. It is worthy of note that the repressive measures of the Virgin Queen contrast unfavourably even with those of her polygamous father. 'Henry's treatment of Ireland was, on the whole, considerate and conciliatory, though with an occasional outburst of cruelty.' . . . 'His policy, as carried out by Sentleger, was thoroughly successful; for the end of his reign found the chiefs submissive and contented, the country at peace, and the English power in Ireland stronger than ever it was before.' Under Elizabeth, however, systematically rejecting the one wise alternative of a policy of conciliation, 'the Government deliberately chose the other (alternative), and carried it out consistently and determinedly. And not only did they rule by force, but they made themselves intensely unpopular by needless harshness.'¹

No wonder, then, that in such a period of darkness and trial the Irish people began to lose sight of some of the traditional beliefs of their ancestors. The children of Erin, persecuted for their religion, and oppressed by an alien rule, had little leisure to turn their attention to such questions as that of St. Patrick's birthplace; and, besides this negative influence, another influence of a very positive and tangible kind was now brought to bear upon Irish opinion. The old kindly feeling which had united the Scotch and the Irish—a feeling founded in a sense of kinship and of community of interest—now gave place to a sentiment of a widely different nature. The time had gone by when the Irish could willingly accept for their chosen king the gallant brother of the Scottish hero-monarch, and the native country of Edward Bruce was now only looked upon as the recruiting-ground from which were drawn the instruments of political and religious oppression. It was under such altered circumstances, and, as it were, at the 'psychological moment' (the reader will pardon the over-worked phrase), that Dr. Lanigan came forward with

¹ The above quotations are from Dr. P. W. Joyce, our latest and most trustworthy Irish historian. See his *Short History of Ireland*, pp. 388, 391, foll.

his theory. Let us briefly review the history of his attempt.

I. *A prelude to Lanigan's theory*

It must not be forgotten that Dr. Lanigan had a remarkable, if not a distinguished rival as a claimant to the discovery of St. Patrick's French birthplace. Mr. Patrick Lynch published his *Life of St. Patrick* in 1828. This is the gentleman who undertook to set our ancient authors right as to the meaning of the word *Letha*, and whose rash presumption Eugene O'Curry was afterwards at pains to correct.¹ Mr. Lynch, like all the rest of the theorists, seriously professed to found his conjecture upon the testimony of our early writers. He took the word *Nemthur*, and, changing its supposed meaning of 'heavenly tower' to 'holy tower,' he gravely informed the world that the apostle of Ireland was born at (holy) Tours! The reader who will take up a map of France, and observe the hopelessly inland situation of Tours, will have some idea of the utter absurdity of this baseless conjecture.

In thus giving the first place to Lynch's theory, I am moved by a special object. The reader will observe the characteristics of his method—an utter disregard of the traditional belief of both the Irish and the Scottish nation: an unholy licence in dealing with the words of our venerable authorities; a reckless daring in the framing of conjectures; and, finally, a seeming conviction that any wild theory is good enough for the Irish race, and likely enough to secure ready acceptance. And these same characteristics will be found almost equally prominent in the whole series of what we may call 'holy tours' of discovery, undertaken by erratic theorists with the object of finally 'fixing' St. Patrick's birthplace. From first to last, from Mr. Patrick Lynch to Dr. Edward O'Brien, their methods are alike arbitrary, and their results are equally improbable.

¹ See *MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 503.

II. *Lanigan's theory*

Of course Dr. Lanigan rejected the 'ingenious'¹ conjecture of Mr. Lynch. Tours, he said, would not do at all; and in this judgment I fancy that all sane men will agree with our distinguished ecclesiastical historian. But let us see how Dr. Lanigan proceeds to make out his own view.

The question of St. Patrick's birthplace is discussed in the third chapter of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*. The writer begins with an appeal to authority: all our theorists do this. 'In these inquiries,' he says, 'my principal guides shall be, next, after St. Patrick's confession and his letter against Coroticus, Fiech's hymn or metrical sketch of the life of our saint, and the life by Probus.' He then proceeds to express a very high opinion of the antiquity and authority of the hymn; but he arbitrarily rejects the gloss which identifies *Nemthur* with Dumbarton, though it is obvious that, without the gloss, the evidence of the hymn is incomplete, and indeed almost unmeaning. As to Probus, I hope later on to show how important this writer's testimony really is, if only it be properly appreciated; and how conclusively his true meaning confirms the claims of Kilpatrick. In the meantime it will suffice to observe that, in spite of the pretended marshalling of

¹ Dr. Lanigan had no difficulty in admitting that Mr. Lynch's conjecture was 'ingenious,' a fact which I recommend to the serious consideration of Father Sylvester Malone: for this writer, more ingeniously than ingenuously tries to make his readers believe that Dr. Reeves favoured the 'Bonna-Ventha-Burii' fiction, and this, simply because the deceased scholar promised to 'weigh well your ingenious theory'! Father Malone adds, without the smallest perception of the humour of the statement, that the letter containing this non-committal phrase 'was probably the bishop's last literary correspondence.' At the most, this only shows that the learned prelate should have been more careful; and that it is positively dangerous to treat Father Malone with ordinary unrestrained courtesy, seeing that we may be thus exposed to the risk of being misconstrued and misquoted by one who is all too eager to grasp at any pretence of support for his house of cards. See Lanigan's *History*, pp. 92, 102; and Malone's *Chapters*, p. 61. By the way, Father Malone in his strictures on Dr. O'Brien (*I. E. RECORD*, Aug., 1899), alludes to the author of the Spanish theory as 'our ingenious writer' no less than *nine times*. Is this Father Malone's 'ingenious' method of intimating that he accepts Dr. O'Brien's view? For myself, I have no difficulty in describing Father Malone as 'ingenious': I only wish I could call him ingenuous. But all this, by the way: I hope to deal with the 'Bonna-Ventha-Burii-ac' fiction more directly later on.

'authorities,' what Lanigan really does is to appeal to pure conjecture, and to endeavour to support the conjecture by a reference to the text of the *Confession*. His additional pretence of a local tradition in favour of his theory may be at once dismissed. He signally fails to give anything like a coherent statement of such a tradition; and his failure has been shared by all who have endeavoured to support a similar contention. If the reader desires to appreciate the value of the alleged local French tradition, let him turn to pages 96-97 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, where he will see a most amusing instance of flimsy special pleading, which, in any other writer, Dr. Lanigan would have torn to tatters with triumphant glee. If the reader further desires to see what can be advanced at the present day in favour of local French tradition, even by those who are most willing to prove St. Patrick a Frenchman, let him turn to the article by Father Morris in the *Dublin Review* of Jan., 1883, where he will find that all the evidence forthcoming consists of a 'blackthorn' producing the 'Flowers of St. Patrick,' and the name of the saint attached to a local 'station,' *S. Patrice*. But these flowers, like those immortalized by a certain popular lyricist, 'have nothing to do with the case'; and the name of the 'station' has just as little. Both flowers and railway station are 'about twenty miles from Tours,' between Tours and Angers. Father Morris is no believer in Mr. Lynch's wild theory, and he does not pretend that either flowers or station mark the place where St. Patrick was born; these objects merely mark the place where the saint crossed the river Loire! Having thus disposed of irrelevant matters, we may confine our attention to a consideration of Lanigan's conjecture.

1. *Dr. Lanigan's motives and partiality*

At the outset one may be inclined to ask, Why did Dr. Lanigan feel moved to put aside the old belief, and to supply its place by arbitrary theory? The answer to this question is not far to seek. Let the reader remember what has been already said about the gradual alienation of Irish sentiment and Irish sympathy from Scotland and

from the Scotch. This feeling of hostility was at its height when Dr. Lanigan was engaged in writing his history,¹ and sufficiently explains why Irishmen were disinclined any longer to believe that their national apostle was a Scotchman. It is as easy to indicate the reason why they were ready to believe that he was a Frenchman. While Scotland had been losing the sympathy of Ireland, France had been gaining what Scotland lost. Then, towards the close of the last century, the hopes excited by the French Revolution, and the events of '98, intensified the feeling of good-will towards France; and this sentiment of cordiality and sympathy had, on the whole, grown rather than diminished during the time Dr. Lanigan spent upon the compilation of his history. Above all, France, in spite of her crimes and blasphemies, was still regarded as a Catholic nation, whereas Scotland was known to be uncompromisingly Protestant and Presbyterian. These facts must be steadily borne in mind by those who would understand either the action of Dr. Lanigan, or the extraordinary success by which his action was attended.

We are thus prepared to find that Dr. Lanigan treats with scant courtesy the Irish and Scottish traditions in favour of Kilpatrick. At the outset, we remark that his knowledge of the locality, as in the case of all other theorists, seems to have been singularly defective. One meagre note sums up his sources of information, and this note refers to *Statistical Survey of Scotland* (vol. v., at 'Old Kilpatrick'), and Garnett's *Tour* (vol. i., p. 6), and ends with an unworthy sneer at a local popular story connected with a tombstone in the Kilpatrick churchyard.² Again, we are amused at his special pleading, when he attempts to explain away the force of the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn.

His [the scholiast's] fixing upon Alcluit was very probably owing to there having been a church there, or in the neighbour-

¹ Dr. Lanigan published the first edition of his *Ecclesiastical History* in 1822; the second edition is dated 1829. But he seems to have been engaged upon the work for some twenty years before the earlier publication.

² Lanigan, p. 91, note (48). This unworthy sneer is unworthily reproduced by Father Morris. See my first article, *I. E. RECORD*, October, 1889, p. 341, note 1.

hood, bearing the name of St. Patrick, whence he supposed that Alcluit might have been the place of his birth. Or it might have easily happened, that the name Kilpatrick gave rise to a vulgar opinion among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that the reason of its being so called was the saint's having been born there.

This explanation reminds us of the eastern fable representing the earth as supported by an elephant, which in turn is supported by a tortoise; but the comparison between the fabulist and the historian is decidedly to the advantage of the former, for Dr. Lanigan *forgot the tortoise*. He omits to explain the striking fact, that the neighbourhood of Dumbarton was so peculiarly favoured *above all possible rivals* by the existence of the church of the saint, and by the possession of the name *Kilpatrick*.

Of course, Dr. Lanigan was not without a specious plea, which might be made to serve as an apparent justification for his arbitrary rejection of the claims of Scotland. The plea is one which offers no difficulty to the minds of such representative Irish scholars as Cardinal Moran, Bishop Healy of Clonfert, or Dr. P. W. Joyce, or to the minds of the long line of Protestant scholars, Irish, Scotch, English, and foreign, from Dr. Petrie's day to the present time. This fact alone is quite enough to dispose of the assumed and recklessly asserted 'impossibility' that St. Patrick could be born at Kilpatrick. Nevertheless, as this fallacy still continues to disfigure the pages of theorists and sciolists, we may as well once for all give it its *quietus*.

We are told, that there was in Scotland no Roman town which bore the name of Bonavon Taberniae. Now, from the times of Strabo and Ptolemy onwards, we have no writer who can be relied upon as giving an exhaustive, or even a complete account of the geography and topography of Roman Britain. Ptolemy, the latter of these two writers, only brings us down to about the middle of the second century. The materials used by both were certainly collected from accounts compiled at a period anterior to the actual date at which these geographers wrote. How, then, can we argue from what these writers do *not* mention,

when there is question of the existence of a Roman town in the latter half of the fourth century, *i.e.*, at least one hundred and fifty years later! To argue thus is simply to argue from the plenitude of admitted ignorance.¹ In any other case the traditional account of the saint would have been admitted, and the ancient records of his life would have been accepted as illustrating the state of his native country at the time of his birth; but, because certain Irishmen preposterously claim the right to choose their national apostle's birthplace, his own works are cross-questioned and harrassed under torture, in order to wring from them an avowal flattering to national vanity, or to the conceit of a would-be 'discoverer.' But the most ludicrous form of the objection is, when we are gravely assured that St. Patrick could not have been born in Kilpatrick, because his father was a *decurio*, and because in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton there was in his time no *municipium*, or *colonia*, or town that could have boasted of a *curia*. Once more, the reader will remark, that this objection is not recognised by Cardinal Moran, Bishop Healy, Dr. Joyce, Dr. Petrie, &c., or indeed by any competent scholar, whether Irish, Scotch, English, or foreign. We know something of the character and attainments of the men who do recognise and urge it. And we are forced to ask: Do these objectors know what they are talking about? Do they understand what period of Roman history they are discussing? It is notorious that from the time of the Emperor Caracalla, *i.e.*, from the second decade of the third century, the full rights of Roman citizenship were conferred upon all the free inhabitants within the limits of the Roman world. Observe, it is not merely a question of the minor privileges, or inferior degrees of autonomy hitherto enjoyed by certain *coloniae* or *municipia*; we are not dealing with the limited *Latinitas*; for the full Roman *Civitas*, with all its attendant

¹ That Dr. Lanigan should refer to the supposed Richard of Cirencester was excusable; but that Father Malone, in the year 1892, in his *Chapters*, p. 81, should still rely on Betram's 'impudent forgery' (as Dr. Skene terms it), is positively disgraceful—all the more so as Father Malone would apparently have his readers believe that he is acquainted with the contents of Dr. Skene's works.

rights and privileges, was conferred upon every free inhabitant of every town throughout the Roman Empire.¹ The fact is recorded by Gibbon; it is commented upon by Niebuhr: indeed, I believe it would be difficult to find an historian of the Roman Empire who does not refer to the action of Caracalla. Yet our theorists assure us, that in reference to a period nearly two hundred years after Caracalla's death, *i.e.*, at the close of the fourth century, they cannot find a *municipium*, or a *curia*, in north Britain. They can find what nobody wants—the birthplace of St. Patrick, in places where nobody expected it, and where none but themselves will acknowledge it; but they cannot discover a fact of which any intelligent schoolboy might well be ashamed to remain in ignorance.

2. Dr. Lanigan's conjecture

It would be tedious and unprofitable to enumerate and correct all Dr. Lanigan's erroneous guesses and statements. He was certainly a man of great learning for his time. Indeed, the great pity was that he had no rival in his own day and in his own particular department. He had merely *foils*, whose efforts to oppose or rival him would simply have served to emphasize his absolute supremacy in his own department. But the progress of knowledge cannot be arrested by any man or for any man's sake; and many of Dr. Lanigan's mistakes have long since been corrected. There is no use in 'slaying the slain.' We may, therefore, be content to state his hypothesis. Indeed, to state it is to refute it; for it would be hard to find any competent scholar at the present day who would venture to uphold Lanigan's theory in the particular form in which it was

¹ The writer of the article 'Civitas' in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, while recognising a certain limitation in the application of Caracalla's decree, bears decisive witness to the main fact here noted. 'The constitution of Antoninus Caracalla, which gave the *Civitas* to all the Roman world, applied only to communities, and not to individuals; its effect was to make all the cities in the empire *municipia*.' I may add, that some writers carry back this extension of the 'Civitas' to an earlier date, ascribing the measure to Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180). These authors suppose that Caracalla merely removed certain restrictions which limited the application of the earlier measure.

first advanced. Nay, more, we shall presently see that his own immediate followers were compelled to acknowledge his error, and were driven to seek such modifications of his view as might seem to render the French hypothesis still in some measure defensible. Here, then, is what Dr. Lanigan boldly advanced:—¹

Bonavem, or Bonaven Taberniae was in Aremoric Gaul, being the same town as *Boulogne sur mer* in Picardy. The addition of Taberniae marks its having been in the district of Taravanna or Tarvenna, alias Tarabanna, a celebrated city not far from Boulogne, the ruins of which still remain under the modern name of Terouanne. The name of the city was extended to a considerable district around it, thence called pagus Tarabannensis, or Tarvanensis regio, &c.

Probus calls St. Patrick a Briton, and so is he usually called in chronicles, breviaries, &c. In the older tracts of this kind Britain was said in general terms to have been his country; but in some of the later ones the word *Great* has been added to Britain. To guard against this interpolation, the corrector of the Breviary of Rouen has in the lessons for St. Patrick marked the Britain, his real country, by adding *Gallicana*. This was the Britain which Probus had in view, and which St. Patrick himself must have meant, when he mentions his having been in Britain with his parents; for there is no other Britain, in which the town Bonaven Taberniae can be met with. But this Gallican, or rather Armoric, Britain must not be confounded with the country now called Brittany; for it lay much farther to the north. Pliny places in the very neighbourhood of Boulogne, a people called Britons, whose territory stretched to near Amiens, &c.²

The above extracts present a strange medley of bad geography, and contain as many mistakes as phrases. These mistakes have long been generally acknowledged; and the reader shall presently see how even Lanigan's own followers did not fail to take exception to his statements. But the misrepresentation in connection with the Rouen Breviary calls for immediate protest. From the first occurrence of the earliest forms of the name *Britain*, the word, when used absolutely, admittedly applies to Great Britain rather than to France. This has always been true, and remains so even to the present time. If, then, we find

¹ *History*, p. 98.

² *Ibid*, p. 103.

the word *Britain* used apparently without definite qualification, and add the word *Great*, with a view to making the expression more definite or more emphatic, we are hardly going beyond the limits of legitimate comment, or doing what any honest man may fear to do. But to take upon ourselves to add the word *French*, or its equivalent, so as to give to the word *Britain* its *less usual* sense, is obviously tantamount to taking such a liberty with the text as amounts to absolute falsification. We have already seen how such a falsification was committed in the case of the Rouen Breviary;¹ and in the very passage now under consideration Dr. Lanigan admits the late introduction of the word *Gallicana*, an addition whose significance has been already pointed out, as indicating that the original text was felt to be adverse to the French theory. Yet here we see Dr. Lanigan actually endeavouring to fix upon the natural and obvious change that odium of 'interpolation' which justly attaches to a change to the *unusual and unnatural* sense of the word *Britain*. It has over and over again been pointed out that in the whole history of Latin literature, down to a period long posterior to the time of St. Patrick, *i.e.*, down to the end of the sixth century (one hundred years after the saint's death), no writer ever referred to any part of France under the name of *Britanniae*; yet this plural form is that which occurs in the saint's own writings. Again, even at the late date mentioned, the plural form only received such an application from the influence of an obviously false analogy: because both *Britannia* and *Britanniae* had been applied to Great Britain, people began to think that both forms indifferently might also be applied to part of France. But this is not all. Even the singular form, *Britannia*, was not used until a period so late as must render its use by St. Patrick to indicate a French province practically impossible. The earliest occurrence of this usage is in the year A.D. 458; and as St. Patrick wrote his *Confessio* towards the close of the century, and had long ceased to have direct personal

¹ See I. E. RECORD, November, 1899, p. 447, note 2.

intercourse and contact with France, it is utterly unreasonable to suppose that the saint could have adopted the late French usage, or that such usage could have penetrated to Ireland and influenced his style within a period of some thirty years. Indeed, no one who has ever read a single line of St. Patrick's works can be ignorant how little they favour the supposition that the author could have copied his modes of expression from the fashions of speech then prevailing on the Continent.

To these considerations another may be added. Would a native of *New Britain*, *New Ireland*, or *Nova Scotia*, be likely to announce to a Cape Town or New York audience that he was born in Britain, Ireland, or Scotia? If he did, everyone would denounce him as a pretender and a deceiver. Yet, the case is in some respects stronger with regard to St. Patrick. He could not look towards France without having his attention called to that Britain which intervened. How, then, could he apply the name *Britain* to a French province, ignoring at the same time that nearer, more obvious, and better known Britain which must have inevitably suggested itself to the minds of his readers? From whatever point we view the matter, it is quite clear that the attempt to make out that St. Patrick was born in France violates all the laws of probability and all the rules which govern the interpretation of documentary evidence.

So much for Dr. Lanigan's principal geographical argument. That argument is hopelessly wrong; and may serve to give a fair idea as to the question, how far he may be trusted in the rest of his topographical speculations.

3. *Dr. Lanigan's controversial tone*

Before passing on to the consideration of the attempts of Dr. Lanigan's followers, a few words must be said about the historian's manner of discussing his predecessors. O'Curry justly characterizes him a 'far too dogmatic writer.' Such, indeed, he is; but, as already intimated, we may charitably find a partial excuse for this fault when we

remember that Dr. Lanigan's unchallenged and unrivalled position as an historical authority was only too apt to encourage a somewhat recklessly dogmatic manner. But what shall we say of his contemptuous tone, when he was engaged in opposing the very greatest and most respected writers who had preceded him? Think of how he treats the learned and venerable Father John Colgan! Colgan is accused of having 'committed heaps of blunders,' of indulging in 'reasoning too pitiful to produce any effect,' of 'swallowing all this stuff' about the *Campus Tabernaculorum*, of practising 'evasion,' and of not having read, at least with attention, the Confession of St. Patrick!¹ Usher also 'swallows' things, *i.e.*, 'fables,' and uses 'evasion!'² And the Bollandists, like a set of forward and peevish children, are rebuked for being 'angry with' a writer, whose unsupported assertion not even Dr. Lanigan's special pleading can serve to render probable.³ Furthermore, the *Vita Quarta*, published by Colgan, and ascribed by him to St. Eleran the Wise, is represented as containing 'many fooleries;' and the *Scholia* on St. Fiacc's hymn are recklessly lumped together, and denounced as a 'hodge-podge collection of contradictory notes!'⁴

The writers thus scoffed at by Lanigan have since been amply avenged; their traducer has been convicted of having misapprehended the meaning of those very documents which he so scornfully refused to follow. But is it not time that Lanigan's uncritical methods of criticism were more generally recognised, and that a distinct and forcible protest should be entered against the tone of one whose irreverent and dogmatic theorising has proved the fruitful parent of confusion in Irish opinion and in Irish literature?

III. *Cashel Hoey's supplement to Lanigan's theory*

Whatever be Mr. J. Cashel Hoey's defects, it is a relief to turn to his more gentlemanly utterances after the crudities

¹ See Lanigan's *History*, pp. 85, 91, 93, 87, 89, and 92. In the last two passages the more obvious sense conveyed certainly is 'that Colgan had not read the Confession at all.'

² *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 105.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 90

of expression indulged in by Dr. Lanigan. Mr. Hoey undertook to 'perfect' and to 'complete' 'the proof which Dr. Lanigan had commenced.'¹ The work of the disciple was composed for delivery before the members of the 'Academia of the Catholic Religion,' a society founded in London by Cardinal Wiseman in the year 1861, and was published along with other essays in a volume edited by Dr. Manning, in 1865. The work of the master had then been before the world for some forty years, and the world had begun to discover certain insuperable difficulties in Dr. Lanigan's theory. The first difficulty arose from a recollection of the long and venerable series of authorities in favour of the Scottish view.

1. *Cashel Hoey's admissions*

The following extracts, though they fail to do justice to the point, are still worthy of special attention :—

The theory most generally accepted, and which *certainly has the greatest weight of authority in its favour*, is that which assumes that St. Patrick was born in *Scotland*, at *Dumbarton*, on the *Clyde* . . . The opinion that St. Patrick was a Scotchman has the *unanimous assent* of all the antiquaries of Scotland. . . . I have to add to the Scotch authorities and pleadings, however, *all the best of the Irish*. That St. Patrick was born in Scotland, is the opinion of Colgan, a writer whose services to the history of the Irish Church cannot be excelled and have not been equalled. . . . The Bollandists accepted it without hesitation; and I hasten to add to their great sanction that of the two most learned antiquaries of the latter days of Ireland, Dr. John O'Donovan and Professor Eugene O'Curry. They, I am aware, were also of Colgan's opinion; and so, I believe, are Dr. Reeves and Dr. Todd, whose views on most points of ecclesiastical antiquities connected with Ireland are entitled to be named with every respect.

This significant passage, penned by an adversary who was candid so far as his unconscious racial prejudices allowed him, does credit to the writer; but I cannot let it pass without protesting against the words, 'theory,' 'assumes,' and 'pleadings.' It is notorious that the 'theory,' 'assumption,' and special 'pleading' are entirely

¹ *Essays on Religion and Literature*, p. 109 foll.

on the side of our adversaries. I must also protest against some phrases which I have here omitted, and which show the writer's ignorance concerning the true state of the Strathclyde district during the interval between St. Ninian and St. Mungo.¹

Mr. Hoey also complains that he could not, 'in the course of a careful examination of the district, and the recognised authorities, concerning its topography, arrive at any acceptable evidence on the subject.' Well, the reader knows that the local topography and local authorities have succeeded in satisfying better scholars and better judges than Mr. J. Cashel Hoey. And a glance at my last article will furnish him with a good deal of very relevant local information, much more than can be found respecting any other place in Europe, so far as the question of St. Patrick's birthplace is concerned.²

2. *Cashel Hoey's refutation of Lanigan.*

Mr. Hoey partly agrees with Dr. Lanigan's conjectures, and partly dissents from them; but his dissent is more emphatic than his agreement. The pupil says of the master:—

I will not say that his proof with regard to the identity of Boulogne with Bonaven is conclusive; but if the whole of his proof rested on as strong presumptive grounds, little would remain to be said on the subject. The second part of it is,

¹ One has to complain of a similar display of ignorance on the part of all the anti-Scottish theorists. I have already warned the reader against their ignorance of the topography of the Kilpatrick neighbourhood; I must now warn him against their ignorance of the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country. I claim to be in a much better position than any of them to reconstruct the history of the period above referred to, the period coincident with St. Patrick's early life. I hope, in time, to publish such a reconstruction, which will serve to confute the wild and general assertions of interested critics. Meantime, I may call attention to the significant fact that those who talk so glibly about the supposed utter desolation, dechristianizing, and barbarism of the Dumbarton district at the time referred to, are *unable to produce a single line* from any authority who ever gave such an account of the district in question. Our theorists, therefore, are merely arguing, to use a phrase already employed, from the plenitude of admitted ignorance.

² Father Morris also expresses dissatisfaction with the result of his personal visit to Kilpatrick. This dissatisfaction I can understand, for better reasons than any which he could assign. That a distinguished writer like him should

however, in my humble opinion, *wholly erroneous* . . . The passage identifying the Taberniae of Boulogne with Therouanne is, in my opinion, *altogether incorrect*.¹

Mr. Hoey then adds some reasons for his dissent, and finally sums up his judgment on his master's performance in the following pitiless exposure of Lanigan's ignorance;²—

In fine, he confuses Therouanne, which is at a distance of *thirty miles* from Boulogne, and certainly did not stand in the relation he supposes to it, with another city *some twenty miles still farther away*. But Malbrancq, who was his chief authority, does not omit to mention that Tervanna and Taruanna are *two absolutely distinct places*: Tervanna was the old Roman name of the town now known as St. Pol—Taruanna that of Therouanne.

Cashel Hoey's conjectures

Having thus played Balaam to Lanigan's Balac, and condemned what he was rather expected to approve, Mr. Hoey next endeavours to establish some conjectures of his own. The attempt was somewhat rash. If Lanigan had failed, how could Hoey hope to succeed?

Magna petis, Corydon, si Tityrus esse laboras.

But, as Tacitus puts in, '*speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute petebat*.' The desire to distinguish himself as a discoverer betrayed him, as it has betrayed other Patrician theorists, into a course of action in which he showed more zeal than discretion. He first proceeds to look for *Emtur*, or *Nemtur*, incidentally giving Professor O'Curry a lesson in Irish. He fixes upon the river, *Em*, or *Hem*, and upon the neighbouring town, and triumphantly observes:—

The name is Tournhem, or, as it was written in Malbrancq's

think it worth his while to repeat his misleading jibe and absurd etymology in his *Ireland and St. Patrick*, published in 1892 (see p. 27, note 2), is a disgrace to Irish scholarship, or, rather, to pretended Irish scholarship. Cf. my first article I. E. RECORD, October, 1890, p. 341, note. It may be added that, so far as I can ascertain, Mr. Hoey and Father Morris are the only anti-Scottish theorists who have honoured Kilpatrick with a visit. Neither writer was satisfied with his visit. But as neither takes the trouble to explain either what he expected to find, or what he actually found, their dissatisfaction is of no consequence to anyone but themselves. All we can say is, that Father Morris apparently 'came to scoff,' and that Mr. Hoey did not 'remain to pray.'

¹ *Essays on Religion and Literature*, pp. 119-120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

time, Tur-n-hem. The *tower* and the *river* show the derivation of the word at a glance. The exigencies of Irish verse simply caused their *transposition*!

And so St. Fiacc's *Nemthur* turns out to be Tur-n-hem! Poor St. Fiacc! Did ever Irish saint or writer suffer such a reverse before? But Mr. Hoey makes another discovery. *Eight miles* from Tournehem he finds Taberniae at Desvres. He solves the etymological question by assigning to the name of this latter town *two different derivations*.¹ When death overtook Mr. Cashel Hoey, he had not yet, apparently, made up his mind which derivation he should accept. Neither has the present writer yet decided this delicate question: the reader may choose for himself.

I am not aware that any serious scholar, or, indeed, any serious person, has ever been moved to adopt Mr. Hoey's ingenious conjectures. They, therefore, need not detain us any longer. It would be superfluous to refute them: one does not refute the nonsense of *Alice in Wonderland*. But before dismissing Dr. Lanigan's disciple, it is worth while to remark that his work was not entirely in vain. He betrayed the fact that his master's theory was no longer tenable. He set out intending to 'complete' Dr. Lanigan's view: he did more; he 'finished' it.

IV. *Father Morris's forlorn hope*

The French theory of St. Patrick's birthplace is dead: it died of inherent weakness. The reader who has attentively perused the preceding pages can have no doubt of the fact. But, just as on the death of Mohammed, some of his infatuated followers refused to believe that their idol had passed away, so there are some people who, in defiance of all that history and tradition can say, and in contempt of the weight of authority derived from the highest type of past and present scholarship, are so entirely dominated by their preconceptions that they will not believe that *Laniganism* is no more. Such a man is Father Morris. He may be taken as the last representative of a view which is so

¹ *Essays*, pp. 126-133.

destitute of any power of self-defence that it dares not take up a definite position. Observe his own words :—

It is not our intention to entangle ourselves and our readers in the controversy concerning the precise place in Gaul where St. Patrick was born: our only concern here is with his *nationality*, as evidenced by his own language, and his relations with St. Martin. We regard this fact as much more important than the identification of his birthplace.¹

We have already seen that St. Patrick's 'nationality, as evidenced by his own language,' is certainly British, not French; and to this point we shall presently return. But, without any intention of a joke, we may congratulate Father Morris on his unconscious frankness. 'Anywhere in France' will suit him; and his own language shows that this simply means 'anywhere but Scotland.'

1. *Father Morris's attack*

In this spirit of unworthy prejudice, he makes a last desperate attack upon the Scottish traditional view. His weapon is a sum in simple addition—a weapon as simple as David's pebble from the brook; and if it be not equally effective, the failure arises from want of skill on the part of the wielder. He triumphantly presents us with a sum in simple addition; and *the sum is wrong!* Let him speak for himself:—

St. Patrick died A.D. 492, and he himself tells us that he was 'about sixteen years of age' (*ferè sexdecim*) 'when carried captive to Ireland, and that he remained six years in servitude;' he was, therefore, in his twenty-second year when he escaped. Now, St. Martin died A.D. 397. *Ninety-five years*, therefore, intervened between his death and that of his disciple. As St. Patrick was *twenty-two incomplete* at the time of his escape, if we add to this the *four years* of Probus, then the one hundred and twenty years of St. Patrick's life follow as a necessary consequence of his connection with St. Martin; we have the beginning and the end.²

Passing over this dogmatic definition of the date of St. Patrick's death, I remark that according to Father

¹ *Ireland and St. Patrick*, p. 21: cf. *Dublin Review*, January, 1883, p.

² *Ireland and St. Patrick*, p. 11; *Dublin Review*, p. 6.

Morris's *own figures*, we have *more* than one hundred and twenty years; we have one hundred and twenty-one years *incomplete*. Why neglect the extra months? Is it because it suits the author's purpose? If so, I protest, not only against his want of accuracy, but against his want of candour?

If Father Morris indignantly replies that he states the sum at one hundred and twenty years because the one hundred and twenty-one years are incomplete, I rejoin, with equal, but more just indignation, that I will force him to be consistent. The ninety-five years are also incomplete. So, as we must assume, are the four years of Probus, during which St. Patrick and St. Martin were together; for who can suppose that they were years of mathematically exact length? If Father Morris can thus add together three terms of *incomplete years*, and obtain a sum of years *complete and precise*, will he kindly show us how he does it? This is the sort of pretended demonstration with which Irishmen are to be cheated out of the belief of their fathers!

And how long does Father Morris suppose St. Patrick would have taken to go from his home at Dunbarton to St. Martin's abode—he who apparently believes that the saint voyaged from Ireland to France in the impossibly short interval of three days? I say 'impossibly short;' for a modern steamer will take about the time in question to accomplish the voyage. If he cannot find room in his calculations for the *short interval of a few days, or weeks* required for St. Patrick to visit his friends at Dumbarton, let him abandon his incomplete chronology; for Father Morris's mathematics and logic are as incomplete as are the items with which he trifles. This is the last desperate attack upon the Scottish position; desperate, not because it is formidable, but because it is obviously despairing.

2. *Father Morris's defence*

The same distinguished writer has the credit of making the last attempt to defend the illogical statement, that the word *Britanniae* used by St. Patrick can refer to France

instead of to Britain. Once more, let him speak for himself:—

It has been argued that this predominance of the plural form points to Britannia Major, and its various divisions under the Romans. We find, however, in the writings of St. Jerome, that in more than one place he adopts the singular, Britannia, in referring to Great Britain, while Venerable Bede uses the singular and plural indiscriminately. So, even supposing the texts were unanimous, no valid argument can be drawn from them.¹

Passing over some minor points, let us observe the writer's main contention. He desires to prove that the plural form *Britanniae* can be applied to *France*; and he proves instead that the singular, *Britannia* can be applied to *Britain*; he would fain show that singular and plural indiscriminately can be referred to *France*; and, instead of this, he shows that singular and plural indiscriminately can be referred to *Britain*. He attempts to prove what none but the prejudiced can admit; he succeeds in proving that which no one has the least inclination to question.

There is a story told of an Irishman who was once directed to give 'an evasive answer' to an expected inquiry. The point of the story consists in the fact that the answer, when given, was not merely 'evasive,' but *utterly irrelevant*. Now, I have no certain knowledge of Father Morris's nationality; but, after this attempt of his to answer a very pertinent objection, I am strongly inclined to claim him as a fellow-countryman. The only thing which makes me hesitate is the reflexion that my countrymen are generally considered to be 'good at mathematics.'

We have now reviewed the history of the attempt to make out a French birthplace for St. Patrick. We have seen the character of the theorists: we have noted their contempt for national tradition, their recklessness of statement, their wildness in conjecture, and their ignorance of history and topography. We have seen them reduced to silence, or to a feebleness of utterance more significant than silence itself. In spite of the knowledge that the prejudices

¹ *Id. cit.*, pp. 13 and 23.

of my countrymen and of the Irish priesthood are deeply engaged in this matter, I do not hesitate to call for a reversal of their former judgment. 'And they said: These are thy gods, O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt.'

These are thy *guides*, O Erin, who engaged to deliver thee from the unwelcome Scottish view, and to lead thee to the promised land of France! What must we think of them now? Their promises are unfulfilled; and the only result of their efforts has been to make us disunited amongst ourselves, and to render us a laughing-stock amongst the nations of the earth. The French view is dead: it died of an incurable disease—congenital *asthenia*. Is it not time that we returned to the view of our ancestors, to the view of O'Donovan and O'Curry, of Petrie and of Reeves, of Cardinal Moran and Bishop Healy, of the Bollandists and of Alban Butler, of all that is best and most trustworthy in scholarship, whether at home or abroad, whether in the past or in the present history of our land?

I shall give the words of some of these authorities in a subsequent article, for I have yet to review the *South British* theories. This, however, will be a comparatively simple task. In the meantime, I commend these pages to the earnest consideration of my countrymen; for what I have written has been written in the best interest of Ireland, as well as in the cause of truth.

GERALD STACK.

NOTE.—In my last article (I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1899, p. 447, line 12), I must ask the reader to delete the intrusive syllable 'op,' which occurs in the quotation of the gloss on St. Fiacc's hymn. In the same passage it will be observed that I have followed the reading, 'tuaiscirt,' *North*, as given by Cardinal Moran and Bishop Grant (*Dublin Review*, April, 1880, p. 294, and April, 1887, p. 336, note 3), rather than the reading of the I. E. RECORD, March, 1868, p. 282, note 1. In the present instance I am merely correcting a printer's error; in other matters, I may be allowed to crave the reader's kind indulgence. I write at a distance from all our great collections of Celtic manuscripts, and I am debarred from consulting many valuable sources of information which are open to my more fortunate contemporaries. I am ready to acknowledge with gratitude any authentic corrections with which I may be favoured.

¹ Exod. xxxii, 4.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

PROTESTANTS AS SPONSORS AT THE BAPTISM OF CATHOLICS

REV. DEAR SIR,—May Protestants be admitted to act as Sponsors for Catholic children? Sometimes Protestants present themselves on these occasions, and a priest does not always find it easy to refuse to admit them. J. J. C.

The practice of admitting heretics is manifestly opposed to the ends which the Church has in view in enjoining that sponsors should assist at baptism, and undertake, if needs be, the spiritual care of the person baptized. No wonder, therefore, that the Ritual excludes heretics from the office of sponsor, and that the prohibition of the Ritual has been frequently confirmed by the replies of the Roman Congregations. The Holy Office in a reply, May 3, 1893, stated that, when a heretic had been named as sponsor by the parents, it would be better, *if necessary*, to administer baptism without any sponsor.¹

DISPENSATION TO READ FORBIDDEN BOOKS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly state in the I. E. RECORD whether the bishops of Ireland have power to permit the faithful to read books of heretics propounding heresy?

CONSULENS.

I. A bishop cannot, of course, permit the reading of these books unless there be some necessity for reading them; moreover, there must be no serious danger to the faith or morals of the person to whom the permission is granted.

¹ Act. S. S. t. 26, p. 448

II. By his *ordinary* power any bishop may, in particular cases of urgency, when, *v.g.*, the necessity for immediate refutation does not permit the delay of referring to Rome, grant a dispensation to anyone—a layman or a cleric—to whom the work of refutation may be entrusted.

III. The Irish bishops have, in virtue of the *Formula Sexta*, power to grant, for sufficient cause, to priests *quos praeicipue idoneos et honestos esse sciunt*—not to other clerics, or to laymen—a dispensation *ad tempus* permitting the reading of forbidden books. In this faculty a few books are by name excepted, together with all those treating *de obscenis et contra religionem ex professo*. A dispensation granted in virtue of this faculty is subject to the condition, that the holder of the dispensation keeps the forbidden books out of the reach of those who are not authorized to read them. The faculties of the *Formula Sexta* require, as everyone knows, to be renewed periodically. The bishop, as we have above remarked, can grant the dispensation only *ad tempus*. How is the restrictive clause *ad tempus* to be interpreted? It is commonly held to convey, that the bishop cannot grant a dispensation available beyond the time at which his own indult expires. It has been, however, suggested by some, that this clause may exclude a permanent dispensation *only*.¹

DANGER TO CATHOLICS IN PROTESTANT INSTITUTIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—You would greatly oblige me by giving your opinion on the following case in the I. E. RECORD. In the city² in which I exercise the ministry there is a home for governesses under Protestant management, and conducted on distinctly Protestant lines. The inmates are obliged to attend prayers and Bible readings, which take place twice daily, and are occasionally conducted by an Anglican minister. No one is admitted to the establishment except on condition of compliance with this regulation. There is a home under Catholic auspices

¹ N. Rev. Theol. vol. ii., p. 660.

² Not in Great Britain or Ireland.

in the same city, where board and lodging are offered at a reasonable rate. . . .

CONFESSARIUS.

It is, we think, quite obvious that Catholics entering this sectarian institution, on the conditions stated, are seriously endangering their faith. Every legitimate means should be used to rescue them from the peril in which they are placed; nor should a confessor continue to absolve those who refuse to sever their connection with the institution.

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

HOMES FOR AGED AND INFIRM PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with much interest the letters that lately appeared in the I. E. RECORD on the above important subject. 'Vicarius' has thrown out a new and startling suggestion—the compulsory retirement of priests at the age of 75. This will not find favour with those who consider only their personal comfort, but surely the good of religion ought to be considered before the comfort of individuals, and who can deny that religion suffers from maintaining in the arduous and responsible position of pastors, old men who, no matter how zealous, holy, and energetic they were while blessed with health and vigour of manhood, are now beyond their work. In this diocese there are several such, good priests in their time, but now, on account, of their advanced years, and consequent weakness of body and mind, they can no longer discharge their duties in the Lord's vineyard to the satisfaction of their Divine Master, or with advantage to souls entrusted to their charge. If new schools, or churches, or confraternities are needed in their parish, these old men block the way. They will do nothing, and in the meantime religion suffers.

Though yet some years removed from threescore and ten, which to my mind is the proper age for priests to retire from the mission, I long for the day when I shall be able, if the admirable suggestion of 'Vicarius' be acted on, to retire from the constant cares, anxieties, and grave responsibilities of a pastor, and spend the remainder of my life in peace and holy retirement in a home for aged priests.

PAROCHUS.

DOCUMENTS

INDEX OF INDULGENCES GRANTED TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE COMFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

I.

S. CONG. INDULG. TRANSMITTIT LOCORUM ORDINARIIS INDICEM
INDULGENTIARUM CONCESSARUM TUM SODALITIS MARIALI
ROSARIO TUM UNIVERSIS FIDELIBUS

ROME DOMINE,

In ea, quam Summus Pontifex Leo PP. XIII de *Rosarii Marialis* sodalitatibus anno superiore Constitutionem edidit,¹ haec, praeter cetera, edicebantur: 'Magistri Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum cura et studio, absolutus atque accuratus, quamprimum fieri potest, conficiatur index indulgentiarum omnium, quibus Romani Pontifices Sodalitatem Sacratissimi Rosarii ceterosque fideles illud pie recitantes cumularunt, a Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquiis praeposita expendendus et Apostolica auctoritate confirmandus.' Quod igitur imperatum erat, iam demum exequutioni mandatum est; mihi quoque grato quidem officio, a Beatissimo Patre commissum, ut praedictum Indicem diligentissimis curis confectum supremaque Sua auctoritate adprobatum, Episcopis universis, ceterisque, quorum interest, mitterem.

Hanc vero Sanctissimi Domini voluntatem dum obsequens facio, nil sane dubito, quin Amplitudo tua constans illud studium mirabitur nec sine Dei instinctu esse aestimabit, quo Summus Pontifex, multos iam annos, ad augustam Dei Matrem confugere sanctissimi Rosarii ritu fideles omnes hortatur.

Kalendis primum septembribus anni MDCCCLXXXIII, Litteris Encyclicis *Supremi Apostolatus*, beneficia per Marialis Rosarii preces in christianum nomen collata recolens, in spem certam se adduci professus est, hanc eandem precandi rationem, hisce etiam difficillimis Ecclesiae temporibus, contra errorum vim late serpentium exundantemque morum corruptionem ac potentium

¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vi., p. 439.

adversariorum impetum profuturam. Quamobrem, additis Indulgentiarum praemiis, edixit ut a catholicis ubique terrarum magna Dei Mater, Rosarii ritu, toto octobri mense coleretur.

Ex illo Beatissimus Pater, quotannis fere, hortari populos christianos haud destitit ut Rosarii consuetudine validum Deiparae patrocinium demereri Ecclesiae perseverarent. Ad studium vero fidelium augendum quidquid Marialis Rosarii dignitatem commendaret, datis a se litteris, sapientissime illustravit; seu naturam precationis eius rimando, seu vim extollendo qua pollet ad christianas virtutes fovendas, seu demum maternam ad opitulandum Virginis miserationem scite amanterque explicando.

Quem modo sacrarum Indulgentiarum Indicem ad te mitto, is veluti constantis operis fastigium est; hoc etenim Beatissimus Pater et fidem promissi praestat, et quae huc usque egit ad promovendam Rosarii religionem luculenter confirmat.

Bifariam Index dispescitur; pars altera Indulgentias exhibet, quae unis Sodalicis a Mariali Rosario conceduntur; altera, quae fidelibus universis communes sunt.

Haec Apostolicae largitatis munera ut commissus tibi populus norit proque merito aestimet Amplitudo tua curabit. Qua occasione Beatissimus Pater sollicite te usurum confidit ad fideles ipsos efficacius incitandos, ut reflorentem Rosarii consuetudinem studiose pieque servent, tum nomen Sodalicis dantes, tum octobrem mensem Reginae a Rosario dicantes, tum etiam in sua quisque domo et familia pium Rosarii officium quotidie peragentes.

Assidua hac imploratione mota, miseros Hevae filios Regina coelestis gloriosissima audiet clemens et exaudiet; quamque opem afflictis Ecclesiae rebus efflagitamus uberrime sine dubio impertiet.

Amplitudini Tuae diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Romae, die 30 Augusti an. 1899.

Amplitudinis Tuae uti Frater addictissimus.

Fr. H. M^a Card. GOTTI

S. C. Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquiis praepositae Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. SABATUCCI ARCHIEP. ANTINOENSIS,
Secretarius.

INDULGENTIAE CONFRATERNITATIS SANCTISSIMI ROSARII
PARS PRIMA INDULGENTIAE CONFRATRIBUS PROPRIAE

I.

Pro iis qui confraternitati nomen dant

1. Indulgentia Plenaria, si confessi sacraque communione refecti in confraternitatem recipiuntur (Gregorius XIII, *Gloriosi*, 15 Iul. 1579).

2. Indulgentia Plenaria, si legitime inscripti et confessi, eucharistiae sacramentum sumunt in ecclesia seu capella confraternitatis, tertiam partem Rosarii recitant et ad intentionem Pontificis orant (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 17 Sept. 1569).

NOTA.—Qui confraternitati adscribuntur, has indulgentias aut ipsa adscriptionis die, aut die dominica vel festiva proxime sequenti lucrari possunt (S. C. Indulg. 25 Febr. 1848).

II.

Pro iis qui recitant rosarium

A.—*Quovis anni tempore*

3. Indulgentia Plenaria, semel in vita, si Rosarium ex instituto confraternitatis per hebdomadam recitant (Innocentius VIII, 15 Oct. 1484).

4. Si integrum Rosarium recitant, omnes consequuntur indulgentias quae in Hispania conceduntur coronam B. Mariae V, recitantibus (Clemens IX, *Exponi nobis*, 22 Februarii 1668).

5. Indulgentia quinquaginta annorum, semel in die, si tertiam partem Rosarii recitant in capella SS. Rosarii seu saltem in conspectu altaris praedictae capellae, vel si extra civitatem, in qua erecta est confraternitas, commorantur, in ecclesia vel oratorio publico quocumque (Adrianus VI, *Illius qui*, 1 Apr. 1523).

6. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, si ter in hebdomada Rosarium recitant, pro qualibet vice (Leo X, *Pastoris aeterni*, 6 Octobr. 1520).

7. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, pro qualibet hebdomada si integrum Rosarium recitant (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 7 Sept., 1569).

8. Indulgentia quinque annorum et totidem quadragenarum quoties, recitando Rosarium, in salutatione angelica nomen Iesu devote proferunt (Pius IX, Decr. S. C. Indulg., 14 Apr., 1856).

9. Indulgentia quorum annorum si integrum Rosarium per hebdomadam dicendum, per tres dies distribuunt, pro uno quolibet

ex his tribus diebus, quo tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (Clemens VII, *Etsi temporalium*, 8 Maii 1534).

10. Indulgentia tercentum dierum si recitant tertiam partem Rosarii (Leo XIII, 29 Aug. 1899).

11. Indulgentia centum dierum quoties alios inducunt ad tertiam partem Rosarii recitandum (Leo XIII, 29 Aug. 1899).

12. Indulgentia tercentum dierum, semel in die, si dominicis vel festis diebus in aliqua ecclesia Ordinis Praedicatorum assistunt exercitio, recitandi vel canendi processionaliter singulas Rosarii decades coram singulis mysteriis sive in pariete, sive in tabulis depictis (S. C. Indulgent, 21 Maii 1892).

B.—*Certis anni diebus vel festis.*

13. Indulgentia Plenaria, in festo Annuntiationis B. M. V., si confessi et communione refecti Rosarium recitant (S. Pius V *Iniunctum nobis*, 14 Iun. 1566.)

14. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, in festis Purificationis, Assumptionis, et Nativitatis B. M. V si Rosarium recitant (S. Pius V, loc. cit.).

15. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, in festis Resurrectionis, Annuntiationis et Assumptionis B. M. V. si tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (S. Pius V. *Consueverunt*, 17 Sept. 1569).

16. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum in reliquis festis D. N. I. C. et B. M. V. in quibus sacra ipsius Rosarii mysteria recensentur (scilicet, in festis Visitationis B. M. V. Nativitatis D. N. I. C., Purificationis et Compassionis B. M. V. [feria sexta post dominicam passionis], Ascensionis D. N. I. C., Pentecostes et Omnium Sanctorum), si saltem tertiam partem Rosarii recitant. S. Pius V, loc. cit.).

17. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum in festis Nativitatis, Annuntiationis et Assumptionis B. M. V. si integrum Rosarium ex instituto confraternitatis per hebdomadam recitant (Sixtus IV, *Pastoris aeterni*, 30 Maii, 1478; Leo X, *Pastoris aeterni*, 6 Oct. 1520).

18. Indulgentia centum dierum in festis Purificationis Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Assumptionis et Nativitatis B. M. V. (Leo X. loc. cit.).

III.

Pro iis qui comitantur processionem ss. Rosarii.

19. Indulgentia Plenaria, si confessi et communicati processioni prima mensis dominica intersunt, ibique ad intentionem Summ

Pontificis orant et insuper capellam SS. Rosarii visitant (Gregorius XIII, *Ad augendam*, 24 Oct. 1577).

NOTA.—Hanc Indulgentiam, confratribus concessam, consequi poterunt confratres itinerantes, navigantes aut alicui inservientes (quos inter milites actu servientes adnumerantur) integra Rosarii recitatione; infirmi vero, vel legitime impediti si tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (Gregorius XIII, *Cupientes*, 24 Dec. 1583).

20. Indulgentia Plenaria si processionem associant in festris Purificationis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Assumptionis, Nativitatis, Praesentationis et Immaculatae Conceptionis B. M.V. (Pius IV. *Dum praeclara*, 28 Febr. 1561¹), vel aliquo die infra octavas istorum festorum (S.C. Ind. 25 Febr. 1848).

21. Indulgentia quinque annorum acquirenda, quando ex eleemosynis confraternitatis virgines matrimonio iungendae dotantur, si processioni intersunt (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes* 22 Mart. 1580.)

22. Indulgentia centum dierum, si processionem debitis diebus faciendam associant (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

23. Indulgentia sexaginta dierum, si processiones ordinarias tam confraternitatis, quam alias quascumque de licentia Ordinarii celebratas, etiam SS. Sacramenti ad infirmos delati, comitantur (Gregorius XIII, *Gloriosi*, 15 Iul. 1579).

IV.

Pro iis qui visitant capellam vel ecclesiam confraternitatis

24. Indulgentia Plenaria qualibet prima mensis dominica, si confessi et s. communione refecti id faciunt, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XIII, *Ad augendam*, 12 Mart. 1577).

NOTA.—Hanc indulgentiam etiam confratres infirmi, qui ad eandem ecclesiam accedere non valent, lucrari possunt, si praevia confessione et communione, domi ante devotam imaginem Rosarium seu coronam (h. e. tertiam partem Rosarii: (S. C. Indulg. 25 Febr. 1877 ad 6), aut septem psalmos poenitentiales devote recitant (Gregorius XIII. loc. cit. *Ad augendam*, 8 Nov. 1578).¹

25. Indulgentia Plenaria, quavis prima mensis dominica, si sacramentis muniti, expositioni sanctissimi eucharistiae sacramenti in ecclesia confraternitatis, quatenus de Ordinarii licentia

¹ Verba: *Poenitentiales et Ad augendam* 8 Nov. 1578, quae non reperiuntur in foliis huc usque editis, fuerint addita in originali asservato in archivo S. Cong., proinde sunt ab omnibus addenda.—N. D.

locum habet, per aliquod temporis spatium devote intersunt, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XVI, *Ad augendam*, 17 Decembris 1833).

26. Indulgentia Plenaria, si confessi ac s. communione refecti capellam SS. Rosarii aut ecclesiam confraternitatis visitant, ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis orant a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis in festis Domini Nativitatis, Epiphaniae Resurrectionis, Ascensionis et Pentecostes : item in duabus feriis sextis quadragesimae ad arbitrium eligendis ; nec non in festo Omnium Sanctorum, ac semel infra octiduum Commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum (Gregorius XIII, *Pastoris aeterni*, 5 Maii 1582 ; Gregorius XVI, *Ad augendam*, 17 Decembris 1833 ; S. C. Indulg., 12 Maii 1851).

27. Indulgentia Plenaria, sub iisdem conditionibus, a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis, in festis B. M. V. Immaculae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Praesentationis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Purificationis, Assumptionis ac in festo septem Dolorum (feria sexta post dominicam Passionis (Gregorius XIII, loc. cit. : Clemens VIII, *De salute*, 18 Ian. 1593 ; Gregorius XVI, loc. cit.).

NOTA a.—Indulgentia Plenaria in festis B. M. V. Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Praesentationis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Purificationis et Assumptionis acquiri etiam potest par octavam, sed semel tantum in quovis octiduo (S. C. Ind. 25 Febr. 1848).

NOTA b.—Indulgentia Plenaria in diebus Paschatis, Ascensionis et Pentecostes, ac in festis B. V. M. Immaculae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis, Purificationis, Praesentationis et Assumptionis, nec non in duabus feriis sextis quadragesimae acquiri potest etiam visitando quamcumque aliam ecclesiam vel publicum oratorium (S. C. Indulg. 12 Maii 1851).

NOTA c.—Quoad itinerantes, navigantes, inservientes vel infirmos aut alias legitime impeditos, pro acquisitione Indulgentiae Plenariae ecclesiam seu capellam SS. Rosarii visitantibus concessae diebus quibus festa mysteriorum Rosarii celebrantur, idem dicendum, quod superius de iis, qui processioni intervenire nequeunt (n. 14), dictum est (Sixtus V. *Dum ineffabilia*, 30 Ianuarii 1586).

28. Indulgentia Plenaria, sub iisdem conditionibus, dominica infra octavam Nativitatis B. M. V. (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia* 12 Febr. 1598).

29. Indulgentia Plenaria, sub iisdem conditionibus, dominica tertia Aprilis, a primis vesperis usque ad solis occasum (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

30. Indulgentia septem annorum totidem quadragenarum, si confessi sacraque communione refecti capellam seu altare confraternitatis visitant, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant in diebus Nativitatis D. ni, Paschatis, Pentecostes, et in festis Immaculatae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annuntiationis, Visitationis et Assumptionis B. M. V., nec non in festo Omnium Sanctorum (Clemens VIII, *Salvatoris*, 13 Ian. 1593 ; Idem, *De salute*, 18 Ian., 1593).

31. Indulgentia centum dierum pro quolibet die quo visitant capellam seu altare SS. Rosarii, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

NOTA.—Moniales in clausura viventes, iuvenes utriusque sexus in collegiis, seminariis, conservatoriis degentes, omnesque demum personae viventes in institutis ex quibus ad libitum egredi non possunt, imo et membra societatum catholicarum, omnes indulgentias pro quibus praescriberetur visitatio capellae seu ecclesiae confraternitatis—dummodo huic riti adscripti sint—lucrari possunt visitando propriam ipsorum ecclesiam, seu capellam, sive oratorium (S. C. Ind. 11 Aug. 1871 ; 8 Feb. 1874).

Confratres infirmi vel quomodocumque impediti quominus sacramentum eucharistiae recipiant, aut ecclesiam vel capellam visitent, indulgentias omnes pro quibus istae conditiones praescribuntur lucrari possunt, si confessi aliisque iniunctis operibus adimpletis, aliquod pium opus a confessario iniunctum exequentur.

Cum in quibusdam festis pro visitatione ecclesiae seu capellae SS. Rosarii praeter plenariam indulgentiam aliqua etiam indulgentia partialis concessa fuerit, ad hanc quoque acquirendam distincta ecclesiae seu capellae visitatio necessaria est.

V.

Pro iis qui visitant quinque altaria

32. Confratres qui visitant quinque altaria cuiuscumque ecclesiae vel oratorii publici, vel quinquies unum duove altaria ubi quinque non reperiuntur, lucrantur easdem indulgentias ac si Romae stationes visitarent (Leo X, 22 Maii 1518).

VI.

Pro iis qui dicunt vel audiunt missam votivam ss. Rosarii

33. Indulgentiae omnes integrum Rosarium recitantibus concessae, pro confratribus sacerdotibus si missam votivam secundum missale romanum pro diversitate temporis ad altare SS. Rosarii celebrant (quae missae votivae bis in hebdomada dici possunt) ;

pro aliis autem confratribus si tali missae assistunt et ibi pias ad Deum fundunt preces (Leo XIII, *Ubi primum*, 2 Oct. 1898).

34. Indulgentiae omnes concessae iis qui processionem primae uniuscuiusque mensis dominica fieri solitam associant, pro iis qui consuetudinem habent celebrandi vel audiendi hanc missam, semel in mense, die quo confessi sacramentum communionis recipiunt (Clemens X, *Coelestium munerum*, 16 Febr. 1671).

35. Indulgentia unius anni pro iis qui in sabbatis quadragiesimae assistunt coniunctim missae, concioni de B. M. V. et antiphonae 'Salve Regina' (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes*, 22 Mar. 1580).

VII.

Pro iis qui devotionem quindecim sabbatorum ss. Rosarii peragunt

36. Indulgentia Plenaria in tribus ex quindecim sabbatis, uniuscuiusque arbitrio eligendis, si per quindecim sabbata consecutiva (vel immediate praecedentia festum SS. Rosarii, vel etiam quolibet infra annum tempore) confessi et s. communionem refecti ecclesiam confraternitatis visitant ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (S. C. Indulg., 12 Dec. 1849).

37. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum in duodecim sabbatis n. 36 non comprehensis (S. C. Indulg., 12 Dec. 1849).

VIII.

Pro iis qui mense rosariano certas devotiones peragunt

38. Indulgentia Plenaria, si exercitio mensis octobris, in ecclesiis Ordinis Praedicatorum institui solito, saltem decies interfuerunt, die ab ipsis eligendo, si sacramenta recipiunt et ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (S. C. Indulg., 31 Aug. 1885).

39. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum quoties devotionibus in ecclesiis Ordinis Praedicatorum mense octobris quotidie instituti solitis intersunt (S. C. Ind., 31 Aug. 1885).

IX.

Pro iis qui assistunt antiphonae 'Salve Regina' cantatae

40. Indulgentia trium annorum et totidem quadragenarum, si in ecclesia confraternitatis cum candela accensa (ubi usus viget, alibi adiungatur una 'Ave Maria') assistunt antiphonae 'Salve Regina' cantari solitae in festis B. M. V. quae ab universa

ecclesia celebrantur (S. C. Indulg., 18 Septem. 1862 ad 4), et in Apostolorum natalitiis, ac festis Sanctorum Ordinis Praedicatorum (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

41. Indulgentia centum dierum omnibus diebus per totum annum, si huic antiphonae post completorium assistunt (Clemens VIII, loc. cit.).

42. Indulgentia quadraginta dierum in omnibus sabbatis ac diebus festivis per annum (Leo X, *Pastoris aeterni*, 6 Oct. 1520).

NOTA.—Indulgentias nn. 40 et 41 recensitas legitime impediti, quominus in ecclesia huic antiphonae adstent, lucrari possunt si eandem flexis genibus coram altari vel imagine B. M. V. recitant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

X.

Pro iis qui orationem mentalem aut alia spiritualia exercitia peragunt

43. Indulgentia Plenaria, semel in mense, si per integrum mensem quotidie per mediam horam vel saltem per quartam horae partem mentali orationi operam dant, die ad eorum arbitrium eligendo, quo sacramenta poenitentiae et eucharistiae recipiunt (Clemens X, *Ad ea*, 28 Ian., 1671).

44. Indulgentia Plenaria, si in memoriam quadraginta dierum, quibus dominus Iesus stetit in deserto, per eundem numerum dierum in oratione, mortificatione et in aliis piis operibus sese exercuerint, semel in anno, die ab ipsis eligendo (Pius VII, *Ad augendam*, 16 Februarii 1808).

45. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum. quoties per mediam horam mentali orationi operam dant (Clemens X, *Ad ea*, 28 Ian. 1671).

46. Indulgentia centum dierum quoties per quartam horae partem meditationi vacant (Clemens X, loc. cit.).

XI.

Pro iis qui visitant confratres infirmos

47. Indulgentia trium annorum et totidem quadragenarum, quoties infirmos confratres visitant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

48. Indulgentia centum dierum si confratres infirmos ad ecclesiastica sacramenta suscipienda hortantur (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

XII.

Pro iis qui suffragantur animabus confratrum defunctorum

49. Indulgentia Plenaria, si in quatuor anniversariis (diebus 4 Feb., 12 Iul., 5th Sept., 10 Nov.) quotannis in ecclesiis publicis tum fratrum, tum sororum Ordinis Praedicatorum institui solitis, officiis defunctorum intersunt, ac confessi sacraque communione refecti ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant, semel quolibet ex illis quatuor diebus (Pius VII, *Ad augendam*, 11 Feb. 1808).

50. Indulgentia octo annorum si exequiis adstiterint sequentes processionem quae in suffragium defunctorum quolibet die sabbati aut semel in mense per ecclesiam confraternitatis sive per claustrum ducitur (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes*, 22 Mart. 1580).

51. Indulgentia trium annorum et totidem quadragenarum, quoties corpora confratrum defunctorum ad ecclesiam confraternitatis associant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

52. Indulgentia centum dierum si cadavera confratrum cum vexillo confraternitatis ad sepulturam associant, vel si anniversariis pro animabus defunctorum confratrum celebratis intersunt, et ibidem ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Gregorius XIII, *Cum sicut*, 3 Ian. 1579).

XIII.

Pro iis qui quodcumque caritatis vel pietatis pous peragunt

53. Indulgentia sexaginta dierum quoties confratres aliquod opus caritatis et pietatis exercent (Gregorius XIII, *Gloriosi*, 15 Iul. 1579).

XIV.

Pro morientibus

54. Indulgentia Plenaria, a sacerdote etiam extra confessionem per formulam communem applicanda, si Rosarium per hebdomadam recitare consueverunt (Innocentius VIII, 13 Oct. 1483; S. C. Indulg. Decr. 10 Augusti 1899).

55. Indulgentia Plenaria, si ex hac vita migrant manu tenentes candelam benedictam SS. Rosarii, dummodo semel saltem in vita integrum Rosarium recitaverint (Hadrianus VI, *Illius qui*, 1 Apr. 1523).

56. Indulgentia Plenaria, si sacramenta poenitentiae et eucharistiae recipiunt (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 17 Septemb. 1569).

57. Indulgentia Plenaria, si contriti ss. nomen Iesu saltem corde, si ore non possunt, invocant (Leo XIII, Rescr. S. C. Indulg. 19 Aug. 1899).

58. Indulgentia Plenaria, si susceptis Ecclesiae sacramentis fidem Romanae Ecclesiae profitentes et antiphonam 'Salve Regina' recitantes, B. Virgini se commendant (Clemens VIII, *Ineffabilia*, 12 Febr. 1598).

NOTA.—Quamvis heic relata sit pluries indulgentia plenaria in mortis articulo, tamen ad tramitem Decretorum S. C. Indulgent. una tantum acquiri poterit in mortis articulo sub una vel altera ex diversis conditionibus supra expositis.

XV.

Pro defunctis

59. In ecclesiis Ordinis Praedicatorum altare SS. Rosarii pro sacerdotibus eiusdem Ordinis privilegiatum est pro anima cuiuscumque confratris (Gregorius XIII, *Omnium saluti*, 1 Sept. 1582).

60. In ecclesiis confraternitatis altare SS. Rosarii pro sacerdotibus confratribus gaudet privilegio, non solum in favorem confratrum defunctorum, sed etiam cuiuscumque defuncti, etiamsi aliud altare privilegiatum in eadem ecclesia existat. Imo, si in ecclesia non extat aliud altare privilegiatum, altare SS. Rosarii etiam pro quocumque sacerdote, quamvis confraternitati non adscripto, et in favorem cuiuscumque defuncti privilegiatum est (S. C. Ind. *Cameracen.* 7 Iun. 1842; Pius IX, *Omnium saluti*, 3 Mart. 1867).

PARS SECUNDA

INDULGENTIAE CONFRATRIBUS CUM ALIIS FIDELIBUS COMMUNES

61. Indulgentiae septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, prima dominica cuiuslibet mensis, si processioni intersunt (S. Pius V, *Consueverunt*, 17 Sept. 1569).

62. Indulgentia plenaria toties quoties in festo SS. Rosarii, sacramentis refecti, a primis vespers usque ad occasum solis diei ipsius, in memoriam victoriae super Turcas apud Echinadas insulas op̄e Rosarii reportatae, capellam (vel effigiem B. M. V. in ecclesia expositam: S. C. Ind. 25 Ian. 1866) visitant, ibique

ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (S. Pius V, *Salvatoris*, 5 Mart. 1572 ; S. C. Indulg., 5 Apr. 1869, 7 Iul. 1885).

NOTA.—Ad lucrandam praefatam Indulgentiam, confessio poterit anticipari feria sexta immediate praecedenti festum SS. Rosarii (Leo XIII, Rescr. S. C. Ind., 19 Augusti 1899).

63. Indulgentia plenaria in uno die octavae festi SS. Rosarii ad arbitrium uniuscuiusque eligendo, si, sacramentis refecti, capellam SS. Rosarii, vel simulacrum B. M. V. in ecclesia expositum, visitant, ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant (Benedictus XIII, *Pretiosus*, 30 Maii 1727 ; S. C. Ind., 7 Iul. 1885).

64. Indulgentia Plenaria sub iisdem conditionibus in festo Corporis Christi et in festo Sancti Titularis ecclesiae (Gregorius XIII, *Desiderantes*, 22 Mart. 1580).

65. Omnes et singulae indulgentiae in hoc Indice contentae possunt per modum suffragii applicari animabus fidelium qui vinculo caritatis Deo coniuncti supremum diem obierunt ; excepta tamen Plenaria in mortis articulo (Innocentius XI, *Ad ea*, 15 Iun. 1679).

DECRETUM

Cum Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum mandato obtemperans articuli xvi Constitutionis Apostolicae *Ubi primum* anno superiore editae, novum Indulgentiarum Indicem huic S. Congregationi exhibendum curaverit, H. S. Congregatio illum diligentissime expendit, adhibita etiam opera quorundam ex suis Consultoribus. Cumque, mature perpensis omnibus, existimaverit nonnulla demenda, addenda vel brevius exprimenda esse, has omnes immutationes, in Indicem praefatum inducendas, SSmo Dno Nostro Leoni Pp. XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Praefectum subiecit.

Sanctitas autem Sua in audientia diei 29 Augusti 1899 eas benigne approbare dignata est, simulque novum hunc Indicem uti supra redactum in omnibus et singulis partibus probavit, Indulgentias omnes in eo contentas Apostolica Sua Auctoritate confirmavit, et, quatenus opus sit, denuo concessit ; simul edicens praeter eas quae in praesenti Indice referuntur quasumque alias Confraternitatibus ss. Rosarii tributas, abrogatas seu revocatas esse concendas, ita ut quaecumque iam erecta vel in posterum erigenda sit Sodalitas ss. Rosarii a Magistro Generali Ordinis

Praedicatorum iis tantummodo gaudeat Indulgentiis quae in hoc Indice insertae reperiuntur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis die 29 Augusti 1899.

FR. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. SABATUCCI Archiepiscopus Antinoensis,
Secretarius.

APPENDIX

Summarium indulgentiarum omnibus christifidelibus pro devotione SS. Rosarii concessarum

1. Indulgentia Plenaria, semel in anno, si singulis diebus saltem tertiam partem Rosarii recitant, et die ab ipsis eligenda sacramentis reficiuntur, dummodo adhibeant coronam ab aliquo religioso Ordinis Praedicatorum, vel ab alio sacerdote deputato benedictam (*Raccolta*, Editio 1898, n. 194),

2. Indulgentia centum dierum pro quolibet 'Pater noster' et qualibet 'Ave Maria,' si integrum Rosarium vel saltem tertiam eius partem recitant, dummodo Rosarium sit benedictum ab aliquo religioso Ordinis Praedicatorum, vel ab alio sacerdote deputato (*Ibid.*).

3. Indulgentia quinque annorum et totidem quadragenarum, quoties tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (*Ibid.*).

4. Indulgentia decem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, semel in die, si una cum aliis, sive domi, sive in ecclesia, sive in aliquo oratorio publico seu privato, saltem tertiam partem Rosarii recitant (*Ibid.*)

5. Indulgentia Plenaria in ultima singulorum mensium dominica, si saltem ter in hebdomada tertiam partem Rosarii una cum aliis sive domi, sive in ecclesia, sive in aliquo oratorio recitant, et in dicta ultima dominica ss. sacramentis refecti aliquam ecclesiam seu aliquod publicum oratorium visitant, ibique secundum mentem Summi Pontificis orant (*Ibid.*).

6. Indulgentia Plenaria in uno ex quindecim sabbatis continuis, arbitrio uniuscuiusque eligendo, si singulis sabbatis sacramenta suscipiunt, et tertiam partem Rosarii recitant, vel aliter eiusdem mysteria devote recolunt (*Raccolta*, edit. cit., n. 197).

NOTA.--Quoties fideles legitime impediuntur quominus praefatum exercitium die sabbati peragant, absque indulgentiarum iactura illud die dominica explere possunt (*Ibid.*).

7. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, omnibus sabbatis n. praecedenti non comprehensis (Ibid.).

8. Indulgentia Plenaria, si quovis anni tempore per novem dies in honorem Reginae SS. Rosarii piis exercitiis operam dant, recitando preces a legitima auctoritate approbatas, die ad arbitrium uniuscuiusque eligendo, sive intra novendiales sive infra octo dies immediate sequentes novendium, quo vere poenitentes, confessi et s. communione refecti iuxta mentem Summi Pontificis orant (*Raccolta*, edit. cit., n. 149).

9. Indulgentia tercentum dierum pro omnibus aliis diebus novendii, quibus in dictis orationibus se exercent (Ibid.).

Pro recitantibus tertiam partem Rosarii in mense Octobris

A SSmo Dno Nostro Leone PP. XIII (1 Septembris, 1883, 20 Augusti, 1885, 23 Iulii, 1898), concessae fuerunt in perpetuum Indulgentiae quae sequuntur :

10. Indulgentia Plenaria, si in die festo B. V. de Rosario, vel aliquo die infra octavam, sacramenta rite suscipiunt, et aliquam sacram aedem visitant, ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis orant, dummodo die festo et singulis per octavam diebus sives publice in aliqua ecclesia, sive privatim tertiam partem Rosarii recitent.

11. Indulgentia Plenaria, si post octavam festi SS. Rosarii saltem decies infra eundem mensem octobris, sive publice in aliqua ecclesia, sive privatim, tertiam partem Rosarii recitant et die ab ipsis eligendo sacramenta rite suscipiunt, aliquam ecclesiam visitant ibique ad intentionem Summi Pontificis orant.

12. Indulgentia septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum pro quovis die mensis octobris, quo fideles tertiam partem Rosarii sive publice in aliqua ecclesia, sive privatim recitant.

13. Omnes et singulae Indulgentiae in hoc Summario recensitae sunt applicabiles animabus igne purgatorii detentis (*Raccolta*, edit. cit., p. XXII, n. 4).

Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita praesens Summarium Indulgentiarum omnibus Christifidelibus pro devotione SSmi Rosarii concessarum uti authenticum recognovit typisque imprimi ac publicari permisit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 29 Augusti, 1899.

FR. HIERONYMUS M. CARD. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ♣ S.

✠ A. SABATUCCI, Archiepiscopus Antinoensis,
Secret.

II.

INDULTUM QUO PROROGATUR AD ANNUM, I. E. USQUE AD DIEM 2 OCT. 1900, TEMPUS CONCESSUM IN CONSTITUTIONE 'UBI PRIMUM' D. D. 2 OCT. 1898, AD PETENDAS LITTERAS PATENTES RMI MAGISTRI GENERALIS ORD. PRAED. PRO CONFRATERNITATIBUS SS. ROSARII SINE TALIBUS LITTERIS AB INITIO INSTITUTIS.

BEATISSIMO PADRE,

Fr. Giacinto Maria Cormier, Procuratore Generale dei Predicatori, umilmente prostrato ai piedi di V. S. espone che :

Il No. III della Costituzione Apostolica '*ubi primum*'¹ avendo suscitato alcuni dubbi, sotto posti alla S.V. da Monsignor Vescovo di Aosta, e la risposta ai dubbi essendo stata data dalla S. Congregazione delle Indulgenze con approvazione di V. S., solamente il 10 agosto 1899,² l'anno concesso da V.S. nel mentovato No. III, perché le Confraternite del S. Rosario che non stanno in regola abbiano tempo di munirsi delle Lettere Patenti del Maestro Generale dei Predicatori, sembra ormai insufficiente per raggiungere lo scopo, giacché la sullodata Costituzione venne pubblicata *Sexto Nonas Octobris*, 1898.

Perciò l'Oratore nell'interesse delle anime e del lucro delle Indulgenze, implora la Concessione di *un altro anno* di tempo durante il quale gli Ordinari ed i Rettori delle Confraternite, conosciute le risposte del 10 agosto 1899, avranno tutta facilità di munirsi, dato che facesse d'uopo, dei richiesti documenti.

Che della grazia, etc.

Ss. D. N. LEO PP. XIII in Audientia habita die 8 Septembris 1899, ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 8 Septembris, 1899.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. ANT. A. ARCHIEP. ANTINOEN, *Secretario*.

Ios. M. Canonicus COSELLI, *Subst.*

¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vi, p. 489.

² Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, fasc. praec. p. 366.

**CANONIZATION OF THE BLESSED JOHN BAPTIST DE LA
SALLE, FOUNDER OF THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS**

ROTHOMAGEN.—DECRETUM

CANONIZATIONIS BEATI IOANNIS BAPTISTAE DE LA SALLÆ FUNDATORIS
CONGREGATIONIS FRATRUM SCHOLARUM CHRISTIANARUM

SUPER DUBIO

AN ET DE QUIBUS MIRACULIS CONSTET IN CASU ET AD EFFECTUM
DE QUO AGITUR

Quam praecllens quamque frugifera sit virtus naturalibus haud reliota viribus, sed altis fidei christianae fixa radicibus divinaeque gratiae suffulta praesidio, mire ostendunt, eorum exempla, quotquot Ecclesia ad Beatorum Coelitum honores evehit. Nam praeter innumeros, qui causa Religionis martyres occubuerunt invicti; alii consepulti cum Christo solitariam vitam egerunt eamque intaminatam sic, ut cum Angelis de virtute certare visi fuerint; alii vero, quasi fluctibus obiecti quotidianae ac publicae vitae, mirum quantum in communibus etiam obeundis ministeriis profuere.

Extremis his est accensendus Ioannes Baptista de La Salle Religiosae Familiae Institutor, cui nomen a Scholis Christianis. quo viro insigni gloriatur iure saeculum XVII. Rhemis in Gallia ortus est anno MDCLI., nobili genere. Adolescentia pie integreque exacta, adlectusque anno aetatis suae XVI. inter canonicos metropolitanae Ecclesiae Rhemensis sui expectationem, suscepto sacerdotio, non cumulavit solum, verum etiam longe superavit. Optime enim ratus, *non sua esse quaerenda, sed quae Iesu Christi*, mature coepit officio fungi sanctissime ad plurimorum salutem. Quo in ministerio etsi omnis generis muneribus parem se probaret, nihilominus visus est a divina Providentia designari maxime ad christianam adolescentium popularium institutionem. Itaque scholas, quas primarias vocant, condidit in Gallia, eamque invexit docendi instruendique rationem, quam institutione religiosae familiae perpetuam reddidit, et diuturnus usus per omnes fere orbis regiones maxime probavit. Idem tyrocinia esse voluit formandis praeceptoribus qua disciplina aetas nostra gloriatur quasi recens inducta. Quamobrem mirum non est quod viro de hominum societate tam egregie merito Gallia statui posuerit publice.

Verum longe maximam gloriam ei pepererunt praeclarae virtutes ab intimo sensu religionis profectae, quibus fructus est

consequutus uberrimos, civili quoque societati valde proficuos. Sincera sane in viro fides nec sine operibus mortua ; singularis pietas ; vehemens ardor procurandae salutis proximorum. Caritatis enim igne sic exarsit, ut reiectis paternis bonis suaeque familiae commodis, abdicatis etiam honoribus humile et asperum vitae genus fuerit persequutus, nullis non obnoxium difficultatibus, insectationibus, contumeliis. Quibus ad ultimum confectus decessit septimo idus apriles anno MDCCXIX propagata iam per varias orbis regiones ab se instituta Familia Fratrum a Scholis Christianis de re christiana et civili optime merita.

Quamquam autem, tanti viri sanctitate prodigiis etiam confirmata, de Beatorum Coelitum honoribus eidem decernendis multo antea poterat agi, divino tamen consilio factum videtur ut ipse ea aetate publico proponeretur obsequio atque exemplo, qua plurimorum excidit animis divina sententia *initium sapientiae timor Domini*, quum nempe adolescentes aut erudiuntur amoto Deo, aut sin minus ea disciplina aguntur quam non informat spiritus Christi sed humana prudentia, adeo ut vera maneat S. Augustini sententia *Regnat, Enchirid. c. 117, carnalis cupiditas, ubi non regnat Dei caritas.* Ex quibus facile intelligitur, non modo opportunum esse sed etiam perutile, in albo Sanctorum inscribi hoc tempore virum, imaginem referentem divini magistri, qui dixit : *Sinite parvulos venire ad me.*

His de causis instantibus Sodalibus Scholarum Christianarum ut Beato ipsorum Patri Ioanni Baptistae de La Salle supremum honorum fastigium imponeretur, eiusque rei gratia bina vulgarentur eius intercessione patrata miracula, Sedis Apostolicae venia, accurata in illa inquisitio facta est processualesque tabulae a S. Rituum Congregatione et recognitae et probatae sunt.

Horum primum contigit anno MDCCCLXXXIX. in collegio Ruthenensi in Gallia. Leopoldus Tayac adolescens gravissima pneumonite detinebatur sic, ut medicorum spe omni abiecta, affecto lethaliter centro, in eo esset ut spiritum ageret. B. Ioanne Baptista de La Salle apud Deum sequestro repente morbus omnis evanuit.

Alterum accidit miraculum eodem anno in religiosa domo vulgo *Maison neuve* prope Marianopolim. Nethaelmus e Congregatione Scholarum Christianarum insanabili poliomyelitis adeo laborabat e spinæ laesione orta, ut neque gradum facere neque ullo vel minimo sese pedum motu agitare iam posset. Immobilis itaque et medicorum omnium spe destitutus, procidens ante

imaginem B. Ioannis Baptistae multo cum fletu obtestatur ut ipsum aspiciat opemque ferat. Mirum! Subito vivere ac vigere pedes sensit, redire motum et qui modo semimortuus apparebat iam redivivus ac vegetus videretur.

De quibus miraculis triplici ad iuris normas actione est disceptatum. In Comitibus nimirum antepreparatoriis decimotertio calendas augusti anno MDCCCXCVII. habitis in Aedibus Rmi Cardinalis Lucidi Mariae Parocchi Causae Relatoris; in Conventu praeparatorio ad Vaticanum coacto tertio calendas septembres posteriore anno MDCCCXCVIII.; ac demum in generali coetu ibidem coram Sanctissimo Domino Nostro LEONE PAPA XIII. indicto hoc vertente anno. nono calendas martias. Qua postrema in Congregatione Rmus Cardinalis Lucidus Maria Parocchi dubium ad discutiendum proposuit: 'An et de quibus miraculis constet in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.' Omnes Rmi Cardinales ceterique Patres Consultores suffragium singuli tulere; quibus Beatissimus Pater: 'Vestras de propositis sanationibus sententias intento secuti animo sumus. Nostrum tamen iudicium de more differimus, divinum lumen humillime imploraturi. Cupimus quidem ut tali viro qui Galliae nomen auxit Ecclesiamque totam virtute sua illustravit, maxima altarium honorum incrementa contingant quanlocius et feliciter.'

Hodierna igitur die, Dominica quarta post Pascha promeritam laudem novensili Beato, Ioanni Baptistae de La Salle, deferendam censuit. Rei igitur sacrae devotissime operatus, hanc Vaticanam aulam adiit et arcessi iussit Rmos Cardinales Camillum Mazzella Episcopum Praenestinum S. R. C. Praefectum, et Lucidum Mariam Parocchi Episcopum Portuensem et Sanctae Rufinae Causa: Ponentem, nec non Ioannem Baptistam Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotorem, meque insimul infrascriptum Secretarium iisque adstantibus solemniter edixit: 'Constare de duobus propositis miraculis; scilicet de primo: Instantaneae perfectaeque sanationis adolescentis Leopoldi Tayac a gravissima pneumonite cerebralibus atque letiferis stipata symptomatis; et de altero: Instantaneae perfectaeque sanationis Fratris Netheelmi e Congregatione Scholarum Christianarum a poliomielite cronica transversa lumbari et ab ulceribus in cruribus.'

Hoc autem Decretum in vulgus edi et in S. R. C. acta referr mandavit pridie calendas maias anno MDCCCXCIX.

C. Ep. Praenestinus Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

DIONIDES PANICI, S. R. C., *Secret.*

FACULTIES GIVEN TO MAYNOOTH COLLEGE TO CONFER DEGREES IN THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND CANON LAW

On the 25th of June, 1898, a letter, with the approval of Cardinal Logue, was addressed to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Propaganda.

EMO. AC RMO. DNO. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI

S. CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE PRAEFECTO

EMF. AC RME. PATER,

Die 29^a mensis Martii anni 1896, litteris ad Emum. Hiberniae Cardinalem missis, Eminentia tua significavit, facultatem baccalaureatum in philosophia omnesque gradus academicos in S. theologia conferendi, Collegio nostro Manutiano, Sanctae Sedis gratia, fuisse benignissime concessam.

Isidem litteris mandatum est ut 'appositum studiorum statutum' pro nostro Collegio redigeretur, et ad Sacram Congregationem de Propaganda Fide examinandum et adprobandum infra annum mitteretur; sed per litteras Eminentiae tuae, diei 5 Aprilis, 1897, tempus hoc mandatum adimplendi usque ad finem mensis Junii hujusce anni 1898, fuit protractum. Nunc igitur ad Eminentiam tuam haec nova mittimus Statuta Collegii nostri Manutiani, quae omnes Hiberniae Episcopi in comitiis suis paucis abhinc diebus habitis probarunt.

In hisce statutis res ita constituuntur ut non modo in S. Theologia juxta facultatem jam benigne concessam, sed etiam in philosophia et jure canonico omnes gradus academici in nostra Collegio dehinc conferri possint. Quam novam facultatem, nomine omnium Hiberniae Episcoporum, enixe supplicamus, tum quia Collegium ubi totus fere clerus Hiberniae formatur, seu potius ipsa in Hibernia Ecclesia, schola aliqua completa ac perfecta non modo S. Theologiae sed etiam philosophiae et juris canonici muniri debet, tum quia nil magis conferre potest ad studia philosophica et canonica in ipso Collegio et in tota Hibernia elevanda ac perficienda quam incitamentum graduum academicorum alumnis Manutianis praebere. Humillime igitur petimus ut haec facultas non denegetur.

Haec adjicimus tabulam quae numerum lectionum in disciplinis philosophicis, theologicis, canonicis, singulis hebdomadibus habendarum, uno conspectu exhibeat. Insuper exemplar mittimus Kalendarii quod singulis annis in Collegio editur.

Paucis demum hic exhibere juvabit quomodo Collegium

gubernetur, et quinam regimini domestico ac pietati disciplinaeque ibidem praeponantur. Summa regendi potestas, sub ipsa Sede Apostolica, residet penes coetum Curatorum, qui constat ex Emis et Rms quatuor Archiepiscopis et tredecim ex Episcopis totius Hiberniae. A Curatoribus autem deputantur Visitatores—quatuor scil. Archiepiscopi et quatuor Episcopi—qui Collegium bis in anno visitent, et omnia quae tum compererint ad Curatores deferant.

In Collegio ipso residet Praeses, Propraeses, quatuor Decani (uti vocantur) qui pietati ac disciplinae invigilent, duo Patres Spirituales, novem Professores in Facultate theologiae jurisque canonici, quatuor in Facultate philosophica, sex in Facultate artium, quinque Adjutores seu Magistri Supplentes.

Superiore anno (1897-1898), 16 presbyteri cursum superiorem sequebantur ; 383 erant alumni in S. theologia ; 208 in philosophia ; et 52 in scholis linguarum ; isto igitur anno 659 alumni in Collegio degebant.

Eminentiae tuae, summa cum reverentia,

Addictissimi sumus servi,

DIONYSIUS GARGAN, *Praeses*.

THOMAS O'DEA, *Propraeses*.

Datum Manutiae,

Die 25^a Mensis Junii, anni 1898.

Visum et Commendatum,

✠ MICHAEL CARDINALIS LOGUE.

On the 18th of May, 1899, His Eminence Cardinal Logue sent to the College the following important Rescript from the Propaganda :—

S. CONGREGAZIONE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE PROTOCOLLO, N. 32959.

Mentionem facias, quaeso, hujus numeri in tua responsione.
On prie de citer le même numero dans les responses.

ROMA LI 15, MAGGIO, 1899.

Oggetto,

Sug Statuti del Collegio di Maynooth.

EME. AC RME. DNE. MI OBINE,

In Plenaria Congregatione horum Emorum Patrum S. Consilii Christiano Nomini Propagando habita die 27. Superioris Mensis Martii ad examen revocata sunt statuta Collegii S. Patricii apud

Maynooth de studiis ibidem colendis, quae Eminentia Tua una cum litteris Diei 29 Junii superioris anni transmisit, pariterque ratio habita est de petitione a Preside eiusdem Collegii, Nomine universorum Hiberniae Antistitum, exhibita ad obtinendam pro Collegio Maynoothiano extensionem privilegii iam concessi circa collationem graduum academicorum; Porro ad proposita dubia. 1° Utrum et quomodo adprobanda sint exhibita Statuta Studiorum pro Collegio Maynoothiano. 2° Utrum eidem Collegio concedenda sit facultas conferendi gradus academicos universos etiam in Jure Canonico et in Philosophia, iidem Emi Patres respondendum censuerunt; Affirmative ad utrumque, cum modificationibus in statuta Collegii Maynoothiani iuducendis, iuxta mentem. Mens est. 1° In ferendis suffragiis pro exitu experimentorum haec ratio servetur. In examinibus cujusvis Facultatis separatim ferri suffragia debent circa experimentum scripto habitum et circa experimentum orale. Ad obtinendum gradum Baccalaureatus et Prolytae majoritas absoluta suffragiorum requiratur, h.e. unum saltem suffragium supra dimidium omnium disponibilium votorum; Verum ad assequendam lauream duae saltem tertiae partes suffragiorum omnium requirantur, tum in periculo scriptis facto, tum in orali experimento. Examinatores et qui ferendi suffragium jus habent, de decem votis singuli disponant. In diplomate vero exprimatur numerus suffragiorum quem quisque consecutus fuerit (Statuta specialia Facul. Theol. c. v., n. 5, pag. 17. St. Spec., Facul. Phil. c., iv., nn. 7-8, pag. 21.)

2. In superiori cursu philosophico alumni tertii anni quatuor saltem horas singulis hebdomadis ab apposito Professore disciplinas philosophicas edoceantur, adhibito tanquam textu Summae Philosophicae S. Thomae, quae dicitur *contra Gentiles*. Curae erit magistro opportune commentari textuales ejusdem Summae Philosophicae doctrinas, una cum aliis ejusdem angelici Doctoris operibus, praesertim opusculo De Ente et Essentia et Quaestionibus Disputatis ad rem facientibus; comparatione insuper instituta cum erroribus refutandis, praesertim Positivismo et Evolutionismo (Stat. Spec. Facul. Phil. c. ii., n. 6, pag. 20).

3. In universo theologico cursu tanquam textus generalis Dogmaticae et Moralis Scientifcae habeatur Summa Theologica S. Thomae. Curae tamen sit Moderatoribus ac Professoribus ut perdurante theologico cursu adjiciatur, quod ad Dogmaticam spectat, Theologia Positiva, et Polemica nec non Patrologia et

historia dogmatum. Quae Disciplinae tradi poterunt aut a peculiaribus Professoribus aut ab iisdem illis, qui textum Summae Theologiae explicant, ut ita integrum Theologiae scholasticae et Positivae Systema exurgat, ratione habita aliorum probatorum Theologorum etiam recentiorum, et eorum notitia auditoribus indita. Qua ratione, post quatuor annos cursus generalis, alumni Seniores ad gradus academicos candidati, amplum temporis spatium habebunt ad profundum, scientificum, positivum atque historicum Catholicorum dogmatum studium. Distinctus autem Professor habeatur pro tradenda Theologia Morali, casistica et pastorali (Stat. spec. Facut. Theol. c. II. pp. 14-15).

4. Insuper, quod spectat ad disciplinas cursui philosophico adnexas, necessarium existimatur ut duo distincti Professores habeantur, unus pro disciplinis Mathematicis abstractis, atque unus saltem pro scientiis naturalibus tradendis (St. spec. Facut. Phil. c. I. n. 1., p. 19).

Hisce modificationibus adjectis, quae in praxim proximo anno scholastico traducentur, *Statuta exhibita* ad Septennium adprobantur; quo tempore experientia edocebit quaenam utilitas ex iisdem modificationibus, atque ex integro studiorum programme dimanabit. Atque sub talibus studiorum Statutis, guadeat Maynoothianum Collegium S. Patritii pariter ad Septennium privilegio conferendi *universos* academicos gradus in singulis Facultatibus Philosophica, Theologica ac Juris Canonici. Haec fuit horum Emorum Patrum sententia; quam S^mo D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, ab infrascripto Archiepiscopo Larissensi ejusdem S. Congregationis Fidei Propagandae, Secretario, relatum in audientia diei 23 superioris Mensis Aprilis, Sanctitas sua benigne ratam habuit atque probavit; presentesque litteras hac de re Eminentiae Tuae dari praecepit.

Interim manus tuas maximo cum
obsequio humillime deosculor

EMINENTIAE TUAE,

humillimus addictissimus servus.

✠ M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

A. Archiepiscopus LARISSENS, *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ADRIAN IV. AND IRELAND. By the Very Rev. Sylvester Malone, M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son; Browne & Nolan, Ltd. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd., 1899. Price 1s. 6d.

THE case of the authenticity or spuriousness of the letter of Pope Adrian IV., that is alleged to have been addressed to King Henry II. of England, entrusting him with the mission of correcting certain abuses that existed in Ireland in the twelfth century, has recently been discussed, with great learning and a good deal of spirit, by antagonists worthy of one another—Laurence Ginnell, B.L., and the Very Rev. Dr. Malone, Vicar-General of Killaloe. Both of the learned combatants have now published their version of the facts and arguments, covering the whole ground, and presenting the case as completely as it is likely ever to be presented. Dr. Malone, as is well known, has always been a supporter of the authenticity of the privilege, and none of the arguments that have recently been used to dislodge him from his position have had the effect intended. They have had rather the contrary effect, for they have evidently convinced him more clearly than ever of the weakness of the arguments employed on the other side. Never have his powers of destructive criticism been brought out with greater effect.

If ever the authenticity of Adrian's letter is to be upset, Dr. Malone has clearly shown that it has not been done so far. He has proved that the matter is one of purely historic interest, and is of no political significance whatever, at the present day, that the letter of privilege neither ordered subjection of Ireland to England, nor led to the invasion of 1171; and that the Pope was acting within his right, and according to the principles of international law prevailing in his time, by granting the privilege. We are very glad that the whole case has been so clearly and ably stated by the learned Vicar-General of Killaloe. All future historians will feel indebted to him for the great service he has rendered by the publication of this interesting little volume; and those who are not historians, but who are anxious to form a correct and accurate judgment of the episode with which he deals, and to

put aside irresponsible statements which may happen to be more popular, cannot afford to ignore his presentation of the facts, and the proofs by which the facts are supported.

A. L.

ABRIDGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. Compiled from various Sources by a Member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd., 1899.

WE offer a hearty welcome to this *Abridgment of the History of the Church*, and feel pleased at being permitted to introduce it to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. The Most Rev. Dr. Clancy, Bishop of Elphin, in his admirable preface, speaks of this as 'an unpretentious little book,' and states that it 'will furnish everything that the ordinary school child will be required to know on the more salient features of the history of the Church.' We agree with his Lordship that the book is unpretentious. It contains only 134 pages, and yet traces the history of the Church from the days of Peter to the days of Leo XIII. We agree, too, with his Lordship's statement that it contains everything 'that the ordinary school child should know about the salient features of the history of the Church; and we feel quite justified in going still farther by saying that our so-called university students and a considerable number of our priests would know more of the history of the Church than they do now did they know all that is contained in these 134 pages. It is really marvellous what an amount of historical information has been compressed into this small volume. When it was handed to us for review we could not help smiling at the idea of the history of the Church, which several authors have extended over a score of quartos, being contained in the diminutive 16mo placed in our hands. Yet, thanks to the judgment and self-restraint of the compiler, as she modestly styles herself, there is not a vitally important question in the history of the Church excluded from discussion, and all questions discussed are made intelligible even to the mind of a child. We heartily congratulate the compiler for having so successfully filled a void in our religious literature, and although her name may never become 'a household word,' for the reason that she keeps it concealed, her little book will be known, and its effects felt and appreciated long after she herself has begun to enjoy the rewards of her zeal in compiling it.

D. O'L.

THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION. By Francis Aiden Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B. London: John C. Nimmo, 14, King William-street, Strand. Price 12s. 6d.

THE main object Dr. Gasquet has in view in this new volume with which he has enriched the history of the 'Reformation' and considerably enhanced his already well-established reputation, is 'to ascertain, if possible, what was really the position of the Church in the eyes of the nation, at large, on the eve of the Reformation, to understand the attitude of men's minds to the system as they knew it, and to discover as far as may be what in regard to religion they were doing and saying and thinking about, when the change came upon them.' The work does not pretend in any sense to be a history of the Reformation, or of the causes that led to it, or even of the initial steps by which it was introduced.

'Those who know most [writes Dr. Gasquet] about this portion of our national history will best understand how impossible it is as yet for anyone, however well informed, to write the history of the Reformation itself, or to draw for us any detailed and accurate picture of the age that went before that great event, and is supposed by some to have led up to it.'

Dr. Gasquet, therefore, confines himself to giving us, in a series of essays, some very vivid sketches of the condition of things religious and intellectual that existed when the divorce proceedings of Henry VIII. suddenly plunged the country into the most calamitous war that ever disturbed the soil of Britain.

In an introduction to these essays the author takes a general survey of the field before him, and then enters into his subject dealing in succession with 'The Revival of Letters in England,' 'The Two Jurisdictions,' 'England and the Pope,' 'The Clergy and the Laity,' 'Erasmus,' 'The Lutheran Invasion,' 'The Printed English Bible,' 'Teaching and Preaching,' 'Parish Life in Catholic England,' 'Pre-Reformation Guild Life,' 'Mediæval Wills, Chuntries, and Obits,' 'Pilgrimages and Relics.'

His chapter on the 'Revival of Letters in England' is full of interest. He completely shatters the pretention that the awakening of minds, the intellectual activity of the sixteenth century, the general advance of culture in England was due to the Reformation. It was already in full development when the Reformation broke out, and was, if anything, rather retarded than promoted by the religious war. He traces the influence of

such scholars as Selling, Linacre, Grocyn, the Lillys, Sir Thomas More, Warham, Fisher, Colet, Lupset, and Dee. He shows that the humanist movement in England under the guidance of these men was not divorced from religion as it was to a great extent in Italy, and quotes facts and figures to prove how the intellectual movement dwindled in the universities under the influence of the innovators.

Those ardent young Catholic journalists who will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete separation of Church and State in France at the present day would do well to read and ponder over Dr. Gasquet's chapter on the two jurisdictions. They will recognise there what tremendous issues depend on the forbearance and disinterested wisdom of the Holy See in dealing with the material arrangements of the Church in the heart of a great nation. They will note that it is to the Concordat between Leo X. and Francis I. that so good an authority as M. Hanotaux attributes the maintenance of the old religion in France. Dr. Gasquet's chapter on the clergy and laity is also most instructive. Every priest should read it. The causes of friction are ever the same, and the evil results of worldliness and ignorance are ever sure to proceed from a similar condition of things.

One of the most interesting and masterly chapters in the book is, however, the sketch of Erasmus. It throws a flood of light on the whole period. It is a perfect sketch, giving in a short space the result of accurate study and research.

We have said enough to show how thoroughly we appreciate the value of the service done to the Church by the publication of a work in which accuracy, clearness, and erudition are so well combined. We wish the distinguished author health and strength to continue his labours, and we sincerely hope that this last volume of his will find a place in the library of every priest.

J. F. H.

DAILY THOUGHTS FOR PRIESTS. By the Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S.S., D.D., President of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. Price One dollar net.

THIS is a small octavo volume, comprising in all about two hundred pages, and containing fifty short chapters, some might

call them lectures, others meditations, for the use of missionary priests. In the preface the author explains the purpose of his book so aptly, that I cannot do better than transcribe the passage :—

‘Most priests, especially in missionary countries such as ours, are busy men. Interests of all kinds, religious and secular, their own and those of their people, claim their attention almost every day, and at all hours of the day. Those who escape this constant pressure of business, or of duty, are still liable to be caught up and carried along by the rush of the world around them, and too often they yield to it without resistance. Some are so restless by temperament, or by habit, that even when entirely undisturbed from without, they find it difficult to settle down quietly to anything of a purely mental kind. How detrimental such conditions are to that “life with things unseen” so necessary in the priesthood, need not be insisted upon. The *Non in commotione Dominus* of Scripture, and the *In silentio et quiete proficit anima devota* of the *Imitation*, have become axioms of the spiritual life. No priest who consults his experience will be tempted to question them, and this is why we find all those who have seriously at heart their own spiritual welfare coming back from time to time to the resolution of not denying to their poor souls, whatever may happen, the daily nutriment without which they cannot but languish and decline. What the most competent authorities agree in recommending, in one shape or another, as the normal sustenance of a priestly life, is the practice of meditation, and the habitual reading of devotional books, especially the *Lives of the Saints*. These helps are guaranteed by their rules to members of religious orders, and a growing number of secular priests faithfully employ them. Yet too many still permit themselves to be deprived, of a part at least, of this daily allowance, nor can those who desire it most always succeed in getting it. Shall they, then, because they have failed to secure their regular repast, go all day long, or, it may be, several days without nutriment? Should they not rather, as men of business often do when compelled to miss their meals, try to sustain their strength by getting some nourishment when and where they can?

‘It is to supply a need of this kind that the following pages have been written. They consist of truths almost entirely borrowed from the Gospel, and viewed in their bearing on the spirit and duties of the priesthood. The text which introduces each subject is generally a saying of our Lord Himself, and the development of it is gathered from other recorded utterances of His, or from the inspired writings of the Apostles, or from the daily experience of life. A passage from the fathers, the *Imitation*, or some other authorized source is generally given at

the end, reflecting in human form the heavenly truth, and helping to impress it on the mind of the reader. As a substitute for morning meditation, whenever passed over, one of these thoughts may be taken up at any free moment in the course of the day, or before retiring to rest at night. In its condensed form it will be found sufficient for one spiritual meal, but on condition that it be assimilated slowly. Quickly swallowed food is no better for the soul than for the body.'

So much for the purpose and plan of the book. The next question of interest for the possible purchaser is, what kind of fare has the writer provided? Is the volume in the style of the *Preparation for Death*, or rather in that of the *Imitation*? It is between. There is not a word in all the fifty lectures about death, or hell, or eternity; and though there is constant reference to the moral virtues as preached and practised by Christ and His Apostles, still there is not so much perfection supposed or expected as in the *Imitation*. Dr. Hogan is very human; makes allowance for the difficulties of the missionary priest's position; appeals to his sense of honour, refinement, loyalty; and is content to help on those who do not aim so much at becoming great saints, as at falling away quietly and without effort into the condition of mere sensible men of the world.

To enable the reader to form a clearer idea of what the book is like, I have thought it well to give a complete list of the *Thoughts* which it contains, and then to submit one of the little lectures in its entirety, to serve as a sample. The list of subjects is as follows:—The beatitudes; the poor in spirit; the humble; the meek; the mourners; the merciful; the pure of heart; hungering after justice; the peacemakers; the persecuted; lost opportunities; the worldly spirit; openings; the voice of God; the divine fragrance of Christ; the forgiving spirit; asking forgiveness; belonging to Christ; the servant of Christ; pity; how to bear honours; self-denial; through death to life; the love of children; Christ the comforter; the priest a comforter; the religious man; holiness and helpfulness; the priest a soldier; the saving power of the priest; young priests; carrying the cross; piety; preaching; purity of intention; the barren fig-tree; Christ's sufferings and ours; unselfishness; the priest's happiness; success; a good name; teaching by example; spiritual sweetness; spiritual influence: scandal; ideals, false and true; the unfaithful shepherd; the divine guest; detachment.

Such are the subjects on which Dr. Hogan would have missionary priests to ponder now and then, if not in formal meditation, at least in some kind of serious thought. As a specimen of how he works out his own reflections, I submit the following, which is but a fair specimen of these fifty lectures :—

‘XI.—LOST OPPORTUNITIES.

‘*Si cognovisses.*

‘If thou hadst known!’—(Luke xix. 42.)

‘The thought which filled the mind of our Lord when He uttered these words may well haunt every serious mind—the sad thought of lost opportunities. God’s mercies towards His chosen people had been countless, and their response had been miserably inadequate. The crowning grace was vouchsafed in the coming of Christ Himself. But “He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.” Jerusalem, in particular, was hostile to Him from beginning to end, and this, politically and religiously, sealed her fate. And so our Lord, as He crossed the summit of Mount Olivet, and looked down on the doomed city, forgot the clamor of triumph which surrounded Him, and shed tears of pity on the fate of His people blind to the value of the gift offered to them for the last time. “If only thou couldst understand, even at this last day, what would bring thee peace and happiness!”

‘What Christ saw in the destiny of Jerusalem, each man has to recognise in his own life; opportunities of all kinds lost through thoughtlessness, or blindness, or carelessness, or weakness. Who does not find himself with natural gifts undeveloped, which, if cultivated in due time, would have added considerably to his usefulness? How many are constrained to acknowledge that impatience of discipline, disregard of counsel, love of ease and self-indulgence in early life, have unfitted them for the noblest tasks of later years. How often do men let go the chances of making a due return in love and kindness, until those to whom they owe most are beyond their reach? How often have they not to grieve over occasions they let slip, to be morally, spiritually beneficial to others, especially to those they knew and loved. Kindness implying little sacrifice, a word of sympathy, of encouragement, of timely advice, would have done much; but it was not forthcoming. And now when they would give anything to be able to make up for their coldness or carelessness, it is too late.

‘There are few, if any, more open to this manner of regret than priests. Their opportunities for doing good are so many and so great that it is difficult to keep alive to them all. Yet they all bring with them their corresponding responsibilities. Every

soul that opens itself to the influence of a priest, as he speaks from the pulpit, or sits in the tribunal of penance, or visits the sick, or listens to the story of trials, perplexities, and sorrows that are poured into his ear day after day—every soul gives him a fresh opportunity to do God's work, and to gather fruit for life eternal. Of those he misses, some he can never recall: that unique occasion to stand up and speak out at any cost for what was noble and true; that great charity which appealed to him in vain, because it could be done only at the cost of some great sacrifice; that long-wished-for advantage, finally secured, but at the cost of self-respect; that friendship preserved only by being unfaithful to principle. These opportunities are rare, and if not grasped at once, are gone for ever—gone like the souls a priest might have won from sin, or lifted up to sanctity, if he had been watchful, but which he suffered to go before God as he found them.

'Happily there are occasions which come back, opportunities which remain. The action of the priest is mostly continuous, and what is missing in it at one time may be made up for at another. Souls neglected may become the objects of special care; works allowed to languish for a time may receive a fresh infusion of vigour, and recover all their usefulness. In many ways the past may be redeemed. St. Paul speaks on several occasions of "redeeming the time" (Eph. v. 16; Col. iv. 5); that is, making the most of the present and its opportunities. This is a means ever open to those who have to grieve over past losses. While life remains, they can always begin afresh, take up new and still higher purposes, organize new campaigns, fight new battles, and win them.'

The reader is now in a position to judge for himself of the value of Dr. Hogan's book. To me it seems very suitable, either for purposes of meditation, or, now and then, of spiritual reading, or even as suggesting lines of thought for sermons. The young priest who would make an effort to reproduce these lectures under forms suited to the laity, could not fail to cultivate his own powers and to produce notable effects on his audience. He may not attain Dr. Hogan's excellence—few will arrive at that; but the effort could not but result in an improvement of the character of the discourses delivered even by good preachers.

W. McD.

CANTIONES SACRAE. Musical Settings of the Roman Liturgy. Edited by Samuel Gregory Ould, Monk of the Order of St. Benedict. London: Novello & Co.

THIS is a collection of twenty-two numbers issued separately, and varying in price from 2*d.* to 6*d.* We regret very much not being able to recommend it. True, there is nothing scandalously bad in it. We must admit that the tone generally is reverential, and that, compared with much that is performed in our churches, this music is a decided improvement. Still we cannot recognise in it the true church style. There is something in it, whether we call it hysterical or sensual or sentimental, that is not in accordance with true devotion or genuine religious fervour. A strange contrast with the rest is formed by a solitary piece, a fine part *Hodie sanctus Benedictus* by Peter Philips. The chasteness and purity of style of this sixteenth century composer make him look quite out of place in his surroundings, and the only reason we can see for this piece being included in the collection is that the editor is a Benedictine. Choirs that have an opportunity of performing this piece will, no doubt, please both themselves and the audience. We would recommend them, however, to transpose it a tone lower. With the two sopranos resting very frequently on the high *g*, it sounds too shrill in the original key. We should think, moreover, that the proper tempo is not allegretto 4/4, but andante 21/2. This may be the same in the actual speed of the notes, but it makes a difference for the æsthetic perception. The only other piece one could recommend is a *Miserere* in *f*, by F. E. Gladstone. If a choir want a very simple setting of the *Miserere*, they may take this one.

To be perfectly accurate, we should state that we have not seen Nos. 16, 17, and 18 of the collection.

H. B.

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